

# HISTORY OF ART

*A Survey of the Major Visual Arts from  
the Dawn of History to the Present Day*



H. W. JANSON

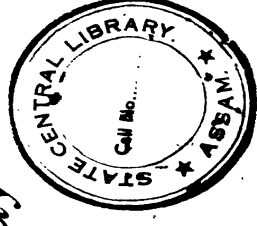
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WITH DORA JANE JANSON

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*A Survey of the Major Visual Arts from*

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# PREFACE

## AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The title of this book has a dual meaning: it refers both to the events that *make* the history of art, and to the scholarly discipline that deals with these events. Perhaps it is just as well that the record and its interpretation are thus designated by the same term. For the two cannot be separated, try as we may. There are no "plain facts" in the history of art—or in the history of anything else, for that matter; only degrees of plausibility. Every statement, no matter how fully documented, is subject to doubt, and remains a "fact" only so long as nobody questions it. To doubt what has been taken for granted, and to find a more plausible interpretation of the evidence, is every scholar's task. Nevertheless, there is always a large body of "facts" in any field of study; they are the sleeping dogs whose very inertness makes them landmarks on the scholarly terrain. Fortunately, only a minority of them can be aroused at the same time, otherwise we should lose our bearings; yet all are kept under surveillance to see which ones might be stirred into wakefulness and locomotion. It is these "facts" that fascinate the scholar.

I believe they will also interest the general reader. In a survey such as this, the sleeping dogs are indispensable, but I have tried to emphasize that their condition is temporary, and to give the reader a fairly close look at some of the wakeful ones. There will be revisions of detail in future printings of this book whenever necessary, as I am under no illusion that my present diagnosis is up to date in every case; the field is too vast for anyone to encompass all of it with equal competence. If the shortcomings of my account have been kept within tolerable limits, this is due to the many friends and colleagues who have permitted me to tax their kindness with inquiries, requests for favors, or discussions of doubtful points. I am particularly indebted to the following: Richard Ettinghausen, M. Ş. İpşiroğlu, Wolfgang Lotz, Richard Krautheimer, and Meyer Schapiro, who reviewed various aspects of the book; and Max Loehr, Florentine Mütherich, Ernest Nash, and Halldor Soehner, for generous help in securing photographic material. I must also record my gratitude to the American Academy in Rome, which made it possible for me, as art historian in residence during the spring of 1960, to write the chapters on ancient art under ideal conditions; and to the Academy's indefatigable librarian, Nina Langobardi. Irene Gordon, Celia Butler, and Patricia Egan have improved the book in countless ways. Patricia Egan also deserves the chief credit for the reading list. I should like, finally, to acknowledge the admirable skill and patience of Philip Grushkin, who is responsible for the design and layout of the volume; my thanks go to him and to Adrienne Onderdonk, his assistant.

#### NOTE ON THE PICTURE CAPTIONS

*Unless otherwise noted, all paintings are in tempera on panel, or oil on canvas, and all sculpture is of stone. Measurements are not given for objects that are inherently large (architecture, architectural sculpture, wall painting), or small (manuscript illuminations, drawings, prints). Height precedes width. A probable measuring error of more than one per cent is indicated by "c." Dates are based on documentary evidence, unless preceded by "c." A list of credits for the black-and-white illustrations appears at the end of the book.*

## INTRODUCTION

# *The Artist and His Public*

"Why is this supposed to be art?" How often have we heard this question asked—or asked it ourselves, perhaps—in front of one of the strange, disquieting works that we are likely to find nowadays in museums or art exhibitions. There usually is an undertone of exasperation, for the question implies that we don't think we are looking at a work of art, but that the experts—the critics, museum curators, art historians—must suppose it to be one, why else would they put it on public display? Clearly, their standards are very different from ours; we are at a loss to understand them and we wish they'd give us a few simple, clear-cut rules to go by. Then maybe we would learn to like what we see, we would know "why it is art." But the experts do not post exact rules, and the layman is apt to fall back upon his final line of defense: "Well, I don't know anything about art but I know what I like."

It is a formidable roadblock, this stock phrase, in the path of understanding between expert and layman. Until not so very long ago, there was no great need for the two to communicate with each other; the general public had little voice in matters of art and therefore could not challenge the judgment of the expert few. Today both sides are aware of the barrier between them (the barrier itself is nothing new, although it may be greater now than at certain times in the past) and of the need to level it. That is why books like this one are being written. Let us begin, then, by examining the roadblock and the various unspoken assumptions that buttress it. The most fateful among them, it seems to me, is the belief that there are, or ought to be, exact rules by which we can tell art from what is not art, and that, on the basis of these rules, we can then grade any given work according to its merits. Deciding what is art and evaluating a work of art are separate problems; if we had an absolute method for distinguishing art from non-art, this method would not necessarily enable us to measure quality. People have long been in the habit of compounding the two problems into one; quite often when they ask, "Why is it art?" they mean, "Why is it *good* art?" Yet, all systems for rating art so far proposed fall short of being completely satisfactory; we tend to agree with their authors only if they like the same things we do. If we do not share their taste, their system seems like a strait jacket to us. This brings us to another, more basic difficulty. In order to have any rating scale at all, we must be willing to assume that there are fixed, timeless values in art, that the true worth of a given work is a stable thing, independent of time and circumstance. Perhaps such values exist; we cannot be sure that

they do not. We do know, however, that opinions about works of art keep changing, not only today but throughout the known course of history. Even the greatest classics have had their ups and downs, and the history of taste—which is part of the history of art—is a continuous process of discarding established values and rediscovering neglected ones. It would seem, therefore, that absolute qualities in art elude us, that we cannot escape viewing works of art in the context of time and circumstance, whether past or present. How indeed could it be otherwise, so long as art is still being created all around us, opening our eyes almost daily to new experiences and thus forcing us to adjust our sights? Perhaps, in the distant future, men will cease to produce works of art. It is not inconceivable, after all, that mankind may some day "outgrow" its need for art. When that happens, the history of art will have come to an end, and our descendants will then be in a better position to work out an enduring scale of artistic values—if the problem still interests them. Until that time, we had better admit that it is impossible to measure the merits of works of art as a scientist measures distances.

But if we must give up any hope of a trustworthy rating scale for artistic quality, can we not at least expect to find a reliable, objective way to tell art from non-art? Unfortunately, even this rather more modest goal proves so difficult as to be almost beyond our powers. Defining art is about as troublesome as defining a human being. Plato, it is said, tried to solve the latter problem by calling man "a featherless biped," whereupon Diogenes introduced a plucked rooster as "Plato's Man." Generalizations about art are, on the whole, equally easy to disprove. Even the most elementary statements turn out to have their pitfalls. Let us test, for instance, the simple claim that a work of art must be made by man, rather than by nature. This definition at least eliminates the confusion of treating as works of art phenomena such as flowers, sea shells, or sunsets. It is a far from sufficient definition, to be sure, since man makes many things other than works of art. Still, it might serve as a starting point. Our difficulties begin as soon as we ask, "What do we mean by making?" If, in order to simplify our problem, we concentrate on the visual arts, we might say that a work of art must be a tangible thing shaped by human hands. Now let us look at the striking *Bull's Head* by Picasso (fig. 1), which consists of nothing but the seat and handlebars of an old bicycle. How meaningful is our formula here? Of course the materials used by Picasso are man-made, but it would be absurd to insist that Picasso



1. Peter Fisser, *Bull's Head* (map, headpiece and rest of a female Calfes London Lane, Paris

most share the credit with the manufacturer, since the eye and handpiece in themselves are not works of art. While we feel a certain jolt when we first recognize the ingenuity of this visual gag, we also sense that it was a stroke of genius to put them together in this unique way, and we cannot very well deny that it is a work of art. Yet the headpiece—the mounting of the rest on the headpiece—is inherently simple. What is the form simple in the gap of the imagination by which Fisser recognized a bull's head in these utterly disparate, that we feel, only to reveal them done. Clearly, then, we must be careful not to confuse the making of a work of art with manual skill or craftsmanship. Some works of art may demand great deal of technical discipline, others do not, and even the most painstaking piece of craft does not deserve to be called a work of art unless it contains a leap of the imagination. But if this is true, are we not forced to conclude that the real making of the *Bull's Head* took place in the artist's mind? No, that is not so, either. Suppose that, instead of actually joining the two pieces together and showing them to us, Fisser merely told us, "You know, today I saw a female rest and headpiece that looked just like a bull's head to me." Then there would be no work of art and his words would not even strike us as an interesting bit of conversation. Moreover, Fisser himself would not find the satisfaction of having created something on the basis of his leap of the imagination alone. Once he had conceived his visual gag, he could never be sure that it would really work unless he put it into effect.

Thus the artist's hands, however modest the task they

may have to perform, play an essential part in the creative process. One *Bull's Head* is, of course, an already simple case, involving only one leap of the imagination and a single manual act in response to it—since the rest had been properly placed on the headpiece, the job was done. Fortunately, artists do not work with ready-made parts but with materials that have lines or no shape of their own; the creative process consists of a long series of leaps of the imagination and the artist's attempts to give them form by shaping the material accordingly. The first time to carry out the commands of the imagination and hopefully put down a brush stroke, but the result may not be quite what had been expected, partly because of matter versus the human will, partly because the image in the artist's mind is constantly shifting and changing, so that the commands of the imagination cannot be very precise. In fact, the mental image begins to come into focus only as the artist "draws the line—where?" That line then becomes part of the only final part—of the image, the rest of the image, as yet unborn, remains fluid. And each time the artist adds another line, a new leap of the imagination is needed to incorporate that line into his ever-growing mental image. If the line cannot be incorporated, he discards it and puts down a new one. In this way, by a constant flow of imperious and both between his mind and the partly shaped material before him, he gradually defines more and more of the image, until at last all of it has been given visible form. Needless to say, artistic creation is too subtle and intimate an experience to permit an exact description; only the artist himself can observe it fully, but he is so absorbed by it that he has great difficulty explaining it to us. Still, our metaphor of both comes closer to the truth than would a description of the process in terms of a transfer or projection of the image from the artist's mind, for the making of a work of art is both joyous and painful, agonizing and serene, and is so much mechanical. We have, moreover, ample testimony that the artist himself tends to look upon his creation as a living thing. Thus, Michelangelo, who has described the anguish and glory of the artist's experience more eloquently than anyone else, speaks of his "liberating the figure from the marble that imprisons it." We may translate this, I think, to mean that he shared the process of carving a statue by trying to visualize a figure in the rough, uncut stone block as it came to him from the quarry. (At times he may even have done so while the marble was still part of the living rock; we know that he liked to go to the quarry and pick out his material on the spot.) It seems fair to assume that artists he did not see the figure any more clearly than one can see an outline sketched inside the wood, but we may believe he could no longer "sign of life" within the marble—a human or other pressing against the surface. In order to get a human figure into this fully felt, final image, for use in the habit of making numerous drawings, and sometimes small models in wax or clay, before he dared to attempt





1. 2. Nicodemus (cont.). 2) Nicodemus, 1486. Marble, height 17". Arezzo, Florence

the "marble prison" itself, for that, he knows, was the final commitment to time and his material. Once he started carving, every stroke of the chisel would commit him more and more to a specific conception of the figure hidden in the block, and the marble would prompt him to find the figure whose only life he gave as to its shape was correct. Sometimes he did not guess well enough—the stone refused to give up some essential part of its prison, and Michelangelo, dejected, left the work unfinished, as he did with his St. Matthew (fig. 1.1), whose every gesture seems to record the vain struggle for liberation. Looking at the side view of the block (fig. 2), we may get some feeling of Michelangelo's dilemma here. How could he tell how finished the statue is now hidden? Surely there is enough material left for that. Well, he probably could

have, but perhaps not in the way he wanted, and in that case the statue would have been more sleeping.

Clearly, then, the making of a work of art has little to do with what we ordinarily mean by "making." It is a strange and risky business in which the maker never quite knows what he is making until he has actually made it; or, to put it another way, it is a game of find and seek in which the maker is not sure what he is looking for until he has found it. (In the dealer's shop, it is the boy "finding" that impresses us most, in the St. Matthew, the stone man "working.") To the sensation, it seems hard to believe that this uncertainty, this not-to-make-a-thing, should be the source of the artist's work. For we all tend to think of "making" in terms of the craftsman or manufacturer who knows exactly what he wants to produce

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from the very outset, picks the tools he intends to use, and settles one of what he is doing at every step. Such "making" is a metaphor after the fact: the craftsman makes a plan, then he acts on it. And because he—or his customer—has made all the important decisions in advance, he has to worry only about means, rather than ends, while he carries out his plan. There is thus little risk, but also little adventure, in his handwork, which is a consequence: work is become routine. It may even be captured by the mechanical labor of a machine. No machine, on the other hand, can replace the artist, for with him our creative and creative go hand in hand and can so completely interpenetrate that he cannot separate the one from the other. Whereas the craftsman only attempts what he knows to be possible, the artist is always driven to attempt the impossible—or at least the improbable or unimaginable. Who, after all, would have imagined that a bull's head was hidden in the coat and handkerchief of a knight until Picasso discovered it for us; did he say, almost literally, "make a bull come out of a cow's ear"? No wonder the artist's way of working is so constant to any one who, while the craftsman's consciousness is steadily rational and regularity. We acknowledge this difference when we speak of the artist as creating instead of merely making something, although the word is being done to

death by common knowledge, where every child and every ignorant manufacturer is labeled "creative."

Needless to say, there have always been many more craftsmen than artists among us, since our need for the familiar and repeated far exceeds our capacity to absorb the original but often deeply unsettling experiences we get from works of art. The urge to produce unknown results, to achieve something original, may be felt by every one of us now and then, or that means, we are all these creative potential artists—more ingenious technicians. What sets the real artist apart is not so much the desire to seek, but that systematic ability to find what we call talent. We also speak of it as a "gift," implying that it is a sort of present from some higher power, or as "genius," a term which originally means that a higher power—a kind of "good demon"—inhabits the artist's body and acts through him. All we can really say about talent is that it must not be confused with technique. Technique is what the craftsman needs; it means a better than-average knack for doing something that any ordinary person can do. An aptitude is fairly constant and specific; it can be measured with some success by means of tests about people or to predict future performance. Creative talent, on the other hand, seems utterly unpredictable; we can only rely on the basis of past performance. And even past performance is not thought to count so that a great artist will continue to produce on the same level; some artists reach a creative peak quite early in their careers and then "go dry," while others, after a slow and unimpressive start, may achieve astonishingly original work in middle age or even late.

Originally, then, is what distinguishes art from craft. We may say, therefore, that it is the products of artistic processes or intentions. Unfortunately, it is also very hard to define the most/anonymous—anonymous, actually, because—do not judge very much, and the discussion will be only that an original work must not be a copy, reproduction, imitation, or translation. What they have pointed out is that originality is always relative: there is no such thing as a completely original work of art. Then, if we want to rate works of art on an "originality scale" our problem does not lie in deciding whether or not a given work is original (the answer is yes and reproduction can be the next part very enough to eliminate) but in establishing just exactly how original it is. To do that is not impossible. However, the difficulties between our task are so great that we cannot hope for more than tentative and incomplete answers. What does not mean, of course, that we should not try: quite the contrary. For whatever the outcome of our labors in any particular case, we shall certainly learn a great deal about works of art in the process.

Let us look at a few of the baffling questions that come up when we investigate the problem of originality. The *Flower Seller*, or *Spencer* (Fig. 2), has long been one of the most renowned pieces of painting from the nineteenth century and enjoys considerable fame as a work of art even today—

2. *Flower Seller* (Spencer). Boston, height 48 1/2".  
Cappamore Museum, Rome





3. Giovanni Stanetti, *Baths of the Gods*, 1799.  
Pen drawing, 10 1/2 x 17 1/2. Florence, Uffizi



4. Antonio Morsiani, *Baths of the Gods*,  
c. 1790. Engraving, 10 1/2 x 10 1/2.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
(Roger Ford, 1990)

except among classical archaeologists who have studied it well-ages. They will point out that the head, which is not separately and is of slightly different mold, does not match the rest: the planes of the face are far more acute than the rest, meeting those of the body; and the face, instead of falling forward, behaves as if the head were held upright. The head, therefore, must have been designed for another figure, probably a standing one, of the fifth century B.C., but the body could not have been conceived until more than a hundred years later. As soon as

we become aware of this, our attitude toward the *Apollon Chrysokomphos* is no longer as it was single, harmonious, calm; but as a somewhat incongruous combination of two nearly-made pieces. And since the pieces are separate—though fragmentary—works of art in their own right (unlike the separate pieces, which are not works of art in themselves, in Plaster's *Red's Head*), they cannot grow together into a new whole that is more than the sum of its parts. Obviously, this graft is not much of a creative achievement. Hence we begin to feel that the



1. Francesco Menni: *Landscape on the banks of the Tiber near Falerone* (1861), oil on canvas, 1' 11" x 2', The Louvre, Paris

very able artist who modeled the body should have been willing to acknowledge such a "mixture of convenience." The composition must be of a later date, presumably Roman rather than Greek. Perhaps the present head was substituted when the original head was damaged by accident? But are the head and body really authentic Greek fragments of the fifth and fourth century B.C., or could they be Roman copies or adaptations of such pieces? These questions may be settled eventually by comparison with other ancient fragments of low mountain ridges, but even then the degree of artistic originality of the *Sphinx* is likely to remain a highly problematic matter.

A straightforward copy can usually be recognized as such on internal evidence alone. If the copier is merely a conscientious craftsman, rather than an artist, he will produce a work of craft; the execution will strike us as pedestrian and flat; out of tune with the conception of the work. There are also likely to be small slip-ups and mistakes that can be spotted in much the same way as misspellings in a text. But what if one great artist copies another? The drawing, done by the Greek, by Giovanni Dione (fig. 2) is a case in point. An experienced eye will not only recognize it as a copy (because, while the "hand-

writing" is Dione's, the design as a whole has a flavor distinctly different from that of the master's other output of that time), it will also be able to identify the source: the original must have been some work by Apollonios Mantegna, a somewhat older Italian painter with a powerful artistic personality of his own. Dione's drawing, of course, does not point us to any with accuracy what kind of work by Mantegna served as its model—it might have been a drawing, a painting, a print, possibly even a relief—or how faithful a copy it is. Yet it would be instructive to find this out, in order that we gain a better insight into the character of our drawing. The next step, therefore, is to check through the known works of Mantegna; if the same composition does not occur among them, we will have learned nothing new about the drawing but we may have added something to our knowledge of Mantegna, for in that event the Dione drawing would be valuable record of another unknown—and thus presumably lost—composition by the older master. It so happens that Dione's model, a Mantegna engraving, has survived (fig. 3). As we compare the two, we are surprised to see that the drawing, although it follows Mantegna's design almost too closely, somewhere misses the quali-

ity of an independent work of art as well. There can be neither this paradox? Perhaps we may put it this way: in using the engraving as his model, Dürer did not really copy it in the accepted sense of that word, since he did not try to achieve the effect of a drawing. He drew purely for his own instruction, which is to say that he looked at the engraving the way he would look at something in nature, something it very accurately put with his own indestructible rhythm of line. In other words, he was not in the least constrained or intimidated by the fact that his model, in this instance, was another work of art. Once we understand this, it becomes clear to us that Dürer's drawing represents (to draw out) *not* the engraving in the same way that other drawings represent a landscape or a living person, and that its artistic originality does not suffer thereby. Dürer here gives us a highly original view of Mantegna, a view that is unique Dürer's.

A relationship as close as this between two works of art is not as rare as one might think. Certainly, though, the link is less obvious. Edward Munch's famous painting, *London on the Shore* (fig. 7), seemed to revolutionary a work when first exhibited almost a century ago that it seemed a scandal, in part because the artist had dared to show an undressed young woman next to two fashionably clothed men. In real life such a party might indeed get evicted by the police, and people assumed that Munch had intended to represent an actual event. Not until many years later did an art historian discover the source of these figures: a group of classical statues from an engraving after Raphael (fig. 8). The relationship, in other words it has been pointed out to us, had escaped attention. Yet Munch did not copy or reproduce the Raphael composition—he merely borrowed its main outlines while translating the figures into modern terms. Had his contemporaries known of this, the *Londoners* would have seemed a rather less scandalous kind of seeing to them, since now the borrowed statue of Raphael could be seen to borrow merely as a sort of diagram. (Perhaps the artist

meant to tease the conservative public, hoping that after the initial shock had passed, somebody would recognize the well-hidden quotation behind his "modernist" group.) For us, the main effect of the comparison is to make the real, formal quality of Munch's figures even more conspicuous. But does it decrease our respect for his originality? True, he is "imitated" by Raphael, yet his way of bringing the forgotten old composition back to life is in itself so original and creative that he may be said to have gone thus beyond his debt. As a matter of fact, Raphael's figures are just as "derivative" as Munch's (they owe their still older source which led us back to ancient Roman art and beyond [compare the relief of *Alceid*, fig. 9).

Thus Munch, Raphael, and the Romans draw gods from three links in a chain of relationships that arises somewhere out of the dim and distant past and continues into the future—for the *Londoners* as the *Shore* has in turn served as a source of modern works of art (see fig. 10). That is how an exceptional case, all works of art anywhere—you even go back to Picasso's *Self* (fig. 11)—are part of similar chains that link them to their predecessors. If it is true that "no man is an island," the same can be said of works of art. The sum total of these chains makes a web in which every work of art occupies its own specific place, and which we call tradition. Without tradition—the word means "that which has been handed down to us"—no originality would be possible, as it were, the three platforms from which the artist takes his leap of the imagination. The place where he lands will then become part of the web and serve as a point of departure for further leaps. And for us, too, the web of tradition is equally essential. Whether we are aware of it or not, traditions is the framework within which we inevitably form our opinions of works of art and assess their degree of originality. Let us not forget, however, that such assessments must always remain incomplete and subject to revision. For in order to serve as a definitive view, we



above: E. Munch (*London on the Shore*, after Raphael), 20th century, oil, Oslo, Norway, Oslo

left: S. Mantegna (*Descent into Hell*, after Raphael), 15th century, oil, Mantua, Italy



10. Pablo Picasso with sketches after Maquet's *Antenor on the Throne*, 1954 (Copyright Alexander Liberman)

should not only need to learn all the different chains of relationships that pass through a given work of art, we should be able to survey the entire length of every chain. And that we can never hope to achieve.

If originality is what distinguishes art from craft, tradition serves as the common meeting ground of the two. Every teaching artist starts out on the level of craft, by imitating other works of art. In this way, he gradually absorbs the artistic tradition of his time and place until he has gained a free footing in it. But only the truly gifted ever leave that stage of traditional competence and become creators in their own right. The rest, after all, can be taught how to create; he can only be taught how to go through the motions of creating. If he has talent, he will eventually achieve the real thing. What the apprentice or self-taught learner acquires are skills and techniques—established ways of drawing, painting, carving, designing, established ways of seeing. And if he senses that his gifts are too modest for painting, sculpture, or architecture, he is likely to turn to one of the countless special fields known collectively as “applied art.” There he can be fruitfully active on a more limited scale: he may become an illustrator, typographer, or interior decorator; he may design textile patterns, silhouettes, furniture, clothing, or advertisements. All these pursuits stand somewhere between “pure” and “mere” craft. They provide some scope for originality in their more ambitious practitioners, but the flow of creative endeavor is lessened in by such factors as the cost and availability of materials or manufacturing processes, accepted notions of what is useful, fitting, or desirable; for the applied art is not more deeply concerned in our everyday lives and thus cater to a far wider public than the painting and sculpture. Their purpose, as the name suggests, is to beautify the useful—

an important and honorable task, no doubt, but of a lower order than that of art pure and simple. Nevertheless, we often find it difficult to navigate this distinction. Medieval painting, for instance, is to a large extent “applied,” in the sense that it embellishes surfaces which serve another, practical purpose as well—walls, book pages, windows, furniture. The same may be said of much ancient and medieval sculpture. Greek vases (see page 181-2), although technically pottery, are sometimes decorated by artists of very impressive ability. And in architecture the distinction blurs down altogether, since the design of every building, from country cottage to cathedral, reflects external limitations imposed upon it by the site, by cost factors, materials, technique, and by the practical purpose of the structure. (The only “pure” architecture is imaginary architecture.) Thus architecture is, almost by definition, an applied art, but it is also a major art (as against the others, which are often called the “minor arts”).

It is now time to return to our troubled layman and his assumptions about art. He may be willing to grant, on the basis of our discussion so far, that art is indeed a complex, and in many ways mysterious human activity about which even the experts can hope to offer only tentative and partial conclusions; but he is also likely to take this as confirming his own belief that “I don’t know anything about art.” Are there really people who know nothing about art? If we except small children and the victims of severe mental illness or deficiency, not anyone must be so, for we cannot help knowing something about it, just as we all know something about politics and economics no matter how indifferent we may be to the issues of the day. Art is so much a part of the fabric of human living that no creature is all the time, even if we compare with it our limited, to digressive careers, unassuming powers, our moments, and the buildings where we live, work, and worship. Much of this art, to be sure, is pretty steadily—on at least one fourth-hand, more-or-less collective operations, representing the lowest common denominator of popular taste, taste, it is not of a sort, and since it is the only art most people ever experience, it molds their ideas on art in general. When they say, “I know what I like,” they really mean, “I like what I know (and I ignore whatever fails to match the things I am familiar with)”—such likes are not as truth-tellers at all, for they have been imposed upon them by habit and circumstance, without any personal choice. To like what we know and to distrust what we do not know is an age-old human trait, the always tend to think of the past as “the good old days,” while the future seems fraught with danger. But why should so many of us cherish the illusion of having made a personal choice in art when in actual fact we have not? I suspect there is another complex assumption here, which goes something like this: “Since art is such an ‘intricate’ subject that even the experts keep disagreeing with each other, my opinion is as good as theirs—it’s all

a matter of subjective preference. In fact, my opinion may be stronger than theirs, because you (person I refer to) art in a direct, straightforward fashion, without having my view obstructed by a lot of complicated theories. There must be something wrong with a work of art if it takes an expert to appreciate it."

Behind these mistaken conclusions we find a true and important premise—that works of art exist in order to be liked rather than to be debated. The artist does not create merely for his own satisfaction, but wants his work approved by others. In fact, the hope for approval is what makes him want to create in the first place, and the creative process is not completed until the work has found an audience. Here we have another paradox: the birth of a work of art is an intensely private experience (so much so that many artists can work only when completely alone and refuse to show their unfinished pieces to anyone), yet it must, as a final step, be shared by the public, in order for the birth to be successful. Perhaps we can resolve the paradox (and we understand what the artist means by "public.") He is concerned not with the public as a statistical entity but with his particular public, his audience, people rather than quantity in what matters to him. At a minimum, the audience need consist of no more than one or two people whose opinion he values. If he can win them over by his work, he feels encouraged to go on; without them, he despairs of his calling. There have been some very great artists who had only such a small, close audience. They hardly ever sold any of their work or had an opportunity to display it in public, but they continued to create because of the moral support of a few faithful friends. These, of course, are rare cases. Ordinarily, artists also need patrons who will purchase their work, thus contributing moral and financial support. From the artist's point of view, patrons are always "audience" rather than "customers." There is a vital difference between these last two terms. A customer buys the products of craftsmanship; he knows from previous experience what he will get and that he is going to like it—why else should he have contributed the means of returning to the same source of supply? We think of him as "regular" and "satisfied." An audience, in contrast, merits such adjectives as critical, fickle, receptive, enthusiastic; it is unconcerned, free to accept or reject, or to anything placed before it is on its own; nobody forces its attention here; the work will be received. Hence there is an emotional distance between artist and audience that has no counterpart in the relationship of customer and customer. It is in this very tension, this sense of uncertainty and challenge, that the artist lives. He must feel that his work is able to overcome the resistance of the audience, otherwise he cannot be sure that what he has brought forth is a genuine creation, a work of art in fact as well as in in-

tention. The more sensitive and original his work, the greater the tension, and the more triumphant his sense of release after the response of the audience has shown him that his hope of the imagination is rewarded. (It is a tiny note we all have a similar experience when we happen to think up a joke: we have an irresistible urge to tell it to someone, for we can't be sure that it really is a joke until we find out whether it strikes others as funny, too. This analogy should not be pressed too far, but it does suggest why attachment to an audience is "compulsive" for work.)

The audience whose approval counts so large in the artist's mind is a limited and special one, not the general public; the merits of the artist's work can never be determined by a popularity contest. The size and composition of this primary audience vary a good deal with time and circumstance. Its members may be other artists as well as patrons, friends, critics, and interested bystanders. The one qualification they all have in common is an informed love of works of art—an attitude of once discriminating and enthusiastic that lends particular weight to their judgments. They are, in a word, experts, people whose authority rests on experience rather than theoretical knowledge. And because experience, even within a limited field, varies from one individual to the other, it is only natural that they should at times disagree among themselves. Such disagreement often stimulates new insights; but those inventing the experts' role, it shows, rather, how passionately they care about their subject, whether this be the art of their own time or of the past.

The active minority which we have termed the artist's primary audience draws its recruits from a much larger and more complex secondary audience, whose contemporary works of art is less direct and contemporary. This group, in turn, draws over into the vast numbers of those who believe they "don't know anything about art," the laymen, poets and clergies. What distinguishes the layman, as we have seen before, is not that he actually is pure and simple but that he likes to think of himself as layman. In reality, there is no sharp break, no difference in kind, between him and the expert, only a difference in degree. The reader-experience invites anyone with an open mind and a capacity to absorb new experiences. As we moved on it, as our understanding grows, we shall find ourselves liking a great many more things than we had thought possible at the start, just at the same time we shall gradually acquire the courage of our own convictions, until—if we travel far enough—we know how to make a thoughtful individual choice among works of art. By then, we shall have joined the active minority that participates directly in shaping the course of art in our time. And we shall be able to say, with some justice, that we know what we like.

# THE ANCIENT WORLD

## *1. Magic and Ritual—The Art of Prehistoric Man*

### THE OLD STONE AGE

When did man start making tools of art? What groups of him made it? What did these earliest works of art look like? Every history of art must begin with these questions—and with the admission that we cannot answer them. Our earliest evidence begins to reach the earth as two feet above a million years ago, but how they were then using their hands remains unknown to us. No record more than one year later do we meet the earliest traces of man the toolmaker. He must have been using tools all along; after all, even apes will pick up a stick to break fruit, a banana, or a stone to throw at an enemy. The making of tools is a more complex matter. It demands first of all the ability to think of sticks or stones as "flat knives" or "bone sawblades," not only when they are made-for-use purposes but at other times as well. Once man was able to do that, he gradually discovered that some sticks or stones had a handier shape than others, and he put them aside for future use. He selected and "appreciated" certain sticks or stones as tools because he had begun to envision form and function. The sticks, of

course, have not survived, but a few of the stones have; they are large pebbles or chunks of rock that show the marks of repeated use for the same purposes—whatever that may have been. The next step was for man to try chipping away at these tools by appointment so as to improve their shape. This is the first craft of which we have evidence, and with it we enter a phase of human development known as the Paleolithic, or Old Stone Age.

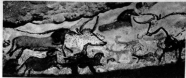
It is during the last stage of the Paleolithic, about 25,000 years ago, that we encounter the earliest works of art known to us. These, however, already show an awareness and refinement far removed from any humble beginnings. Unless we are to believe that they came into being in a single, remote hour, as scholars are said to have sprung full-grown from the head of Zeus, we must assume that they were produced by thousands of years of slow growth about which we know nothing at all. As that time the last Ice Age was drawing to a close in Europe (there had been at least three previous ones, alternating with periods of suboptimal warmth, at intervals of about 25,000 years), and the dispute between the Alps and the Pyrenees resembled that of present-day Siberia or Alaska, huge herds of reindeer and other large herds surrounded the plains and valleys, preyed upon by the numerous members of today's lions and tigers—and by our own ancestors. These men liked to live in caves or in the shelter of overhanging rocks wherever they could find them. Many such sites have been discovered, mostly in Spain and in southwestern France, on the basis of differences among the tools and other remains found there, which have divided up the "hominid" (non-ape) groups, each named after a characteristic one, and of these it is especially the so-called *Aurignacians* and *Magdalénians* who must receive the chief credit they produced and for the important role art must have played in their lives.

The most striking works of Paleolithic art are the images of animals, carved, painted, or sculptured, on the rock surfaces of caves, such as the wonderful *Wounded Bison* from the cave at Altamira in northern Spain (Fig. 21). The living animal has collapsed on the ground, its legs no longer able to carry the weight of the body, yet some

21. Wounded Bison (cave painting), c. 13,000-15,000 B.C., Altamira, Spain







above 16. Cave Paintings c. 15,000-10,000 B.C.  
Lascaux (Dordogne), France



left 17. Black silhouette of a cave painting,  
c. 15,000-10,000 B.C. Lascaux (Dordogne), France

horns, and cattle race across walls and ceilings in wild profusion, some of them simply outlined in black, others filled in with bright earth colors, but all showing the same intense sense of life.

How did this extraordinary art develop? What purpose did it serve? And how did it happen to survive intact over so many thousands of years? The last question can be answered easily enough: for the pictures never occur near the mouth of a cave, where they would be open to easy view (and destruction) but only in the darkest recesses, so far from the entrance as possible. Some can be reached only by crawling on hands and knees, and the path is so intricate that one would soon become lost without an expert guide. The cave of Lascaux, characteristically enough, was discovered purely by chance in 1940 by some neighborhood boys whose dog had fallen into a hole that led to the underground chamber. Hidden away as they are in the bowels of the earth, to protect them from the casual intruder, these images must have served a purpose far more serious than mere decoration. There can be little doubt, in fact, that they were produced as part of a magic ritual to ensure a successful hunt. We gather this not only from their secret location and from the time spent to represent species so dark that are often found painting at the animals, but also from the peculiar, disorderly way the images are superimposed on one another (as in fig. 12). Apparently, for the men of the Old Stone Age there was no clear distinction between image and reality: by making a picture of an animal they intent on killing the animal itself within their grasp, and in "killing" the image they thought they had killed the animal's vital spirit. Hence a "dead" image lost its whole life-giving effect had been performed was of no further significance and could be discarded when it became necessary to ensure the spell. The magic worked, you see, by the way,

in this helpless state the head is lowered in defiance against the space of the hunters, which threatens it from the lower left-hand corner. What a vivid, lifelike picture it is! We are amazed not only by the keen observation, the accuracy, vigorous outlines, the safety controlled shading that make both and contribute to the forms, but even more perhaps by the power and dignity of this creature in its final agony. Rapidly impressive, though not quite as fine in detail, are the painted animals in the cave of Lascaux, in the Dordogne region of France (figs. 16, 17). Bisons, deer,

Figure 10. Rock Shovel (c. 10,000–10,500 B.C.).  
Rock carving: Masson, La Chapelle-aux-Bois,  
France (Lama, France)



Figure 11. Rock Shovel (?)  
c. 10,000–10,500 B.C.  
Rock engraving: North of Figure 10?  
Cave of Laussou,  
Masson-Pellegrin (Laussou)



hunters whose coverage was thus diversified were bound to be more successful when slaying these formidable beasts with their primitive weapons. Thus, the occasional trace of this kind of magic has not come today. We rarely encounter, of these, one here in our studies because this

gives us a sense of their presence, and people have been known to tear up the photograph of animals they have come to hate.

Even so, there remains a good deal that puzzles us about the cave paintings. Why do they favor the forests (mountainous places)? Couldn't the hunting magic they were born have performed just as well out in the open? And why are they so remarkably similar? Would not the magic have been equally effective if the "killing" had been practiced upon less realistic images? We know of countless later instances of magic which require only the crudest and most schematic kind of representation, such as the carved sticks for a human figure.

Perhaps we should regard the Magdalenian cave pictures as the final phase of a development that began as simple killing magic at a time when big game was plentiful but started its waning when the animals became scarce (there is evidence that the big herds withdrew northward as the climate of Central Europe grew warmer). As Atlantic and Laurentian, then, the main purpose may no longer have been to "kill" but to "make" animals—to increase their supply. Couldn't the then the Magdalenians felt they had to practice their fertility magic in the forests of the north because they thought of the north itself as a living thing from whose womb all other life springs? Such a notion is familiar to us from the tales of north lands of later times; it is not impossible that its origin goes back to the Old Stone Age. If it does, it would help to explain the ultimate evolution of the cave paintings, for an artist who believes that he is actually "summing" an animal is more likely to strive for this quality than one who merely sets up an image for the kill. Some of the earlier pictures, even provided as clear as the origin of illustrations of fertility magic, are good many instances, the shape of the animal seems to have been suggested by the general formation of the rock, so that its body takes

clides with a bump or its contour follows a vein or crack as far as possible. We all know how our imagination sometimes makes us see outlines of images in chance formations such as clouds or trees. A Stone Age hunter, his mind filled with thoughts of the big game on which he depended for survival, would have been even more likely to recognize such animals as he stared at the rock surfaces of his cave, and to attribute deep significance to his discovery. Perhaps at first he merely mentioned the existence of such images with a shrug, until from the first, as that others, too, could see what he had found. It is tempting to think that those who proved particularly good at finding such images were given a special status as artists-magicians and warned of the dangers of the real hunt so that they could perfect their image-hunting, until finally they learned how to make images with bits of wood from chance formations, though they continued to welcome such aid. A striking example of this process of creation is the remarkable *Black Woman* from the La Vacheleine Cave at Pons (fig. 12), one of the rare instances of the human figure in Paleolithic art (apparently human fertility was a less pressing problem than animal fertility). The

legs and torso have been carved from natural ridges of the rock in such a way that the shapes seem to emerge almost imperceptibly from the stone. The right arm is barely visible and the head appears to have been omitted altogether, for lack of "incorporation" on the part of the natural surface. What kind of ritual may have centered on this figure is uncertain to guess. Yet the existence of some ritual relating to both human and animal fertility would seem to be confirmed by a unique group of Paleolithic drawings recently discovered on the walls of the cave of Ablesnois near Palermo in Italy (fig. 13). These images, carved into the rock with quill and bone lines, show human figures in dance-like movements, along with some animals, and here, as at Lascaux, we again find several separate types of images superimposed on one another.

Long from large-scale cave art, the men of the Upper Paleolithic also produced small, hand-carved figurines and carvings in bone, ivory, or stone, difficult not by means of their tools. These, too, seem to have originated with the recognition and elaboration of chance resemblances; as an earlier stage, Stone Age men had been content to collect pebbles and probably other small objects of less desirable nature in whose natural shape they saw representational qualities that rendered them "images." Evidence of this approach can be felt in the more fully worked pieces of later times as well. Thus the so-called *Figure of Willendorf* in Austria (fig. 14), one of several such female fertility figurines, has a hollowed condition of form that results in egg-shaped "ovoid points." And the beautiful *Blow* (fig. 15) of reddeer bone seems to compare, expressive outline in part to the contours of the pear-shaped piece of amber from which it was carved. It is not an unworthy companion to the splendid female at Ablesnois and Lascaux.

The art of the Old Stone Age in Europe as we know it today marks the highest achievements of a way of life that began to decline even after. Adapted almost passively to the special conditions of the hunting life, it could not survive beyond them. In other parts of the world, the Old Stone Age gave way to new developments between 10,000 and 5000 B.C., except for a few partic-

12. *Figure of Willendorf?* c. 15,000-10,000 B.C. Stone, height 2 1/2". Museum of Natural History, Vienna



13. *Blow* from La Vacheleine near Lac Fyria (Bouches-du-Rhône). c. 15,000-10,000 B.C. Reddeer bone. Museum of National Antiquities, St.-Germain-en-Laye, France





38. A *Spotted Macropus agilis* (Spotted Kangaroo), also called painting from Western Arnhem Land, North Australia, c. 10,000. Top left

study identifiable ones where the Old Stone Age was of the continent) because there was nothing to challenge or disturb it. The *Bushman* of South Africa and the aboriginals of Australia are, in fact, and very exactly—the last remnants of this primordial phase of man's development. Even their so beautifully Pictorial features (the painting never left from North America (fig. 38), while for less settled than the cave pictures of Europe, shows a similar interest in movement and a less observation of detail (including an "X-ray view" of the inner organ), only here it is dangerous rather than funny to watch the hunting image being worked.

#### FROM HUNTING TO HUSBANDRY

What brought the Old Stone Age to a close has been termed the Neolithic Revolution. And a revolution it was indeed, although it was not a sudden one and was not universal. It began in the Near East sometime about 8000 B.C., when were made their first successful attempts to domesticate animals and food grains—one of the truly specific

making achievements of human history. Pictorial man had led the settled life of the hunter and food gatherer, cropping where nature sowed and then at the mercy of forces which he could neither understand nor control. But now, having learned how to secure their food supply by their own efforts, men settled down in permanent village communities; a new discipline and order entered their lives. There is, then, a very basic difference between the New Stone Age, or Neolithic, and the Old, despite the fact that men still depended on nature as the material of their main needs and weapons. The new mode of life brought forth a number of important new crafts and inventions long before the advent of agriculture: metals, pottery, weaving and spinning, basic methods of architecture, construction in wood, brick, and stone. We know all this from the tangible remains of Neolithic settlements that have been uncovered by excavation. Unfortunately, these remain tell us very little, as a rule, of the spiritual condition of Neolithic man; they include some indications of even greater technical achievement and beauty of shape, and an infinite variety of clay vessels covered with abstract ornamental patterns, but hardly anything comparable to the painting and sculpture of the Paleolithic. Yet the change-over from hunting to husbandry must have been accompanied by profound changes in man's view of himself and the world, and it seems impossible to believe that there did not find expression in art. There may be a real chasm in the development of art here that is hard to so simply because Neolithic artists worked in wood or other unimportant materials. Or perhaps further excavations will help fill the gap, a something glimpse of what has to come that is provided by the very most discoveries of prehistoric art, which include a group of impressive sculptured heads dating from between 6000 and 4000 B.C. (fig. 39). They are as true human heads whose faces have been "reconstructed" in metal plates, with pieces of wax used for the eyes. The subtle and precision of the modeling, the fine gradation of planes and ridges, the feeling for the relationship of flesh and bone would be remarkable enough in themselves, quite apart from the amazingly early date. The features, moreover, do not show a single type, but are a strongly individual one. Here, then, we have the only large-scale sculpture known to us so far between the Upper Paleolithic of c. 10,000 B.C. and the oldest monuments of Mesopotamian art, about 3500 to 3000 B.C.

39. Neolithic "Pottery Head" c. 4000-3000 B.C. Jordan





above: 20. Early Neolithic Wall and Tower.  
c. 5000-4000 B.C. Jericho, Jordan



upper right: 21. Dolmen, c. 4000 B.C. Carnac, Brittany

right, across middle: 22, 23. Stonehenge, c. 2500-1500 B.C.  
Diameter of circle 22, height of stones above ground 23 ft.  
Solisbury Plain, Wiltshire, England

Mysterious as they are, these heads clearly point forward to the latter Neoplate (Fig. 24); they are the first beginnings of a tradition of portraiture that will continue unbroken until the collapse of the Roman Empire. Unlike Prehistoric art, which had grown from the perception of chance images, the Neolithic heads are not intended to "freeze" life but to perpetuate it beyond death by replacing the transient flesh with a more enduring substance. From the circumstances in which these heads were found we gather that they were displayed above ground while the rest of the body was buried beneath the floor of the house; most likely they belonged to deceased ancestors whose beneficial presence was thus assured. Prehistoric man, then, had buried the dead, but we do not know what ideas he associated with the grave — was death merely a return to the womb of mother earth, or did he have some conception of the beyond? The Neolithic heads, on the other hand, suggest that Neolithic man believed in a spirit or soul, located in the head, which could survive the death of the body and exert its power over the fortunes of later generations, and thus had to be appeased or controlled. The preserved heads, apparently, were "spirits



heads," designed to keep the spirit in its original dwelling place. They thus express in stone form the sense of tradition, of family or clan continuity, that was often the central life of Neolithic man in the dying centuries of the Neolithic. And Neolithic Britain was a world community of the most emphatic sort: the people who measured the skulls of their forefathers laid its bones down with real plaster floors, within a fortified town protected by walls and towers of rough but strong masonry construction (Fig. 25). Yet, amazingly enough, they had no pottery, the technique of making clay in a kiln, it seems, was not invented until later.

While the Near East began the study of civilization

order—defined, after all, means to live as a citizen, a civic idealist, the Neolithic Revolution progressed at a very much slower pace in Europe. About 3000 B.C., Near Eastern influence began to spread to the northern shore of the Mediterranean, but because the major trade relations did not make themselves felt until a much later time, in Central and Northern Europe, a quiet population continued to lead the simple rural life of small village communities even after the introduction of bronze and iron, until a few hundred years before the birth of Christ. Thus Neolithic Europe never reached the level of social organization that produced the masterly architecture of Mesopotamia. Instead, we find these megalithic stone structures of a different kind, called megaliths because they consist of huge blocks or boulders placed upon each other without mortar. Their purpose was religious, rather than civic or utilitarian, apparently they remained uncondemned after they required could be compelled only by the authority of religious faith—a faith that almost literally demanded the covering of mountains. If we today view megalithic monuments here as awe-inspiring, as performers art about them, as if they were the work of a forgotten race of giants, Aztec, Aztec or Aztecans, are found, "houses of the dead" with apertures in the walls and a single giant slab for a roof (fig. 14). Others, the so-called cromlechs, form the setting of religious observances. The use of Stonehenge in western England (fig. 15, 16) consists of a great circle of evenly spaced uprights supporting horizontal slabs (lintels) and two inner circles carefully marked, with an altar-like stone at the center. The entire structure is oriented toward the main point at which the sun rises on the day of the summer solstice, and therefore it must have served a sun-worshipping cult. Whether a monument such as this should be termed architecture is a matter of definition: nowadays we tend to

think of architecture in terms of ordered interiors, yet we also have landscape architects, the designers of gardens, parks, and playgrounds; nor would we want to deny the status of architecture to open-air theaters or sports stadiums. Perhaps we ought to consider the ancient Greeks, who coined the term. To them, "architecture" meant something higher than ordinary "house" (that is, "construction" or "building")—much as an architect's studio above a factory or an architect above a host—a structure distinguished from the merely practical, everyday kind by its scale, order, permanence, or solemnity of purpose. A Greek, therefore, would certainly have acknowledged Stonehenge as architecture. And we, too, shall have no difficulty in doing so once we understand that it is not necessary to make space in order to define architecture. If architecture is "the art of shaping space to human needs and aspirations," then Stonehenge more than meets the test.

## PRIMITIVE ART

There are, as we have seen, a few human groups for whom the Old Stone Age lasted until the present day. Modern survivors of the Neolithic are the natives to find. They include the so-called primitive societies of tropical Africa, the Indians of the lower Pacific, and the natives. "Primitive" is a somewhat unfortunate word, it suggests—quite wrongly—that these societies represent the original condition of mankind, and has thus come to be burdened with all sorts of underlying emotional overtones. Still, no other single term will do better. Let us continue, then, to use primitive as a convenient label for a way of life that has passed through the Neolithic Revolution but does not enjoy the rights of evolving in the direction of the "future" civilizations. What this means is that primitive societies are essentially rural and self-sufficient; their social and political units are the village and the tribe, rather than the city and the state; they perpetuate themselves by custom and tradition, without the aid of written records; hence they have little awareness of their own history. The entire pattern of primitive life is more rather than dynamic, without the inner drive for change and expansion that we take for granted in ours. Primitive societies tend to be strongly individualist and diffident toward outsiders; they represent a stable but precarious balance of man and his environment, ill-equipped to survive contact with urban civilizations. Most of them have proved tragically helpless against encroachment by the West. Yet at the same time the cultural heritage of primitive man has enriched our own. His customs and beliefs, his folklore, and his music have been recorded by anthropologists, and primitive art is being avidly collected and exhibited throughout the Western world.

The rewards of this concern with the world of primitive man have been manifold. Among them is a better understanding of the origins of our own culture in the

14. Planned Tomb, from the Tropic River, New Guinea, 19th century. British Museum, London



Medicine of the Near East and Europe. Though the materials on which we base our knowledge of primitive society and its ways are almost invariably of quite recent date—very few of them go back beyond the nineteenth century—they often striking analogies with the Medicine of the distant past; and, of course, they are infinitely richer. Thus the meaning of the cult of skulls as trophies is illustrated by countless parallels in primitive art. The closest, undoubtedly enough, is to be found in the Sepik River district of New Guinea, where skull quite recently were given features to match the same fashions, including the use of real skulls for eyes (fig. 24). And here we know that the purpose was to "bring" and thereby to gain power over the spirit of the dead. On the other hand, the fetiches were probably different from the New Guinea versions in some significant respects, for the sculptured skulls from the Sepik River lack the delicate, realistic modeling of those from Jordan. The painted coloration on the faces, rather than any actual portrait resemblance, reinforces the identity of the deceased. Their sculptured imagery of expressive features is hard for us to think of these heads as works of art, yet they embody the same belief as the splendid wood-carvings of ancestral figures produced in that area, such as the one in figure 25. The entire design is centered on the head, with its intensely staring blind eyes, while the body—as in primitive art generally—has been reduced to the role of a mere support. The limbs suggest the embryonic position in which so many primitive people like to bury their dead. The bird emerging from behind the head with its great wings outspread represents the ancestor's vital spirit or life-force, free in appearance, it must be a figure bird or some other animal ruled by its powers of flight. Its soaring movement, contrasted with the rigidity of the human figure, forms a compelling image—and a strongly familiar one. For our own tradition, too, includes the "bird bird" from the dome of the Holy Sepulchre as the emblem of the Resurrected Messiah, so that we find ourselves responding, almost against our will, to a work of art that in its first place might seem both puzzling and repulsive.

Ancestor worship is the most persistent feature of primitive religions and the strongest cohesive force in primitive society. For since the primitive world consists of countless isolated tribal groups, it can take no other cohesive variety of forms, and its artistic expression varies even more. On Easter Island, for instance, no less huge ancestral figures carved from volcanic rock (fig. 26). Their bodies are human, stiff and columnar, and over several centuries, are hidden from view. Even the carver's effort has again centered on the elongated, craggy features of the face, and the back of the head is suppressed entirely. These figures seem to reflect an impulse akin to that behind the megalithic monuments of Europe, among the native tribes of Oceania. In general, indeed, the skulls of ancestors used to be collected in large containers that were protected by a carved guardian figure, a sort of communal

25. *High Figure Adorned by a Bird* from the Sepik River, New Guinea, 19th century. Wood, height 4 ft. Washington University Art Collection, St. Louis



26. *Stone Images*, 19th century or earlier. On the shore of Rapa Nui, Easter Island





above: 21. *Queen's Figure*, from the Ndumu area, Gambia, UpperGuinea, 19th-20th centuries. Wood covered with bees, height 20". Anthropology Collection of the University, Toronto



to right: 22. *Queen's Figure*, from the Ndumu area, Gambia, UpperGuinea, 19th-20th centuries. Wood covered with bees and paper, height 20 1/2". Collection Charles Bates, Paris

right: 23. *Male Figure's Head*, from the Ndumu area, UpperGuinea, height 12 1/2". Collection the City of St.

dwelling place of the ancestral spirits. Figure 21 shows such a goddess in the form traditional among the Ndumu. The style, like a number of others along the coast from Central Africa, was familiar with traditional motifs to some extent, so that its artists were able to describe their goddess images in polished terms, thus endowing them with special importance. This figure has an excellent example of the geometric abstraction which colors, less greatly or less often, throughout the realm of primitive art. Except for the head, the entire design has been reduced into a single plane; body and limbs are constructed to shallow diamond shapes, the headpiece consists of two segments of circles. The face, in contrast, is a concave oval within which two spherical eyes and a pointed-line nose make as they would in the center of a disk. The effect of the whole is extraordinarily calm, disciplined, and harmonious—a truly balanced response of shapes so unaggressive that one might almost mistake it for mere decoration. Surely this goddess could not





have been meant to frighten anybody. Tribal masks are not readily betrayed, hence the available accounts do not tell us very much about the exact significance of the Bakwile guardian. It seems reasonable, however, to explain their extreme remoteness from nature—and the almost-totally abstract or generalized—as an effective wayward the "otherness" of the spirit world, to distance it as strongly as the artist's imagination could allow from the world of everyday appearances. Well and good—but how are we to account for the varying degrees of abstraction in primitive art? What we assume that the more abstract in form, the more "spiritual" or meaning? If so, does the difference between the Bakwile and Nigile River figures reflect an equally great difference in the kinds of ancestor worship from which they spring, or are there perhaps other factors to be taken into account as well?

As it happens, the Bakwile guardian provides a good test for these assumptions. They have been collected in considerable numbers, and the differences among them are notable even though they all clearly belong to a single type and must have been employed for exactly the same purposes. One second specimen (fig. 41) is almost identical with the first, except for the head, which in comparison seems almost grotesquely realistic; its shape is strongly convex rather than concave, and every detail has an unmistakable representational meaning. This face, with its open mouth full of pointed teeth, is obviously designed to frighten. Here, we feel, is a guardian figure that does indeed live up to its function. Yet the members of the collection do share one function, for they found the more abstract guardian figures equally acceptable. What, then, is the relation between the two? They were probably made at different times, but the interval could not have been more than a century or two, inasmuch as wooden sculpture does not survive for long under tropical conditions, and European traders, so far as we know, did not begin to bring back any Bakwile guardians until the eighteenth century. In any event, given the highly conservative nature of primitive society, we can hardly believe that the ancestor cult of the Bakwile underwent any significant change during the time span that separates figure 27 from figure 28. Which of them came first, or—to put the question more accurately—which represents the older, more nearly original version? Figure 28, surely, since we cannot imagine how its realistic features could have evolved from the spare geometry of figure 27. The line-of-development then leads from figure 28 to figure 27, from representation to abstraction (we also have a good many intermediate examples). This change seems to have taken place while the religious meaning remained the same. What we then credit the primitive artist and his public with an interest in abstraction for its own sake? The hardly credible possible. There is, I think, a far more explanation: the increasingly abstract quality of the Bakwile guardian evolved from endless repetition. We don't know how many such figures were in use at the same time, but the numbers must have been considerable,



30. Bakwile, from Senegal, Nigeria.  
Late eighteenth century. Height 197 cm.  
The Museum of Primitive Art, New York

since each guardian presided over a cemetery of not more than a dozen skulls. Their life expectancy being limited, they had to be replaced at frequent intervals, and the conservative temper of primitive society guaranteed that every new guardian followed the pattern of its predecessor. But, as we know, no copy is ever completely faithful to its model, so long as the repeated the basic outlines of the traditional design, the Bakwile carver enjoyed a certain latitude. Not on level of the many surviving guardian figures have exactly the same facial structure. Whether these slight variations were even expected of him, or—to distinguish the newly created guardian from the one it replaced. Any gesture or shape that is endlessly repeated tends to lose its original character—it becomes ground down, simplified, more abstract. We see a good example of this in the ideographs of Chinese writing, which started out as they please but before long lost all trace of their representational origin and became more signs. The same kind of transformation, although not nearly so far-reaching, can be traced among the Bakwile guardians: they grew simpler and more abstract, since this was the only direction in which they could develop. One might term what happened to them "abstraction by infatuation." We have discussed the process at such length because it is a fundamental characteristic of traditional

primitive art, though we cannot often observe it so clearly as in the case of the Bakula figures. But let us be careful not to make a superficial view of this "interesting." It has its dangers, to be sure, but it also leads to the creation of an infinite variety of new and distinctive designs, both in art and in nature (as witness the vast number of masks among dogs all of them the result of interesting). Finally, we should note that "imitation by interesting" does have its ultimate source in the primitive artist's concern with the substance of the spirit world (for it is in this concern that makes him repeat the same designs over and over again). After all, if he sets out to create a question of material skills, the only model he can use is another such question figure, and he cannot know whether he has succeeded unless he has succeeded unless the two resemble each other.

The interesting of images in primitive art can be illustrated in two ways: there may have been the intermingling of different tribal traditions as the consequence of migration or conquest, or conditions may have developed from a source in the world of visible appearances. Such conditions prevailed for a time along the coast of Equatorial Africa a few hundred miles northwest of Gabon. There, through contact with the famous civilizations of the Mediterranean, a number of native kingdoms arose, but

none of these proved very enduring. A king, unlike a tribal chieftain, bases his authority on the claim that it has been given to him by supernatural forces; he rules "by the grace of God," imitating the divine will in his own person, or he may even assume the status of a deity himself. There are thus no inherent limits, ethnic, linguistic, or otherwise, to royal authority. Every king is a king in theory, all-compassing. Hence his domain is not only larger and more complex than that of the tribal chief; he also has to exact far greater obedience from his subjects. He does so with the aid of a favored ruling class, the nobles, to whom he delegates some of his authority. They enforce morality and order among the rest of the population, which in turn must support the nobleship and the royal court by contributing a share of its goods and services. The institution of kingship, then, demands a society divided into classes, rather than the loose association of family or clan groups that makes up a tribe. It means the victory of the town over the countryside, and thus runs counter to the rural nature of primitive life. The African kingdoms never quite achieved this victory, so their instability is perhaps not surprising. The decisive factor may have been their failure to develop an adequate system of writing. They existed, as it were, along the coast

30. Masking Woman, from the Bakula area, Congo, eighteenth century. Wood, height 18 1/2".

Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo, Tervuren, Belgium.



31. Mask, from Kipeta, Lushoto District, north-western Tanganyika, height 21".

National Museum, Leipzig-G.D.R. (Phot. Collection)





33. Mask, from the Benue area, Cameroon.  
16th-18th century. Wood, height 40 1/2".  
Barbier Museum, Zurich (E. & J. Mendi Collection)



34. Mask, from the Gwaka Province, New Britain.  
19th-20th century. Dark stone, height 27".  
Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico

edge of the historic civilizations, and their rise and fall, therefore, are known to us only in dim and fragmentary fashion.

Artistically, the most impressive remains of these van-  
ished native kingdoms are the portrait heads excavated  
at Ife, Nigeria, comparable to the work of the lower course  
of the Niger River. Some are of terracotta, others, such  
as the splendid example in figure 33, of bronze. The cast-  
ing technique, called the lost-wax process (see page 10),  
surely had been imported from the Mediterranean, but  
it was used here with great skill; the actual modeling in  
clay or wax over an earthen core, another layer of earth  
is finely packed around the head, the whole is then heated  
to melt out the wax, and molten bronze is poured into  
the hollow thus created. Even more astonishing than its  
technical refinement, however, is the subtle and accurate  
realism of our life head. The features are thoroughly in-  
dividualized, yet so harmonious and so close to expression as to  
recall the classical art of Greco-Roman (see companion  
7 and fig. 28). At the time this head was produced, the  
twelfth century A.D., nothing of comparable character can  
be found in Europe. Only the ritual mask on the face, and  
the headdress for attacking hair and beard, whose in-  
dividualism is absolute; thus, and the purpose for which it was  
made—ritualistic worship. Our head, together with its com-  
panion, must have formed part of a long series of por-  
traits of great rulers, and the use of real hair—probably  
hair taken from the person represented—strongly suggests  
that these heads were prepared as "trags" for the spirits  
of the deceased. But along the rulers each had individual

importance, their spirits, unlike those of the ritual ances-  
tors, could not be merged into an impersonal collective  
entity; in order to be an effective trag, every head had  
to be an authentic, clearly distinguishable portrait. It is  
possible, in fact, that these heads were made (if not of  
bronze, then at least of terracotta) while their subjects  
were still alive, and became spirit trags only after the  
ruler's death, through the addition of the hair. Clearly,  
each of these heads is unique and irreplaceable. It had  
to last forever, hence it was executed in luxurious bronze  
rather than wood. It is no accident, then, that the Ife  
heads bear a closer resemblance to the Greek skulls  
than to the ancient figures of primitive art, for the rulers  
of Ife had indeed recognized something of the other-  
worldly quality of the heroic ancestor cult.

The bronze technique of Ife was handed on to the king-  
doms of Benin, which arose in the same area and did not  
disappear until the early eighteenth century. In addition  
to ancestor heads, the artists of Benin produced a vast  
variety of works that had nothing to do with the spirit  
world but served to glorify the ruler and his court. The  
Shediver (the pot) is a characteristic specimen of this  
art for display. By the standards of primitive sculpture  
as a whole, it seems exceptionally realistic, but when  
measured against the art of Ife it betrays its close kinship  
with ritual wood carvings in its emphasis on the head  
and the geometric simplification of every detail.

Thus primitive man should prefer to think of the spirits  
of his ancestors collectively, as did the Baloma, rather  
than in terms of separate individuals, is not at all surpris-



21. Mask (Hahlicho), from southwest Alaska.  
Early 19th century. Wood, length 17".

Museum of the American Indian, New Foundation, New York

ing in view of the extremely fluid nature of the religious beliefs. Such religious beliefs have been universal solutions, for to the primitive mind a spirit exists in every living thing. He will feel that he must appease the spirit of a tree before he cuts it down, but the spirit of any particular tree is also part of a collective "tree-spirit" which in turn merges into a general "life-spirit." Other spirits dwell in the earth, in rivers and lakes, in the sun, in sea and moon, and others deemed to be appeased in order to promote fertility or cure disease. Their dwelling places may be given the shape of human figures, in which case such spirit creatures achieve enough of a visible identity to be termed as rudimentary icons. This seems to be true of the very fine *Kwakiutl* *Wimowit* (p. 1) produced by the Hahlicho tribe of the Copper region, though little is known about her direct significance. The figure is among the graven and least abstract of all ritual carvings, and her traditional expression, as well as the better level, suggest a considerable of imagination or divination.

In dealing with the spirit world, primitive man was not content to perform rituals or to present offerings before the spirit beings; he needed to get out his relations with the spirit world through dance and similar dramatic ceremonies in which he himself could temporarily as-

sume the role of the spirit being by disguising himself with elaborate masks and costumes. The origin of these dance masks goes back as far as the Old Stone Age (see fig. 15), and there are indications that animal disguises were worn even then. In primitive society, the acting-out ceremonies assumed a vast variety of patterns and purposes, and the costumes, always with a mask as the central feature, became correspondingly varied and elaborate. Not far from the fascination of the mask that we see this day, we will find the thrill of a real change of identity when we wear one at Halloween or carnival time, and among the folk customs of the European peasants there were, until recently, certain survivals of pre-Christian ceremonies in which the participants impersonated deities by means of animal masks of truly primitive character (see fig. 14). Masks from by far the richest chapter in primitive art—the proliferation of shapes, materials, and functions in almost countless forms—the manner of wearing these masks surprisingly, were never only the face, where the entire head, came out on the shoulders, some may be worn above the head, attached to a headband or atop a pole. There are masks of human form, ranging from the realistic to the monstrous, and animal masks or combinations of both in every conceivable form. There are also masks that are not made to be worn at all but to be displayed independently as images complete in themselves. The few examples reproduced here are chosen so more than the clearest suggestion of the wealth of the available material. Their meaning, more often than not, is impossible to ascertain; the ceremonies which they served usually had elements of secrecy that were jealously guarded from the uninitiated, especially if the performers themselves formed a secret society. This emphasis on the mysterious and spectacular not only heightened the dramatic impact of the ritual, it also permitted the makers of masks to strive for imaginative new effects, so that masks in general are less subject to traditional restrictions than other kinds of primitive sculpture.

Alaskan masks, such as the one in figure 21, are distinguished for symmetry of design and the precision and sharpness of their carving. In our example, the features of the human face have not been exaggerated but restrained, so to speak, with the tremendous emphasis being placed on the rest like a protective canopy. The solidity of these shapes becomes strikingly evident as we turn to the third, ghostly features of the mask from the *Canalic Peninsula* on the island of New Britain in the South Pacific, made of bark cloth over a bamboo frame (fig. 24). It is meant to represent an animal spirit, and to be a terrible, and was worn in ceremonial ceremonies by dancers carrying snakes. Even stranger is the *Salikwa* mask from southwest Alaska (fig. 25), with its experimental design of seemingly unrelated elements, especially the dangling "horns" or sticks attached to curved "whiskers." The single eye and the mouth full of teeth are the only recognizable details in the sculpture, yet to those who know how to "read" this assembly of shapes it is the condensed





24. *Lightning, Snake, Wolf, and Phoenix* (also in color) White Mountain, c. 1870. Photo by Frank W. The American Museum of Natural History, New York



25. *Wind Painting* (also in color) Child (Navajo), Arizona

Survivors of the United States, its male practitioners today are the Navajos of Arizona. The techniques, which demand considerable skill, consist of pouring powdered rock or earth of various colors on a flat bed of sand. Despite the (perhaps because of) the fact that they are impermanent and must be made that the earth receive their thoughts, they, the designs are rightly known to tradition; they are, indeed, the chief or a prime example of abstraction by intuiting. The various compositions are rather like recipes, prescribed by the medicine man and "blown" under his supervision by the patient. For the most use of sand paintings is in connection of healing.

That these ceremonies are sessions of great emotional intensity on the part of both doctor and patient is well attested by our illustrations. Such a ceremony—as even, at times, identity—of prayer, healing, and vision may be difficult to understand in modern Western terms. It could be that all these qualities are present, though not in an equal degree, in the personality and work of Wladimir Freud's. But the primitive man, trying to heal nature or his needs by magic and ritual, the three functions must have appeared as different aspects of a single process. And the success or failure of this process was to him quite literally a matter of life and death.

## PART ONE / THE ANCIENT WORLD

### 2. Egyptian Art

History, we are often told, begins with the invention of writing, some four-thousand years ago. It makes convenient head-work, for the true events do coincide in a rough way, and the absence of written records is nearly one of the key differences between prehistoric and historic eras: but as soon as we ask why this is so, we face some intriguing problems. First of all, how valid is the distinction between "prehistoric" and "historic"? Does it merely reflect a difference in our knowledge of the past? (Thanks to the invention of writing, we do know a great deal more about history than about prehistory.) Or was there a genuine change in the way things happened—in the kinds of things that happened—after "history" began? Obviously, prehistory was far from successful: the road from hunting to herding is a long and arduous one. Yet the change in man's conditions that mark this road, decisive though they are, were incredibly slow-paced and gradual when measured against the events of the past four years. The beginning of history, then, marks a sudden increase in the speed of events, a shifting from low into high gear, as it were. And we shall see that it also means a change in the kind of events.

Perhaps it is merely a matter of perspective—things that are new to us look bigger—but I do not think so. For the problems and pressures faced by historic eras are very different from those that confronted Paleolithic or Neolithic man. Prehistory might be defined as that phase of human existence during which man as a species learned how to maintain himself against a hostile environment, his achievements were exposure to threats of physical extinction. With the domestication of animals and food plants, he had won a decisive victory in this

battle, ensuring his survival on this planet. But the Neolithic Revolution placed him on a level at which he might well have remained indefinitely, the forces of nature—at least during that geological time—would never again challenge him as they had Paleolithic man. And in many parts of the globe, as we saw in the previous chapter, man was content to stay on the "Neolithic plateau" of primitive society. In a few places, however, the Neolithic balance of man and nature was upset by a new force, a threat posed not by nature but by man himself. The serious movement in that direction was in the fortifications of Neolithic Jericho (see fig. 2), constructed almost four-thousand years ago. What was the cause of the human conflict that made these necessary? Competition for grazing land among tribes of herders, or for arable soil among farming communities? The latter, most, we suspect, was that the Neolithic Revolution had been too successful in this area, permitting the local population to grow beyond the available food supply. This situation might have been resolved in a number of ways: constant tribal warfare could have reduced the population; or the people could have settled in larger and more disciplined social units for the sake of ambitious group efforts that no loosely organized tribal society would have been able to achieve. The fortifications at Jericho were an example of this kind, requiring sustained and specialized labor over a long period. We do not know the outcome of the struggle in that region. (Later excavations may tell us how far the urbanizing process extended) but about four-thousand years later similar conditions, on a larger scale, arose in the Nile valley and that of the Tigris and Euphrates, and from these conflicts grew the pressure to produce a



an Alas, there, and almost  
wall paintings.

4,000 B.C. (Neolithic period)

are kind of unity, very much more complex and efficient than had ever existed before.

Since this point that we find the pace of events shifting into high gear. Three centuries pass literally made his way; they are only brought forth "great men and great deeds"—the traditional definition of history—by demanding human effort on a new and larger scale, but they make their achievements memorable. In order to be memorable, an event must be more than "worth remembering"; it must also be accomplished quickly enough to be grasped by human memory, and so spread over many centuries, as was the "Nubian Revolution." From now on, first in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and later in neighboring areas, as well as in the Indian valley and along the Yellow River in China, man went to live in a new, dynamic world, where their capacity to organize was challenged not by the force of nature but by human forces—by tensions and conflicts arising either within society or as the result of competition between societies. These efforts to cope with his human environment have proved to be greater challenges to man than his earlier struggle with nature; they are the cause of the ever-accelerating pace of events during the past 3,000 years. The invention of writing was an early and indispensable accomplishment of the historic civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Without it, the growth we have known would have been impossible. We do not know the native phases of its development, but it must have taken several hundred years (between 3500 and 3000 B.C., roughly speaking, with Mesopotamia in the lead, after the new societies were already past their first stage. History was well under way by the time writing could be used to record events).

## THE OLD KINGDOM

Egyptian civilization has long been regarded as the most rigid and conservative ever. Few will that Egyptian art lasted unchanged in 3,000 years. Perhaps "conservative" and "continuous" are better terms for it, although at first glance all Egyptian art between 3000 and 2500 B.C. does hardly have a certain sameness. There is a format of work in this: the basic patterns of Egyptian institutions, beliefs, and artistic ideas was formed during the first few centuries of that vast span of years and kept repeating itself until the very end. We shall see, however, that as time went on this basic pattern went through ever more areas even that challenged its ability to survive. And it has so inflexible as supposed, it would have succumbed long before it finally did. Egyptian art alternates between conservatism and innovation, but in never more. Some of its great achievements had a decisive influence on Greek and Roman art, and thus we can still feel ourselves linked to the Egypt of 3000 years ago by a continuous, living tradition.

The history of Egypt is divided into dynasties of rulers, in accordance with ancient Egyptian practice, beginning with the First Dynasty, shortly before 3000 B.C. The dates of the earliest rulers are difficult to translate exactly into our calendar. The transition from prehistory to the First Dynasty is known as the predynastic period. The Old Kingdom forms the first major division after that, ending about 2150 B.C. with the overthrow of the Sixth Dynasty. This method of creating historic time conveys at once the strong Egyptian sense of continuity and the overwhelming importance of the Pharaoh (king), who was not only the supreme ruler but a god. We have had



27, 28. Palettes of King Narmer from Hierakonpolis, c. 3100 B.C. (left, right of). Egyptian Museum, Cairo



continued to mention the main features of kingship before (see page 25), the Pharaoh transcended them all, for his kingship was not a duty or privilege derived from supernatural sources, but was absolute, divine. However, about his status my notes in 50, and however ineffective it was in practice at times of political disturbances, it remained the key feature of Egyptian civilization. For as it has particular importance because it very largely determined the character of Egyptian art, we do not know nearly the ways by which the early Pharaohs established their claim to divinity, but we know their heroic achievements: building the Nile valley from the first cataract at Assuan to the Delta into a single, effective state, and increasing its fertility by regulating the annual inundation of its river waters through dams and canals.

Of these vast public works nothing remains today, and very little has survived of ancient Egyptian palaces and cities. Our knowledge of Egyptian civilization comes almost entirely on the walls and their contents. This is no accident, since these walls were built to last forever. Yet we must not make the mistake of concluding that the Egyptians viewed life on this earth mainly as a road to the grave. Their preoccupation with the life of the dead is a tale with the Middle Ages, but the meaning they gave it was quite new and different: the dark land of the spirit of the dead which dominates primitive ancestor religions entirely absent. Instead, the Egyptian attitude was that each man must provide for his own happy afterlife. He would equip his tomb as a kind of shadowy replica of his daily environment for his spirit, but he would not, and would make sure that he had a body to dwell in his own immortal corpse as, if that should be damaged, a statue of himself's. There is a curious blurring of the sharp line between life and death here, and perhaps that was the essential impulse behind these tomb houses. In this, a man who knew that after death his life would enjoy the same pleasures he did, and who had provided these pleasures in advance for his own efforts, could look forward to an afterworld happy life without being haunted by fear of the great unknown. In a sense, then, the Egyptian tomb was a kind of life insurance, an investment in peace of mind. Such, at least, is the impression one gains of Old Kingdom tombs. Later on, the security of this concept of death was disturbed by a tendency to subvert the spirit or soul into two or more separate abodes, and by the introduction of a sort of judgment, a weighing of souls, and it is only then that we also find expressions of the fear of death.

An early stage in the development of Egyptian funerary customs—and of Egyptian art—can be seen in the fragment of a wall painting from a predynastic tomb at Hierakonpolis (fig. 30), which also happens to be the oldest known picture on a man-made flat surface, a brick wall. The design is still decidedly primitive in character—an area containing of forms over the entire surface. It is instructive to note, however, that the human and animal figures tend to become standardized, abbreviated



22. Seated *Queen of Sais*, from Harem, 25th-26th Dyn. (Wood, height 67", Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

"rigid," almost stiff they were on the verge of losing the hieroglyphic look as we see in fig. 31c. The large white shapes are heads; their significance here seems to be that of funeral barges or "vessels of the soul," since that is their role in later tombs. The black and white figures above the topmost boat are mourning women, their arms spread out in a gesture of grief. For the rest, the picture does not appear to have any coherence as a scene nor any symbolic import; perhaps we ought to view it as an early attempt at those typical scenes of daily life that we meet several centuries later in Old Kingdom tombs (figs. 35, 36).

At the time of the Hierakonpolis tomb—about 3500 B.C.—Egypt was in process of leaving the use of human mummies. The country, we may assume, was ruled by a number of local overlords and was far removed from the status of unified state. The light versus black-headed and white-headed soil in the painting probably

colleagues were on strike (but of those emerged two rival kingdoms, Upper and Lower Egypt). The struggle between them was ended when one of the Upper Egyptian kings, called Menes in later accounts, won a decisive victory over Lower Egypt and combined the two realms. He is probably identical with King Narmer, who appears on the strange but impressive object in figure 47 and as a conventional state emblem celebrating a victory over Lower Egypt (one of the different powers vying for the kingship, too, comes from Theban territory, but otherwise it has little to do with the wall painting). In many ways, the Narmer palette was taken to be the oldest historical work of art we know; not only is it the earliest surviving image of a human personage identified by name, but its character is clearly far longer primitive; in fact, it already shows most of the features of Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom and later. If only we had enough preserved material to trace it by step the evolution that led from the wall paintings to this palette!

Let us first "read" the scenes on both sides. The fact that we are able to do so is another indication that we have left prehistory all behind. For the meaning of these things is made clear and explicit not only by means of hieroglyphic labels, but also through the use of a broad range of visual symbols conveying precise messages to the beholder, and—most important of all—through the disciplined, rational underliness of the design. In figure 47, Narmer has seized a fallen enemy by the hair and is about to slay him with his knife; two more defeated enemies are placed in the bottom compartment (the small rectangular shape next to the man on the left stands for a felled tree or standard). Facing the king in the upper right we see a complete lot of papyrus (meaning a lotus standing above a clump of papyrus plants holds a lotus attached to a lotus leaf which "grows" from the water) and the papyrus. This composite image actually represents the more common symbolic lotus (the lotus and papyrus plants stand for Lower Egypt, while the clustery lotus is Upper, the lotus bud of Upper Egypt). The pointed lotus (Narmer and Narmer are the same), a god (although not human like Narmer), Narmer's gesture must not be taken as representing a hot fight; the enemy is helpless from the very start, and the slaying is actual rather than a play-act. We gather this from the fact that Narmer has taken off his sandals (he never official before, how comes there to be right hands, an indication that he is standing on holy ground, on the other side of the palette (fig. 47) he again wears sandals, followed by

the model statue, as he marches in solemn procession behind a group of standard-bearers to inspect the decapitated bodies of prisoners. (The same action occurs in the Old Testament, apparently as the result of Egyptian influence, when the Lord commands Moses to remove his shoes before the appears to him in the burning bush.)

The bottom compartment is made the victory over again on a symbolic level, with the Pharaoh represented as a strong bull trampling an enemy and trampling down a standard. (A bull's tail hanging down from his hole is shown in both images of Narmer (it was to assume a part of Pharaoh's ceremonial garb for the next 3000 years.) Only the center section fails to convey an explicit meaning: the two long-necked birds and their attendants have no identifying attributes and may well be a carry-over from earlier, purely ornamental paintings. In any event, they do not happen in Egyptian art.

We have discussed these motifs at such length because we must grasp their content in order to understand their formal qualities, their style. We have avoided this term until now and it is necessary to constant on it briefly before we proceed. Style is derived from other, the setting (context) of the ancient Romans; originally, it referred to distinctive ways of writing—the shape of the letters as well as the choice of words. Nowadays, however, style is used loosely to mean the distinctive way a thing is done in any field of human endeavor. It is simply a term of praise in most cases. "to have style" means to have distinction, to stand out. But something else is implied, too, which comes to the fore if we ask ourselves what we mean when we say that something "has no style." Such a thing, we feel, is not only undistinguished but also undistinguishable; in other words, we do not know how to classify it, how to put it into its proper context, because it seems to be pointing in several directions at once. If a thing that has style, then, we expect that it must not be inconsistent within itself, that it must have an inner coherence, or unity, a sense of wholeness, of being all of a piece. This is the quality we select in things that have style, for it has a way of impressing itself upon us even if we do not know what particular kind of style is involved. In the visual arts, style means the particular way in which the forms that make up any given work of art are chosen and fitted together. To us historians the study of styles is of central importance; it is not only enables them to find out, by means of careful analysis and comparison, when and where (and by whom) a given work was produced, but it also helps them to understand the artist's intention as expressed through the style of his work. This intention depends on both the artist's personality and the setting in which he lives and works. Accordingly, we speak of "period styles" if we are concerned with those features which distinguish, for example, Egyptian art as a whole from Greek art. And within these broad period styles we in turn distinguish the styles of particular phases, such as the Old Kingdom, or, wherever it seems appropriate, we differentiate national or local styles within a period, until

47. Group of Menes (after A. Huxford), 3000 B.C.







42 Papyrus-Bundle Columns, North Palace,  
Saqqara, Tomb of King Zoser, Saqqara

never lost its ceremonial, sacred flavor, even when, in later times, it had to serve other purposes as well.

The full beauty of the style which we saw in the Narmer palette does not become apparent until about three centuries later, during the Third Dynasty, and especially under the reign of King Zoser, who was its greatest figure. From the ranks of Memphis, one of Zoser's high officials, comes the masterly wooden relief (fig. 43) showing the monument with the columns of his tomb. (These include writing materials, since the position of writer was a highly honored one.) The view of the figure corresponds exactly to that of Narmer on the palette, for the proportions are far more balanced and harmonious, and the carving of the physical details shows more observation as well as great deftness of touch.

When we look at the Egyptian's attitude toward death and afterlife as expressed in their tombs, we must be careful not to make it clear that we do not mean the attitude of the average Egyptian but only that of the small aristocratic class clustered around the royal court. The tombs of the members of this class of high officials, for example, were relatives of the royal family or are usually found in the immediate neighborhood of the Pharaoh's tombs, and their shape and contents, relief, or are related to, the funerary monuments of the divine king. We still have a great deal to learn about the origin and significance of Egyptian tombs, but there is reason to believe that the concepts of afterlife we find in the so-called private tombs did not apply to ordinary mortals but only to the privileged few because of their association with the immortal Pharaoh. The rounded form of these tombs was the mastaba, a square-headed vault with brick or stone, above the burial chamber, which was deep underground and linked to the mound by a shaft (fig. 44). Inside

the mastaba is a chapel for offerings to the dead and a secret entrance for the statue of the deceased. Royal mastabas grew to conspicuous size as early as the First Dynasty, and their interiors could be elaborated to resemble a royal palace. During the Third Dynasty, they developed into step pyramids. The first known (and probably the first) is that of King Zoser (fig. 45), built over a traditional mastaba (see plan, fig. 46). The pyramidal mastaba, unlike later examples, is a completely solid structure whose only purpose seems to have been to serve as a great landmark.

The modern imagination, measured off "the silence of the pyramid," is apt to create a false picture of these monuments. They were not created as isolated structures in the middle of the desert, but as part of vast funerary domains, with temples and other buildings which were the scene of great religious celebrations during the Pharaoh's lifetime as well as after. The most difficult of these is the funerary domain around the pyramidal of Zoser: enough of its architecture has survived to make us astonished why its cloister, forecourt, came to be dubbed in later Egyptian tradition. He is the first artist whose name has been recorded in history, and deservedly so, since his achievement is more impressive even today.

Egyptian architecture had begun with structures made of mud bricks, wood, reeds, and other light materials. Inherently, such was more temporary, but its repertoire of architectural forms had collected shapes to be less developed for less enduring materials. Thus we find columns of round kinds: always "engaged" rather than free-standing, which when the bundles of reeds or the mud, as happens that used to be an inner mud-brick walls in order to strengthen them. But the way that these members no longer had their original functional purpose made it possible for the forecourt and its fellow architects to redesign them so as to make them serve a new, expressive purpose. The notion that architectural forms can express anything may seem difficult to grasp as they today we tend to assume that unless these forms have a clear-cut structural service to perform (such as supporting or enclosing), they are mere surface decoration. But let us look at the details, repeating found columns in figure 47, or the papyrus-bundle half-columns in figure 48: these do not simply decorate the walls to which they are attached, but interpret them and give them life, as it were. Their proportions, the feeling of strength or weakness they convey, their spacing, the figure to which they project, all stand in this task. We shall learn more about their expressive role when we discuss Greek architecture, which took over the Egyptian stone column and developed it further. For the time being, let us note one additional factor that may enter into the design and use of such columns: announcing the symbolic purpose of the building. The papyrus-bundle columns in figure 47 are linked with Lower Egypt (compare the papyrus plants in fig. 48), hence they appear in the North Palace of Zoser's funerary domain. The South Palace has



columns of different shapes, to evoke its association with Upper Egypt.

The development of the pyramid reaches its climax during the Fourth Dynasty in the famous row of great pyramids at Giza (fig. 25), all of them of the familiar, smooth-sided shape. They originally had an inner casing of carefully dressed stone, which has disappeared except near the top of the pyramid of Chephren. Each of the three differs slightly from the others in details of design and construction; the essential features are shown in the section of the earliest and largest, that of Cheops (fig. 26); the burial chamber is now near the center of the structure, rather than below ground as in the pyramid of Djoser. Clustered about the three great pyramids are several smaller ones and a large number of mastabas for members of the royal family and high officials, but the unified funerary district of Giza has gone away to a simpler arrangement: adjoining each of the great pyramids is the real but a funerary temple, from which a processional way leads to a second temple at a lower level, in the Nile valley, at a distance of about a third of a mile. Near to the valley temple of the second pyramid, that of Chephren, stands the great sphinx carved from the live rock (fig. 27), perhaps an even more impressive emblem of divine kingship than the pyramids themselves. The royal head rising from the body of a lion traces to a height of 43 feet, and here, in all probability, the features of Chephren shined upon during his lifetime. Its enormous majesty is such that a thousand years later it could be regarded as an image of the sovereign.

Entrepreneur of the huge scale made the high point of Pharaonic power. After the end of the Fourth Dynasty (over two thousand years after Giza) they were never attempted again, although pyramids on a much more modest scale continued to be built. The world has always marveled at the sheer size of the great pyramids as well

25. The Pyramids of Giza (top to left, Chephren to 2500 B.C.; and Cheops to 2550 B.C.). Giza.

26. North-south section of the Pyramid of Cheops (after L. Borchardt).



27. The Great Sphinx, a large lion, Heliopolis, Egypt.





22. *Cleopatra, from Esna c. 1750 B.C., Esna, height 96".*  
Egyptian Museum, Cairo

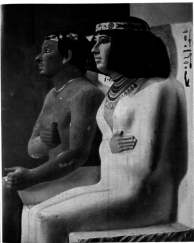
as at the technical accomplishments they represent, but they have also come to be regarded as symbols of sheer labor—demands of men forced by cruel masters to serve the aggrandizement of abstracted rulers. Such a picture may well be unjust: certain records have been preserved indicating that the labor was paid for, so that we are probably seeing the result of an unjust distribution of wealth in vast public works providing economic security for a great part of the population.

Again from its architectural achievements, the chief glory of Egyptian art, during the Old Kingdom and later, is the portrait statue recovered from funerary temples and tombs. One of the finest is that of Cleopatra, from the valley temple of the pyramid (fig. 22's *Curved of death*, a stone of ancient limestone, it shows the king-uniformed, with the falcon of the god Horus embossed the back of the head with its wings (see accompanying the inscription, in different form, on the Harmer papyrus, fig. 24). From the Egyptian workshop's "water" view of the human form

appears in full form: clearly, the sculptor prepared the statue by drawing its front and side views on the faces of a rectangular block just then worked around until these views met. The result is a figure almost compensating in its three-dimensional form and solidity, truly a masterpiece meant for the spirit! The body, well proportioned and powerfully built, is completely impersonal, only the face suggests some individual traits, as will be seen if we compare it with that of Myntias (fig. 25). Cleopatra's nose and the features of the third pyramid at Giza, Myntias, accompanied by his queen, is standing. Both have the left foot placed forward, yet there is no hint of forward inclination. Since the two are almost of the same height, they afford an interesting comparison of male and female beauty as interpreted by

25. *Myntias and his queen from Giza c. 1750 B.C.,*  
height 27". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston





Colophon's, Brooklyn, Peter Mathias and the Wife of  
Horus (above). Petrosi's, height 27 1/2". Egyptian Museum, Cairo



*Tutankhamun's Funerary Mask of the Coffin of Tutankhamun (partially shown)*  
 (about 1350 B.C.). Gold inlaid with enamel and semiprecious stones, height of whole 19 1/2". Egyptian Museum, Cairo



one of the finest of Old Kingdom sculpture, who knew not only how to enhance the direction of the two bodies but also how to emphasize the soft, swelling form of the spine through the undriven drapery. The sculptor who carved the statue of Prince Hekenu and his wife Nefer (catalogue 11) was less subtle in this regard. There are few strikingly better opportunities to the visual poetry, which they must have shared with other such statues but which has survived completely intact only in a few instances. The darker body color of the prince has no noticeable equivalent; it is the standard masculine complexion in Egyptian art. The eyes have been inlaid with shining quartz to make them look as alive as possible, and the general character of the face is very pleasant.

Standing and seated figures comprise the basic repertory of Egyptian monumental sculpture in the second. At the end of the Fourth Dynasty, a third pose was added, as symmetrical and inevitable as the first two: that of the reclining figure stretched on the ground. The first of these statues dates from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (fig. 24). The name of the donor is whose death at Saqqara the statue was found is unknown, but we must not think of him as a lowly secretary waiting to take dictation; rather, the figure represents a high court official, a "master of sword and bow—horseman" and the cold, incisive treatment of him befits the dignity



24. Seated female (Queen Sappes) c. 2400 B.C.  
Luxor, Egypt. Height 27". The Louvre, Paris.

25. Seated Head of a Prince, from Giza, c. 2600 B.C.  
Luxor, Egypt. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



of his station (which in the beginning seems to have been restricted to the sons of Pharaohs). Our example stands not only for the steadily alert expression of the face, but also for the individual handling of the torso, which marks the somewhat bulky body of a man just middle age.

Among the most striking portraits of the Old Kingdom are the so-called reserve heads, which have been found in the tombs of some members of the royal household at Giza (fig. 25). Their purpose is not entirely clear—they were placed next to the buried chamber underground, not in the stone chamber of the tomb, so they may have been intended either as reserve heads for the ka (soul) or as substitute images; they show a peculiar concentration on the face, with the rest of the head is turned in the most customary fashion. Considering it is a reserve rather than the finished version of keeping the head of the deceased separate from the body, as indicated (see page 27) if that is in fact, their emphasis on the underlying permanent structure of the human face makes them particularly appealing to modern eyes.

Before we leave the Old Kingdom, let us visit a brief glance at some of the scenes of daily life from the offering chambers of deceased nobles, such as that of the architectural master Tj at Saqqara. The *Interruption* (see fig. 26) is of special interest in its technique of the landscape setting. The background of the relief is formed by a regular fluted, the scene of the feast made a regular, repeating pattern that except in the top corner and

right - 39. Ti Watching a *Requiem* for His  
Spurned Lover (ca. 1500 A.D.)  
Temple of Ti, Saqqara



below - 40. Ti's Wife Feeding a Bird  
Identical to the *Requiem* relief's  
ca. 1500 A.D. Temple of Ti, Saqqara



an updated scene of visiting friends concerned for small productions. The water in the bottom zone, marked by a zigzag pattern, is equally crowded with wriggling *Requiem*-men and fish. All these, as well as the houses in the low zone, are vividly observed and full of action; only Ti himself, standing in the second zone, is immobile, as if he belonged to a different world. His pose is that of the honorary female reliefs and statues (compare fig. 43), and he stands above the other men, since he is more important than they. But his pose also lifts him out of the context of the house—for without direct eye supervision, he can only observe. The passive role is characteristic of the representations of the deceased in all such scenes from the Old Kingdom. It seems to be a certain way of conveying the fact that the body is dead but the spirit is alive and aware of the presence of this world, though the men are no longer participants in their deaths. We

should also note that these scenes of daily life do not represent the ideal man's domestic existence; if they did, he would be looking back, and such nostalgia is quite alien to the spirit of Old Kingdom society. It has been shown, in fact, that these scenes form a seasonal cycle, a sort of perpetual calendar of recurrent human activities for the spirit of the deceased to watch year in and year out. For the artist, on the other hand, these scenes offered a welcome opportunity to render his picture of himself, not, as they in details so often had accompanying bits of inscriptions. Another relief from the tomb of H. shows some cattle feeding a lion (fig. 94), one of the earlier scenes a husband cuff on his back, to keep it from drooping, and the frightened animal seems to lead to look back at its master, who smooches without equally anxious glances. Such sympathetic portrayal of an emotional relationship is uncharacteristic as it is unexpressed in Old Kingdom art. It will be some time before we encounter anything similar in the New Kingdom. But eventually we shall come to the period abandoning its previous, timeless stance to participate in scenes of daily life.

#### THE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS

After the collapse of centralized Pharaonic power at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, Egypt entered a period of political disintegration and all fell apart that was to last almost two years. During most of this time, effective authority lay in the hands of local or regional overlords, who received the oblations of tribute and taxes. Many dynasties followed one another in rapid succession, but only two, the Eleventh and Twelfth, are worthy of note. The latter constitutes the Middle Kingdom (c. 2040-1780), a time a series of able rulers managed to reunite themselves against the provincial nobility. However, the spirit of these kingdoms, having gone back to back, were required in one effortlessness, and the authority of the Middle Kingdom Pharaohs tended to be personal rather than institutional. Since the restoration of the Twelfth Dynasty, the southern country was invaded by the Hyksos, a western Asiatic people of somewhat mysterious origin, who ruled the Delta and controlled their vassals and their captives by the prince of Thebes about 1700-1550.

The religious spirit of the times is well reflected in Middle Kingdom art. We find a capitalistic, the new type of royal pyramid that marks the Twelfth Dynasty, seen in the one in figure 95. There is a real sense of attack on the surrounding this strongly modern line, the second occurrence of the Old Kingdom has given way to a broadening, involved expression that imparts a new kind of self-awareness. Deprived of its external images, the figure must display an encompassing a reality, physical as well as psychological, that at last gives the link with the temporal traditions of the past seems broken entirely. This is another enduring achievement of Egyptian art, destined to live on in Roman portraiture and in the



91. Mask of Ankhnesneferibre, a queen of Egypt.  
Eleventh Dynasty (c. 1900). The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York. Gift of Edward H. Rieu, 1901.



92. Relief from the tomb of Khnumhotep, Twelfth Dynasty.  
Tomb of Khnumhotep, Real Museum.

permanence of the Renaissance. A grouping of restricted order also makes itself felt in Middle Kingdom painting and relief, where it leads to all sorts of interesting departures from convention. They occur most conspicuously in the decoration of the tombs of royal princes at Real Museum, which have survived destruction better than most Middle Kingdom monuments because they are carved into the living rock. The most striking of these (fig. 93) comes from one of these rock-cut

34. Fantasy Temple of Heliopolis,  
Cairo (Heliopolis, 1880-1890s). c. 1880-1890



temple, that of Khnum-Anup, i.e., the emblem of the prince's domain, the apex envelope seems to have been a sort of "dominant part in his household" according to the standards of Old Kingdom art, all the figures ought to share the same ground-line, or the vertical axis and its attendant ought to be placed above the first, instead, the prince has introduced a secondary ground-line only slightly higher than the primary one, and as a result the two groups are related in a way that clearly approximates natural appearances. His interest in capturing spatial effects can also be seen in the arched but quite bold transgression of the shoulders of the two atlantes, if we count up the hieroglyphic signs, which emphasize the bottom of the wall, we can "read" the forms in depth with surprising ease.

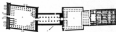
The two hundred years following the expulsion of the Hyksos, and comprising the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, represent the third Coptic Age of Egypt. The country, once more united under strong and

efficient kings, extended its frontiers far to the east, into Palestine and Syria (these two periods is also known as the Empire). During the climactic years of peace and prosperity, between c. 1550 and the end of the reign of Ramses III (c. 1180), a considerable architectural program was carried out, covering not only the region of the new capital, Thebes, while the royal tombs reached unprecedented material splendor. The divine kingdom of the Pharaohs was now asserted in a new way: its association with the god Amun, whose identity had been fused with that of the sun-god Ra, and who became the supreme deity, ruling the human world much as the Pharaohs ruled over the provincial nobility, but this very divinization produced an unexpected limit to royal authority; the priests of Amun grew into a caste of rich wealth and power that nothing could maintain for positive only with their system. Amenhotep III, the most remarkable figure of the Eighteenth Dynasty, tried to defeat them by proclaiming his faith in a single god, the sun-disk, Aten. He changed

35. Colonnade of the Temple of Amenhotep III in Luxor (Thebes, 18th Dynasty, c. 1370-1360 B.C.). Temple of Amenhotep III in Luxor, Egypt



81. Plan of the Temple of  
Horus-Min Khnum at Luxor  
(after N. de Courville)



the name of Minhotep, closed the Akhet temple, and moved the capital to central Egypt, near the modern city of Minya. His attempt to place himself at the head of a new movement back, however, did not result for long (1875-84 B.C.), and under his successor authority was quickly restored. During the long period of decline, after c. 1800 B.C., the country became increasingly prone to raids, under Asiatic and Egyptian rule. Egyptian civilization came to an end in a series of successive religious revolutions.

New Kingdom art covers a vast range of styles and quality, from rigid conservatism to brilliant innovation; i.e., from oppressively massive statuary to the more delicate reliefs. Like the art of Imperial Rome when invaded from later, it is almost impossible to summarize in terms of a representative sampling. Different schools are introduced into a fabric so complex that any choice of monuments is bound to seem arbitrary. All we can hope to accomplish is to convey some of the flavor of its variety.

During the architectural renaissance that began toward the early years of the New Kingdom, the outstanding work in the famous temple of Queen Hatshepsut, built about 1475 B.C., against the rocky cliffs of her di-

chess (fig. 92) and dedicated to Amun and several other deities. The temple extended toward the Valley of Sift—its small shrines almost deep into the rock—through three large courts on ascending levels, linked by ramps along long colonnades; a monumental road monument of Thutmose III, but with the inscription carved of a pharaoh at the end. It is the longest-known series of man-made and natural architecture—only two ramps and colonnades follow the slope of the cliff—that makes Hatshepsut's temple the crest of any ancient Egyptian monument.

The later rulers of the New Kingdom continued to build housing, temples, but not even greater share of their architectural energies was devoted to huge imperial temples of Amun, the supreme god whom the reigning monarch traditionally claimed as his father. The temple at Luxor, across the hill from Thebes, dedicated to Amun, his wife Mut, and their son Khnum, was begun about 1475 B.C. by Amenhotep III but was considerably completed more than a century later. Its plan is almost typical of the general pattern of later Egyptian temples. The facade consists of two massive walls, with sloping sides, flanking the entrance; the wall on the left is the gateway or pylon (fig. 82, far left), and leads to the court (fig. 82, 83). The court, in our instance, is irregular,

82. The facade of the (Theban) temple of a pharaoh (about 1475 B.C.). Tomb of Ramses, Thebes



83. Hathor (Amunhotep III) in a pylon at Thebes,  
about 1475 B.C. Tomb of Ramses, Thebes





16. Queen Nubkheperre, c. 1870 B.C. Limestone, height, 10". Tate Museum, Berlin



17. The daughter of Amenhotep (Fragment of a seated female figure), c. 1870 B.C. Limestone, Museum, Oxford

Because Rameses II, who added to the temple that had been planned under Amenhotep III, changed the axis of the court slightly, so as to conform with the direction of the Nile. We thus enter a pillared hall, which brings us to the second court (fig. 10, B and C); fig. 10, center and right. On its far side we find another pillared hall. Beyond it, the temple proper begins: a series of spontaneously arranged halls and chapels enclosing the body of the temple, a square court with four columns (fig. 11, extreme

right). The entire complex of courts, halls, and temples was enclosed by high walls that shut off the outside world. Except for the monumental facade, each structure is designed to be experienced from within; ordinary worshippers were confined to the courts and could not marvel at the lines of columns that crowned the dark masses of the sanctuary. The columns had to be closely spaced, for they supported the stone beams of the ceiling, and these had to be stout to keep them from bowing under their own weight. Yet the architect has consistently displayed this condition by making the columns far heavier than they need be. In a result, the columns thus placed created by their sheer mass. The resulting effect is certainly impressive, but also rather vulgar when contrasted against the earlier masterpieces of Egyptian architecture. The most striking contrast the papyrus columns of the colonnade of Amenhotep III with their remote successors of Rameses' Ninth Pylon (fig. 22) in order to realize how little of the genius of Egyptian art there is in Egypt.

Of the great projects built by Amenhotep hardly anything remains above ground. He must have been a revolutionary not only in his religious beliefs but in his artistic tastes as well, consciously knowing a new style and a new ideal of beauty in his choice of masters. The contrast with the past becomes strikingly evident if we compare a statue he ordered from the Court of Rameses, done at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III (fig. 14), with a somewhat portrait of Amenhotep III (fig. 13), not only two years later in date (fig. 13). The first one shows the traditional style of the time, the wonderful simplicity of the carving—the precision and refinement of its lines—make the head of Amenhotep seem as fine as glass like a formal sculpture. And the latter work evoked an extreme statement of the new ideal, with its subtly suggested features and counterpoint, undulating outlines, full, uncarved surface in kinship with the joyful famous bust of Amenhotep's queen, Nubkheperre (fig. 16), one of the masterpieces of the "Amenhotep style." What distinguishes this style is not greater realism as much as a new sense of form that was to overthrow the traditional immobility of Egyptian art; not only the contours but the plastic shapes, too, were more plastic and relaxed, unimpeded, as it were. We find these qualities again in the delightful fragment of a well known, showing the daughter of Amenhotep (fig. 17). Their playful gestures and informal poses seem to be in total defiance of all rules of Pharaonic dignity.

The old religious traditions were quickly restored after Amenhotep's death, but the artistic innovations he encouraged could be felt in Egyptian art for some time to come. The sense of freedom struggling with a heavy form (fig. 18), from the court of Amenhotep III, is reflected in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., there is a freedom and expression that would have been unthinkable earlier times. Even the face of Amenhotep's successor, Rameses II, as he appears in his colossal statue, an echo of the Amenhotep style (sculpture 19). Tutankhamun



16. *Men and Women Carrying a Boat*, from the Tomb of Hunefer, Thebes, Egypt, c. 1925 B.C. Master Class, Belgium

sons, who died at the age of eighteen, were his first priority in the position that his is the only Memnonium tomb discovered in modern times, with all its contents undisturbed. The sheer emotional value of the tomb/Tutankhamun's gold coffin alone weighs 220 pounds makes it understandable that grave robbing has been practiced in Egypt since the Old Kingdom. To us, the complete reimagining of the coffin, with the full play of colored edges against the polished gold surface, is even more impressive. Its origin is in 1925 as the gold coffin is a painted shell from the same tomb, showing the possible long in-fault and housing scene (Fig. 47). These last two traditional subjects since the late phase of the Old Kingdom, but here they are done with extraordinary freedom, at least as far as the subjects are concerned. While the long and the house-dwelling subject within the tomb against

the most black background filled with hieroglyphs, the same background in the right-hand half of the scene suddenly turns into a desert, the surface is covered with roughed dots to suggest sand, desert plants are shown, some are considerably varied, and the animals (camels) are in the foreground, without any ground line to impede their flight. There is no sign of Egyptian painting that we have seen within walls of the tomb, perhaps the only example of the same scene in landscape background, and only at the miniature scale of the scene in Tutankhamun's tomb and even then it became possible only as a result of the 1925 scene. Here, these scenes in landscape surround a later Egyptian painting we do not know, but they must have survived somehow, for their reimagining is clearly visible and more than 3,000 years later is far too striking to be ignored.

17. *Funerary Shrine*, from a painted shell found in the tomb of a 19th Dynasty Egyptian, Thebes, Egypt



### 3. *The Ancient Near East*

#### SUMMERIAN ART

It is an odd and astonishing fact that man should have emerged into the light of history in two separate places at just about the same time. Between 3500 and 3000 B.C., when Egypt was being united under Pharaonic rule, an other great civilization arose in Mesopotamia, the "land between the rivers."<sup>1</sup> And for close to 3000 years, the two great centers retained their distinct character, even though they had contact with each other from their earliest beginnings and their domains were interwoven in many ways. The pressures that forced the inhabitants of both regions to abandon the patterns of Neolithic village life may well have been the same (see page 14). But the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, unlike that of the Nile, is not a narrow fertile strip protected by deserts on either side; it resembles a wide, shallow trough with low natural defenses, surrounded by vast grassy steppes and rich oases, and easily penetrated upon from any direction. Thus the facts of geography tended to discourage the idea of uniting the entire area under a single hand. Rulers who had this ambition did not appear, as far as we know, until about a thousand years after the beginnings of Mesopotamian civilization, and they succeeded in carrying it out only for brief periods and at the cost of almost continuous conflict. As a consequence, the political history of ancient Mesopotamia has no underlying theme of the sort that Greek history provides for Egypt: local dynasties, foreign invasions, the sudden upsurge and

equally sudden collapse of military power—these are its substance. Against such a disturbed background, the continuity of cultural and artistic traditions seems all the more remarkable. This common heritage is very largely the creation of the founding fathers of Mesopotamian civilization, whom we call Sumerians after the region of Sumer, which they inhabited, near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The origin of the Sumerians remains obscure. Their language is unrelated to any other known tongue. Sometimes before 3000 B.C., they came to southern Mesopotamia from Persia, and there, within the next thousand years, they founded a number of city-states and developed their distinctive form of writing in cuneiform (wedge-shaped) characters on clay tablets. This transitional phase, corresponding to the protohistoric period in Egypt, is called "pre-dynastic"; it leads to the early dynastic period, from about 3000 to 2350 B.C. Unfortunately, the tangible remains of Sumerian civilization are extremely meagre compared to those of ancient Egypt: stone being unavailable in Mesopotamia, the Sumerians built only in mud-brick and wood, so that almost nothing is left of their architecture except the foundations. Nor did they share the Egyptians' concern with the hereafter, although some richly endowed tombs—in the shape of vaulted chambers, below ground—in the early dynastic period have been found in the city of Uruk. Our knowledge of Sumerian civilization thus depends very largely on cuneiform tablets brought to light by excavation, includ-



28. The "White Temple"  
in Uruk,  
Urdu/Mesopotamia (2300-2200 B.C.)



ing vast numbers of "inserted clay tablets." But is recent doubt sufficient to cast enough to turn a generalization of the effectiveness of this system, incentive, and disciplinary people.

Each Sumerian city-state had its own local god, who was regarded as its "king" and master. It also had a human ruler, the descendant of the divine lineage, who led the people in serving the deity. The local god, in return, was expected to protect the state of his subjects against his fellow deities who controlled the forces of nature such as wind and weather, water, fertility, and the heavenly bodies. Now was the time of direct correspondence between a more pious before the god was quite literally believed to own not only the territory of the city-state but also the labor power of the population and its produce. All these were subject to his commands, transmitted to the people by his human servant. The result was an economic system that has been dubbed "theocratic socialism," a shared society where administrative control was the religion. It was the temple that controlled the pooling of labor and resources for communal enterprises, such as the building of dikes or irrigation ditches, and it collected and distributed a considerable part of the harvest. All this occurred the keeping of detailed written records. Hence we must not be surprised to find that the basis of early Sumerian inscriptions deal very largely with economic and administrative rather than religious matters, although writing was a purely privilege.

The prominent role of the temple as the center of both spiritual and physical existence is strikingly conveyed by the layout of Sumerian cities. The temple-centered about a sacred area that was a vast architectural complex embracing not only divine but workshops, storerooms, and workers' quarters as well. In their midst, rose raised platforms, stood the temple of the local god. These platforms were two to four the height of two man-made mountains, comparable to the pyramids of Egypt in the immensity of their request and in their effect as great landmarks



Fig. Plan of the "White Temple" in the Euphrates (after H. Frankfort)

marking above the horizon plane. There are known no pyramids. The most famous of them, the White Temple of Uruk, has been completely destroyed, but a small model example, built shortly before 3500 B.C. and thus several centuries older than the first of the pyramids, survives at Warka, the site of the Sumerian city of Uruk (which stood in the Euphrates). The model, its sloping sides reinforced by solid brick masonry, rises to a height of 40 feet; stairs and ramps lead up to the platform on which stands the sanctuary, called the "White Temple" because of its whitewashed brick exterior (fig. 10, fig. 11). Heavy walls, reinforced by regularly spaced projections and recesses, are sufficiently well preserved to suggest something of the original appearance of the structure.



Fig. Section of the Euphrates, "White Temple"



70. Papyrus bundles. The Temple of Isis at Philae.  
From *Lebanon*.

The main room, or cella (fig. 70), where sacrifices were offered before the statue of the god, was a square hall that was the entire length of the temple and is flanked by a series of smaller chambers. But the main entrance to the cella is on the southern side, rather than on the side facing the water as on one of the massive sides of the temple, as one might expect. In order to understand the reason for this, we must view the temple and temple as a whole. The entire complex is planned in such a way that the entrance, starting at the bottom of the water on the east side, is forced to go around as many corners as possible before it reaches the cella. The processional path, in other words, resembles a sort of angular spiral. This "hermeneutic approach" is a fundamental characteristic of Mesopotamian religious architecture, in contrast to the straight single axis of Egyptian temples (see fig. 65). During the following centuries, Mesopotamians even later centuries toward the zigzagging line in multiple steps. The exceptionally well-preserved one built by the Chaldeans at Dur-Ur (see fig. 66) from the modern Chagha Zerkh still gives a good indication of their size and complexity (fig. 71). What was the impulse behind these structures? Certainly not the kind of pride attributed to the builders of the Temple of Bel in the Old Testament. They reflect, rather, the widespread belief that monuments are the dwelling places of the gods (we need only recall the Mason Olympas of the Greeks). In the plain of Mesopotamia, the only way to provide a fit residence for the deity only by creating artificial mountains of their own.

The image of the god in whose the "White Temple" was dedicated to him: it was probably him, the god of the sky—but a splendid female head of white marble from the same period at Uruk (Uruk) may well have been

longed to another cult statue (fig. 72). The eyes and eyebrows were originally inlaid with colored materials, and the hair was covered with a "wig" of gold or copper. The rest of the figure, which must have been close to life size, probably consisted of wood. As an artistic achievement, this head is on the level of the finest works of Egyptian (see fig. 64) and Mesopotamian art. The softly smiling cheeks, the delicate curves of the lips, combined with the steady gaze of the huge eyes, create a balance of attractiveness and severity that seems worthy of any goddess.

It was the geometric and expressive aspects of the Uruk head, rather than the realistic ones, that survived in the most authentic of the early dynamic period, as seen in a group of figures from Tell Asmar (fig. 73) carved about the same time or later than the head. The tallest, about 30 inches high, represents him, the god of vegetation; the second largest, a mother goddess (the others, priests and worshippers). The two deities are distinguished from the rest not only by their size but by the larger diameter of the pupils of their eyes, although the eyes of all the figures are enormous. This realistic detail is emphasized by colored inlays, which are still in place. The entire group must have stood in the cella of the White Temple, the priests and worshippers confronting the two gods and communicating with them through their eyes. "Repetition" (repeated a very direct meaning: the gods were



71. Female head, from Uruk (Uruk), c. 3000-2900 B.C.  
Height, 17". The Iraq Museum, Baghdad

14. Statues, from the  
Tomb of Amenemhat, 19th  
century B.C., Egypt.  
Statues of Amenemhat, his  
wife, and his children.  
The Metropolitan Museum  
of Art, New York.



believed to be present in their images, and the notion of the sculptors served as motivation for the persons they portrayed, offering prayers or transmitting messages to the deity in their usual. Yet none of them indicates any attempt to achieve a real likeness. Their bodies as well as the faces are rigorously simplified and schematic in order to avoid distracting attention from the eyes, the "windows of the soul." If the Egyptian sculptor's sense of form was essentially cubic, that of the Sumerian was based on the cone and cylinder. Arms and legs have the roundness of pipes, and the long skirts resemble all these figure sets as neatly carved as if they had been carved on a lathe. Even in later times, when Mesopotamian sculpture had acquired a far richer repertory of shapes, the quality remained essentially unaltered.

The contrived simplification of the full human figure is characteristic of the canon, who works by cutting to the essence of the subject, it for more realistic and realistic style, perhaps among the Sumerian sculptors that was made by addition rather than subtraction (that is, either intended to add materials for casting in bronze or put together by combining such varied substances as wood, gold leaf, and lapis lazuli). Some pieces of the latter kind, roughly contemporary with the full human figures, have been found in the tombs at Ur, which we had occasion to mention earlier. They include the fascinating object shown in color plate 5, an offering stand in the shape of a bull's head, rising up against a flowering tree. The animal, naturally alive and energetic, has an almost demonic power of expression as it gazes at us from between the branches of the symbolic



15. Stele in the Sumerian  
style, from the tomb of  
a Sumerian.  
The University Museum,  
Philadelphia.



19. Head of an Old Kingdom deity, from Temple of Khentkawes I, c. 2600-2500 B.C. Bronze, height 12". The Iraq Museum, Baghdad

year. And well it might, for it is sacred to the god Ptah, and thus embodies the main principle in nature. Such an association of animals with deities is a commonplace from prehistoric times; we find it not only in Mesopotamia but in Egypt as well (see the following Plates 20 and 21). What distinguishes the sacred animals of the Egyptians is the active part they play in mythology. Much of this, unfortunately, has not come down to us in written form, but fascinating glimpses of it can be caught in pictorial representations such as those on an obelisk panel from a temple, but that was recovered together with the obelisk itself in 1913. The base containing two human-headed bulls is the key component: was so popular a subject that its design has become a rigidly conventional, decorative formula; the other sections, however, show animals performing a variety of human tasks in surprisingly animated and precise fashion: the bull and the lion carry food and drink to an unseen banquet, while the cow, bear, and deer provide musical entertainment (the bull-headed lion is the same type as the instrument to which the obelisk panel was attached). At the bottom, a crocodile-man and a goat carry vases; objects they have taken from a large vessel. The skilled artist who created these scenes was far less concerned by rules than his contemporaries in Egypt; even though he, too, places his figure on ground-lines, he is not afraid of overlapping forms or three-dimensional absences. Nor must he careful, however, not to misinterpret his intention—what defines

the modern eye as delightfully confusion was probably meant to be viewed with perfect satisfaction. If we only knew the context in which these scenes play their roles! Nevertheless, we are entitled to regard them as the various known instances of the animal fable that flourished in the West from Aesop to La Fontaine. At least one of them, the one with the bear, survived as a fixed image, and we encounter it almost four years later in medieval writers.

Toward the end of the early dynastic period, the three main varieties of the fable—the tiger, the goat to-day. The local "interests of the god" had to provide for accompanying moments, and the more activities among them attempted to relieve their desire by comparing their neighbors. In the same time, the famous inhabitants of northern Mesopotamia drifted south in ever larger numbers, until they outweighed the Egyptian stock in many places. They had adopted fable-like ideas but



20. Harem of Amenhotep III, c. 1370-1360 B.C. Stone, height 2' 6". The Louvre, Paris

were less bound to the tradition of the city-king, he was perhaps not surprising that he began to think and to construct (again after a fashion) produced the first Mayan sculpture rather than purely naturalistic design and produced these ambitious works in the same area. Under these Aztecs, however, there was a new task—the personal glorification of the sovereign. The most important work of this kind that has survived is a magnificent royal portrait head in basalt from Tzucacuy, but despite the grained-out eyes (now filled with precious materials) it remains a persuasive likeness, majestic and humanly moving at the same time. (Lapidary sculpture is the texture of the surfaces drawing the face; the pleasant hair and the finely carved strands of the beard are shaped with incredible precision, yet without losing their organic character and becoming more ornamental. The sculptor's technique of cutting and etching has been handled with an economy that suggests a new manner. The head could well sit at ease in the company of the greater works of any period.)

Spain's grandson, Xucumac, had himself and his domestic army immortalized in a large stucco relief (150 cm. long) from Tula and a smaller—which once is carried to the fact that at a later time it was carried off as booty to Tula, where modern archaeologists discovered it. These rigid grandsons have been discarded,



18 Head of Yucumac, Tzucacuy (Yucatan, c. 1000). Basalt, height 15. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

19 Baby with Antelope? Plac from Tzucacuy (Yucatan, c. 1000). Stone, height 10. The British Museum, London



we see the king's forces advancing among the trees and a mountainous. Above them, Nature for above stands triumphant, with deflated enemy soldiers piled for mercy. The king appears to rise to his feet, but he sits and his instead presents a calm face with sophisticated status. Wounded, he wears the famous crown (battered, spared for the gods). Nothing appears above him except the mountains and the natural bodies, his "good stars." This is the subject known acceptable to the gods of a conqueror.

The rule of the Itz'at'at' kings came to an end when tribesmen from the northwest descended into the Mayan peninsula plus and gained mastery of it for more than half a century. They were driven out in c. 1000 by the kings of Ux, who established a united realm that was to last a hundred years. During the period of foreign dominance, Tzucacuy (the modern Tula), one of the lesser Mayan city-states, managed to retain local independence. Its ruler, Ch'ul, was able to secure the title of king for the city-king, whose title he promoted by an elaborate rebuilding of his temple. Of this architectural complex nothing remains today, but Ch'ul also had complete control of himself placed in the stories of Tzucacuy, and some twenty examples, all elements of the same general type, have been found in his control of events. The extremely hard stone found by Egyptian sculptors, they represent more ambitious work than their predecessors from Tall Amara. Even Ch'ul, however, descended was to the traditional pattern of the Mayan city-state, seems to have selected something of the more of personal importance than he left in the Itz'at'at' kings, although he pushed himself to his ultimate relations with the gods rather than to superior power. His greatest head (fig. 19) appears, but was obviously individualized when



19. Upper Part of Stele Inscribed with the Last Words of Hammurabi, c. 1750 B.C., Steatite, height of stele 5' 7", height of relief 18". The Louvre, Paris

compared with the Babylonian style, yet its body remains to be removed from its geometric simplicity of the tall steeple-towers. The stone has been worked to a high and subtly executed finish, leaving a wonderful play of light upon the features. The central statue (fig. 19) repre-

sents Goden with an architectural plan on his lap (perhaps the existing wall of a temple district), which is an offering for the god's approval; there are six staircases flanking by crown-like projections, and the walls show regularly spaced buttresses of the kind we saw in the "White Temple" at Uruk (fig. 18). The figure makes an interesting contrast with Egyptian statues such as those in figure 21 and subfigure 11—the Babylonian carver has revealed off all the corners to emphasize the cylindrical quality of the forms. Typically characteristic is the muscular tension in Goden's bare arm and shoulder, compared with the passive, relaxed limbs of Egyptian statues.

The second millennium B.C. was a time of almost continuous turmoil in Mesopotamia. The cities appeared that brought the Hyksos to Egypt had an even more dangerous effect on the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Central power by native rulers was restricted only between Uruk and Uruk, where Babylon assumed the role formerly played by Uruk and Ur. Hammurabi, the founder of the Babylonian dynasty, is by far the greatest figure of the age: combining military prowess with a deep respect for Babylonian tradition, he was himself as "the favorite shepherd" of the sun-god Marduk, whose mission it was "to cause justice to prevail in the land." Under him and his successors, Babylon became the cultural center of Mesopotamia. The city was to retain this prestige for more than a thousand years after its political power had waned. Hammurabi's most remarkable achievement is his law code, partly known as the tablet and preserved in a body of laws and amazingly national and humane in conception. He had it engraved on a tall diorite stele whose top shows Hammurabi confirming the laws (fig. 20). The ruler's right arm is raised in a speaking gesture, and he wears the symbol of nobility as the divine king, although this symbol was carried four cen-

20. The Law Code, Babylon, Hammurabi, c. 1750 B.C.



recall the Göttergötzen, it is strongly related to them in both style and technique. In fact, the relief seems so high that the two figures almost give the impression of statues placed in relief when we compare them with the general treatment of the Mesopotamian ones. As a result, the sculptor has been able to render the eyes in the round, so that Shamash and Shamash-gate at each other with a force and directness unique in representations of this kind. They make us recall the steles from Tell Fara, where steles were used to indicate an attempt to establish the same relationship between man and god in an earlier phase of Mesopotamian civilization.

## ANATOLIAN ART

The city-state of Hattai on the upper course of the Tigris owed its rise to power to a strange chain of events. During the early half of the second millennium B.C., Ashilum had been invaded from the east by people of Indo-European tongue. One group, the Mitanni, created an independent kingdom in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, including Hattai, while another, the Hittites, established themselves farther north on the rocky plateau of Anatolia. Their capital, near the present-day Turkish village of Bogazkoy, was protected by impregnable fortifi-



75. Citadel of Sargon II  
at the Citadel  
(Reproduced by permission of  
the British Museum)



76. Gate of the Citadel of Sargon II  
(Reproduced by permission of  
the British Museum)



above: 84. The East of the City of Rome, by Antonineopolis  
from *Memoria* (Kamennik) in Athens.  
Limestone, 38 × 52 1/2". British Museum, London

below: 85. Antonineopolis II Riding Lion, from *Memoria* (Kamennik) in Athens.  
Limestone, 2 1/2 × 5 1/2". British Museum, London



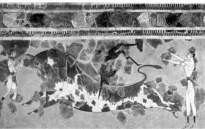
columns built of large, roughly cut stones; the gates were flanked by standing lions or other guardian figures protruding from the enormous blocks that formed the joints of the doorways (fig. 82). About 1 mile S.E., the Romans attacked the Mithraeum, who were allies of the Cappadocians, but the latter because of the imperial price provided by the religious cultists of Mithraeum (see pages 24-25), could send no effective aid; the Mithraeum were defeated and Rome regained its independence. Under a series of able rulers, the Asiphanic domain gradually expanded until it embraced not only Mesopotamia proper but the surrounding regions as well. At the height of its power, between 2,000 and 400 B.C., the Asiphanic empire stretched from the Tigris (possibly to Armenia) down Lower Egypt was successfully invaded in 400 B.C.

The Asiphanic, it has been said, were to the Hittites what the Romans were to the Greeks. Their protection depended on the achievements of the south but wintered them to fit in overwintering campaigns. Thus the temples and villages they built were adapted from the native models while the palaces of Asiphanic kings grew to unprecedented size and magnificence. Only one of these, that of Sargis II at Hattusha (the modern Kussak), dating from the second half of the eighteenth century B.C., has been explored sufficiently to permit a reconstruction (fig. 83). It was surrounded by a citadel with towered walls that shut it off from the rest of the town. Figure 84 shows one of the two gates of the citadel in process of excavation. Although the Asiphanic, like the Hittites, built in brick, they liked to line gateways and the lower walls of important interiors with great slabs of stone (which were less difficult to procure in northern Mesopotamia). These slabs were either decorated with low reliefs or, as in our case, studded with guardian demons that are an odd combination of relief and sculpture in the round. They must have been inspired by Hittite examples such as the lion gate at





*Columbus's Discovery, After Christ and Peter following models from the Bible* (1980-81).  
Wood, gold, and tape (total height 107"). The University Museum, Philadelphia



Yokoyama, Kazuo. "The Snake Dance." About 100 A.D.,  
Height about 10' 1/2, including borders. Archaeological Museum, Osaka, Japan.



31. *Lion pouncing*,  
Great Sarcophagus (Apuleius)  
c. 170-180 A.D.  
Temple of Apollo (175)  
British Museum, London

Regularity of this treatment in size and appearance; they were meant to impress the visitor with the power and majesty of the king, beside the palace the same impression was reinforced by long series of relief illustrations of the conquests of the royal armies. Every campaign is de-

scribed in detail, with inscriptions supplying further data. The Egyptian forces, minutely efficient, always seem to be on the march, meeting the enemy at every frontier of the unconquered empire, destroying his strong points and carrying away booty and prisoners. There is neither drama nor heroism in these scenes: the outcome of the battle is never in doubt—and they are often astonishingly repetitive. Yet, as the earliest large-scale efforts at narrative in the history of art, they represent an achievement of great importance. To describe the progress of specific events in time and space had been outside the scope of both Egyptian and Mesopotamian art, even the scene on the walls of Theban houses symbolically related their inmates. The Egyptians admit that had to develop an entirely new set of devices in order to cope with the problems of pictorial storytelling. If his trouble certainly could be solved because they achieve their main purpose—to be clearly read—this is amazing proof of our examples (Fig. 31), from the Palace of Nebamun at Thebes (from Egypt), which shows the work of the famous city of Thebes in the main region. Against soldiers with polearms and archers are dominating the Egyptians—across the falling waters and birds in mid air—after they have set fire to the tower itself, others are marching away from it, down a wooded hill, laden with booty. The latter group poses considerably interesting problems in representation, for the road on which they walk extends visibly as it approaches the foreground, as if the artist had meant to render it in perspective, yet the scene and other scenes are spread (that) that before the members. As old scenes of battle—but an effective device for the falling foreground and background. Below the main scene, we observe the soldiers at camp, relaxing with food and drink, while one of them stands guard.

The main of perspective about is the study of military



32. The tomb from near, from Babylon,  
c. 1000 B.C. from Museum, Berlin

campaigns often turned into costs for the personal glorification of the king. The purpose is now more distinctly by another monument subject, the royal lion hunt. There was more in the nature of ceremonial combat than actual hunt; the animals were enhanced by images within a hollow square formed by incense-burnt shrubs, for the king to kill. (Presumably, at a much earlier time, the hunting of lions in the field had been an important duty of Mesopotamian rulers as the "shepherds" of the common flock.) Here the Assyrian relief depicts him to his greatest height, in figure 44, from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud (c.880), the lion attacking the royal chariot from the rear is clearly the hero of the scene. Of magnificent strength and courage, the wounded animal seems to embody all the dramatic emotion that we can see in the pictorial accounts of war. The dying lion on the right is equally impressive in its agony. Here, all finally the Egyptian relief (see fig. 45) had incorporated the same composition! The animal only compares the lioness—the Assyrian ancient magnificent lioness much more energetic and alive as they face their attacking lion, their lion killed back in front. The lion hunt reflects from Nimrud, about two centuries later than those of Nimrud, by the finest of all. Despite the darkness of the actual carving, the lioness have a greater sense of weight and volume because of the subtle gradations of the surface. Images such as the dying lioness, fig. 46, have an unforgettable tragic grandeur.

The Assyrian empire came to an end when Ninurta fell before the combined onslaughts of Median and Babylonians from the east. At that time the commander of the Assyrian army in western Mesopotamia made himself king of Babylon, under his capital successors the ancient city had a short but flowering between 5 and 600 B.C., before it was conquered by the Persians. The last known of these Neo-Babylonians rulers was Nabonidus. He built off the Tower of Babel. That famous structure represented only one part of a very large architectural complex comparable to the citadel of Sargon II at the Khorsabad. Whereas the Assyrians had used carved stone slabs, the Neo-Babylonians (who were further removed from the centers of each slab) substituted baked and glazed brick. This technique, too, had been developed in Egypt, but now it was used on a far larger scale, both for surface ornament and for architectural relief. In very distinctive effect becomes evident if we compare the gate of Sargon's citadel (fig. 47) with the Ishtar Gate of Nebuchadnezzar's second palace in Babylon, which has been reconstructed from the fragments of individual glazed bricks that control its surface (fig. 48). The master procession of bulls, dragons, and other animals of golden hue within a framework of vividly colored enameled bricks has a grace and gaiety far removed from the ponderous grandeur moments of the Assyrians. Here, for the last time, we catch again that special genius of ancient Mesopotamians art for the portrayal of animals, which we noted in early dynastic times.



44. Painted Bronze Cup from Nimrod, c. 880-850 B.C., Height 1 1/2". The Louvre, Paris.

## PERSIAN ART

Here, the mountain fringed high plateau to the east of Mesopotamia, taken its name from the people who occupied Babylon in 539 B.C. until the fall of the city of which had been the Assyrian empire. Today this country is called Iran, which is the more suitable name, since the Persians, who put the area on the map of world history, were conquerors who had arrived in the area only a few centuries before they began their imperial conquests. Until not continuously since prehistoric times, Iran always seems to have been a gateway for migrating tribes from the Asiatic steppes to the south as well as from India to the east. The new arrivals would settle down for a while, dominating or intermingling with the local population, until they in turn were forced to move on—in Mesopotamia, to the Elamites, to southern Sumeria—to the conquerors of Sumeria. These movements from a shadowy area of historical knowledge, all available information is vague and uncertain. Even normally others have no permanent monuments or written records, so we trace their wanderings only by a careful study of the objects they turned with their ideal: each object, of wood, bone, or metal, represents a distinct kind of portable art which we call the nomadic gear: weapons, tools for horse, flocks, fables, and other articles of adornment, cups, bowls, etc. They have been found over a vast area, from Siberia to Central Europe, from Iran to Scandinavia. They have in common not only a good deal of ornamentation of ornamental design but also a repertoire of forms known

as the "animal style," had one of the sources of this animal style appears to be eastern Iran. Its main theme, as the name suggests, is the decorative use of animal motifs in a rather abstract and imaginative manner. We find its earliest examples in the prehistoric paintings



city of western Iran, such as the lion fibula in Figure 15, which shows as there is still considerable gesticulation in a line sweeping across, so that the body of the animal becomes a loose appendage of the large horns. The rising towards above the line can little more than horizontal strands, and we then imagine the situation below the line has not to be long-necked birds. In the bronze art of Persia, this style soon gave way to an interest in the organic unity of animal bodies (see especially 1 and 12) but as there is considerable the powerful influence of Mesopotamian Oriental thought from Iran, it remains useful the total forms of the 1 and 2, however, toward's goal of a particularly important kind. The gold cup ornament (Fig. 16) consists of a symmetrical pair of rising horns, with nearly elongated necks and horns; originally, we suggest, they were formed by a pair of lions, but the bodies of the lions have been abstracted into those of the horns, whose necks have been pulled out to dragon-like slenderness. By and by when the Lyonesse forms were produced remains something of a mystery. There can be little doubt, however, that they are somehow linked with the animalistic symbolism of the ancient cultures, such as the stylized Egyptian gold ring from western Egypt, which only slightly later in date (Fig. 16). The animal's body then shows the line of the horns, and the slender necks are divided by sharp ridges into two symmetrical sections. Lyonesse forms, on the way the animal have been abstracted into an abstract, somewhat abstract form, similar to the lion's form. Whether or not this typically Egyptian style reflects Central Asian sources (independent of the Lyonesse tradition, the Lyonesse style toward a good deal from the Lyonesse sources of Lyonesse during their way to Iran. They belonged to a group of Lyonesse, Indo-European style, including the Lyonesse and the Persians, that began to flourish in the country some after 1000 B.C. the influence of Lyonesse and Lyonesse, it will be recalled, had reached

above left: 15. Lion Fibula, 6th century B.C.

above right: 16. Bronze cup, 5th century B.C., British Museum, London

below left: 17. Lion Fibula, 5th century B.C., British Museum, London

below right: 18. Lion Fibula, 5th century B.C., British Museum, London

29. Surface Hall of Suez,  
Persopolis, c. 500 B.C.



30. Bull Capital  
Imported from Persopolis.  
The Oriental Institute,  
University of Chicago

Naxos in 492 B.C. The Persians at that time were not out of the Hittite, but only sixty years later, under Cyrus the Great of the family of the Achaemenids, they reversed this situation. After conquering Babylon, Cyrus assumed the title "King of Babylon" giving him the substance of the Assyrian rulers. The empire he founded continued to expand under his successors, Darius as well as that which fell to them, and Greece escaped the same fate only for the narrowest of margins. At its high tide, under Darius I and Xerxes (522-477 B.C.), the Persian empire was far larger than its Egyptian and Assyrian predecessors together. Moreover, this vast domain retained its own attributes—it was supplied by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C.—and during most of its life it was ruled both efficiently and humanely. Persian ideas of mankind to have influenced all that is best about mankind. Within a single generation, the Persians not only mastered the complex machinery of imperial administration but also evolved a monumental art of remarkable originality to express the grandeur of their life.

Despite their genius for adaptation, the Persians in-

31. Fortified Street along Ashurbanipal's palace, Nimrud, height 5' 2". Treasury, Persopolis



shared their own religious belief-system from the people-  
 wise of Mesopotamia; this was a faith based on the dualism  
 of Good and Evil, embodied in Mithras (Light) and  
 Ahriman (Darkness). From the cult of Mithras, which  
 seemed to first appear in the open air, the Persians had  
 no religious architecture. Their temples, on the other  
 hand, were huge and impressive structures. The most  
 ambitious one, at Persepolis, was begun under Darius I  
 in 480 B.C.; its general layout—a vast number of rooms,  
 halls, and courts assembled on a raised platform—recalls  
 the royal residences of Assyria (see fig. 10) and Achaemenid  
 traditions are the strongest single element throughout,  
 for they do not determine the character of the buildings,  
 for they have been combined with influences from every  
 corner of the empire in such a way that the result is a  
 new, uniquely Persian style. Thus, at Persepolis columns  
 are used in groups of six. The influence that of Darius's  
 court was not lost sight of, but a wonder ceiling supported by  
 36 columns at first tall, a few of which are still standing  
 (fig. 10). Such a grouping of columns suggests Egyptian  
 architecture (see fig. 11), and Egyptian influence  
 does indeed appear in the ornamental detail of the bas-  
 reliefs, but the slender, fluted shafts of the Persepolis  
 columns is derived from the Ionian Greeks in Asia Minor,  
 who are known to have furnished artists on the Persian  
 court. Entirely without precedent is earlier architecture  
 in the design "radially" for the beams of the ceiling, com-  
 posed of the four parts of four bulls or similar animals,  
 that crown the Persepolis columns (fig. 10); while the  
 animals themselves are of Assyrian origin, the way they  
 are combined suggests working so much as an extremely  
 changed version of the four lion ornaments of Assyria.  
 This seems to be the only instance of Persian architects  
 drawing upon their native artistic heritage of several's  
 past.

The double staircase leading up to the Audience Hall  
 is decorated with long rows of alternately marching figures  
 (see fig. 10) and griffins. These repetitive, symmetrical designs  
 emphasize a subordination to the architectural setting  
 that is typical of all Persian sculpture. We find it even  
 in certain of special importance, such as the famous  
 Great Group (see fig. 11); the expressive energy  
 and narrative value of Assyrian relief have been abso-  
 lutely rejected. The style of these Persian carvings seems  
 in fact to be the only to reflect and repeat without varia-  
 tion of the Mesopotamian tradition, from here, however, we  
 discover that the Assyrian-Babylonian heritage has been  
 switched to our ignorance; there is no provision  
 in Near Eastern sculpture for the layers of overlapping  
 groups, for the play of clearly planned fields such as we  
 see in the Assyrian and Achaemenid relief. Another striking  
 effect is the way the same and identical of these figures  
 pass through the fabric of the designs. These innova-  
 tions stem from the Ionian Greeks, who had created  
 them in the course of the sixth century B.C.

Persian art under the Achaemenids, then, is a remark-  
 ably synthesis of many diverse elements. Yet it lacked a



10. Gold Throne, Achaemenid, 480-460 B.C.,  
 Archaeological Museum, Tehran



11. Relief of Darius I Triumphant over Phrygia, the Arab and Babylonians,  
 480-470 B.C., Relief of Darius I

32. Palace of Sigeus I, Chiospolis.  
(197-175 B.C.)



33. Silver coin, Sigeus I, 175 B.C.  
(British Museum, London [Friedrich Collection])

capacity for growth; the style formulated under Darius I almost 500 years combined without significant change until the end of the empire. The main reason for this failure, it seems, was the Persians' preoccupation with decorative effects regardless of scale: a carry-over from their nomadic past which they never dropped off. There is no essential difference between the best copies of figures 32 and the best goldsmith's work (fig. 33), bronzes, and other portable art of Achaemenid Persia. The formal tradition, unlike that of conventional architecture and sculpture,

somewhere managed to survive the more than 500 years during which the Persian empire was under Greek and Roman domination, so that it could flower once more when Persia regained its independence and seized ideas portable from the Romans.

The empire who accomplished this feat were of the house of the Sassanids, their greatest figure, Sigeus I, lost the political and artistic traditions of Darius. At Susa-Romans, the formal place of the Achaemenid Empire and the home of Persia, he concentrated his victory over two Roman empires in an enormous relief carved into the living rock (fig. 34). The formal source of this scene of triumph is a well-known composition in Roman sculpture—with the emperor in the role of the familiar barbarian—but the flattening of the volumes and the monumental deformation of the draperies indicate a revival of Persian qualities. The two domestic gods were, after all, Iranian, and that is what makes the relief so strongly impressive. A blending of Roman and Near Eastern elements can also be observed in Sigeus's palace at Chiospolis, near Babylon, with its enormous brick-crested entrance hall (fig. 35), the latest traces of the local style there as emphatic as decorative surface patterns, but monumental under Sassanid subversion as incapable of further evolution as it had under the Achaemenids. Meanwhile and, unlike, on the other hand, continued in Persia. The chief glory of Sassanid art—and a direct heir of the conventional tradition reaching back more than a thousand years to the Luristan bronzes—in its urban sites, such as the splendid sample in figure 36. They were expressly imported back to Ctesiphon and other Christian Wars and/or shall we say that their weight of volume and pattern carried an important stimulus upon the art of the Middle Ages. And even their manufacture was repeated after the Sassanid model during the Arab and the mid-seventh century, they provided an essential treasury of design motifs for Islamic art as well.



## 4. Aegean Art

If we sail from the Nile Delta northward across the Mediterranean, our first glimpse of Europe will be the eastern tip of Crete. Beyond it, we find a scattered group of small islands, the Cyclades, and, a little farther on, the mainland of Greece, lying the coast of Asia Minor across the Taurus low. To archaeologists, "Aegean" is not merely a geographical term; they have adopted it to designate the civilizations that flourished in this area during the third and second millennium B.C., before the development of Greek civilization proper. There are three of these closely interrelated yet distinct cultures: Crete, the Cyclades, and the mainland of Greece. Each of them has in turn been divided into three phases, Early, Middle, and Late, which correspond very roughly to the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms in Egypt. The most important monuments and the greatest artistic achievements, drawn from the latter part of the Middle and from the Late phases.

A hundred years ago, Aegean civilization was known to us only from Homer's account of the Trojan War in the *Iliad* and from Greek legends concerning Crete. The

earliest excavations (the Minoan Settlements during the 1870s in Asia Minor and Greece, by the British School in Crete shortly before) could were undertaken to see the actual state of these ruins. Since then, a great amount of fascinating material has been brought to light—the more than the literary sources would lead us to expect—but our knowledge of Aegean civilization was long in very much more limited than our knowledge of Egypt or the ancient Near East. Unfortunately, our reading of the archaeological evidence has so far remained almost soiled at all from the written records of the Aegeans. In Crete a system of writing was developed about 2000 B.C., and a late form of this Minoan script, called Linear B, which was in use about six centuries later back in Crete, and on the Greek mainland, has recently been deciphered. The language of Linear B is Greek, yet this apparently was not the language for which Minoan script was used before the fifteenth century B.C., so that being able to read Linear B does not help us to understand the great state of earlier Minoan Crete. Moreover, the Linear B texts are largely palace inventories and administrative records, which reveal very little about the history and religion of the people who composed them.



above: 40. Crete—Knossos with Minotaur Relief, North Entrance, Palace of Minos, Knossos, Crete, c. 1500 B.C.

right: 41. Greece, East Wing, Palace of Minos, Knossos, Crete





ca. 1600, from Anaploga,  
1930s—10000 x 1  
Marble, height 90".  
Archaeological Museum, Athens

We thus lack a great deal of the background knowledge necessary for an understanding of Aegean art. In terms, although linked both to Egypt and the Near East on the one hand and to later Greek art on the other, are we more transition between these two worlds, then have a flowering beauty of their own that belongs to neither. Among the many strange questions of Aegean art, perhaps the most puzzling is its role of function and spontaneity, which makes us forget how inferior some of its meanings.

## CYCLOCAR ART

The people who inhabited the Cycladic islands between about 3500 and 1500 B.C. have left hardly any trace apart from their modest stone tools. The things they created with their dead are remarkable in one respect only: they include a large number of marble idols, of a peculiarly impressive kind. Almost all of them represent a standing nude female figure with arms folded across the chest, presumably the mother and family goddess known to us from Asia Minor and the ancient Near East, whose identity reaches all the way back to the Old Stone Age (see fig. 10). These idols share a distinctive shape, which at first glance recalls the organic, almost primitive quality of primitive sculpture: the flat, wedge shape of the body, the strong, columnar neck, and the ritual, oval shield of the face, sometimes except for the long, ridge-like nose. While in this narrowly defined and stable type, however, the Cycladic idols show wide variations in scale—from a few inches to fifteen or even 30 feet. The best of these, such as that in figure 10, have a sharpness of refinement rarely beyond the range of Paleolithic or primitive art. The longer we study this piece, the more we come to realize that its quality can only be described as "elegant" and "sophisticated," though in appearance such terms may seem in our context. What an extraordinary feeling for the organic structure of the body there is in the delicate curves of the outline, in the sense of correctly marking the knee and abdomen. Even if we discount its deceptively modern look, the figure seems a bold departure from anything we have seen before. There is no doubt of native fertility idols, but almost all of them bring their descent from the hollow, heavy-headed "Venus" figurines of the Old Stone Age; in fact, the earliest Cycladic idols are some of this type. What, then, made the Cycladic sculptors suppose the traditional fertility means of their female idols until they arrived at the later, "patrial" kind of figures? Was there perhaps a ritual change in the meaning and ritual purpose of these statues? We cannot even venture a guess to explain the mystery, but it is so true that the Cycladic sculptors of the second millennium B.C. produced the oldest life-size figures of the female nude we know, and that for many hundreds of years they were the only ones to do so. In Greek art, we find very few nude female statues until the middle of the fourth century B.C., when Phe-



FIG. 10. The Queen's Megaron,  
Palace of Mycenae, Mycenae, 1250

1250, and others began to create wall images of the main Ymies. It goes hardly for contradiction that the most famous of these Ymies were made for veneration on the Aegean islands or the coast of Asia Minor, the region where the Cycladic idols had flourished.

#### MINOAN ART

Minos' civilization is by far the richest, as well as the strongest, of the Aegean world. What was it spent, not only from Egypt and the Near East but also from the Classical civilizations of Greece, in a lack of continuity that appears to have deeper causes than archaeological accident. In carrying the main refinements of Minoan art, we cannot really speak of growth or development: they appear and disappear so abruptly that their few roots have been destroyed by external forces—rather violent changes affecting the entire island—about which we know little or nothing. Yet the character of Minoan art, which is gay, even playful, and full of rhythmic motion, carries its hint of such changes.

The first of these unexpected shifts occurred about 1600 B.C. Until that time, during the eight centuries of the Early Minoan era, the Cretans had not advanced much beyond the Neolithic level of village life, even though they seem to have engaged in some commerce that brought them contact with Egypt. Then they learned not only their own values of writing but an urban civilization as well, creating an actual great palace. At least three of them, Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia, were built in short order. (Little anything is left today of the middle great village-wide building outside, for the three palace ruins all disappeared at the same time, about 1400 B.C.; after an interval of a hundred years, two and even larger structures began to appear on the mainland, only to suffer destruction, in their turn, about 1200 B.C. It is these "late" palaces that are our main



FIG. 11. Little Goddess (Princess?),  
a colored terracotta,  
height 1 1/2",  
Museum, Cardiff, Wales



right: 1900. Beaked jug (Mamona style), from Palenque, Colima, c. 1000 A.D. Height 10 1/2". Museum, Mexico, Oaxaca

below: 1910. The Orizaba Jar, from Tlalchicomula, Oaxaca, c. 1200 A.D. Height 14". Museum, Mexico, Oaxaca



source of information on Mexican architecture. The case at Kamoon, called the Palace of Minos, was the most ambitious, covering a vast territory and composed of no more rooms than a medieval or Greek legend or the fabulists of the Minotaur. It has been carefully excavated and partly restored. We cannot imagine the appearance of the building as a whole, but we can assume that the exterior probably did not look impressive compared to Aztecian or Peruvian palaces (see figs. 41, 42). There was no spring-like ceiling, monumental pillars. The individual rooms are generally rather small, the ceiling low (figs. 43, 44), and, as they were, these parts of the structure that were several stories high could not have seemed very tall. Nevertheless, the numerous porticos, stairways, and air shafts must have given the palace a pleasantly open, airy quality, and some of the interiors, with their finely decorated walls, rooms that strengthen of intimate design in the very day. The massive construction of Mexican palaces is evident throughout, but the palaces were always of wood, although some have survived, their dimensions like the smooth shaft tapering downward, topped by a wide, conical-shaped capital is known from representations in painting and sculpture. About the origin of this type of column, which in some contexts could also serve as a religious symbol, or about its possible links with Egyptian architecture, we can say nothing at all.

Who were the rulers that built these palaces? We do not know their names or deeds except for the legendary

Minos, but the archaeological evidence permits a few conjectures: they were not warrior princes, since no fortifications have been found anywhere in Mexico; Civic and military subjects are almost unknown in Mexican art, nor is there any hint that they were sacred kings as the Egyptian or Mesopotamian models, although they may well have presided at religious festivals like only parts of Mexican palaces that can be identified as places of worship are small chapels, suggesting that religious ceremonies took place out of doors. On the other hand, the many courtyards, workshops, and "offices" at Kamoon indicate that the palace was not only a royal residence but a great center of administrative and commercial activity. Since shipping and trade formed an important part of Mexican economic life we judge that elaborate harbor installations and from Mexican export articles found in Egypt and elsewhere, perhaps the king should be viewed as the head of a merchant aristocracy.

The religious life of Mexico (Oaxaca) is even harder to define than the political or social order. It centered on certain sacred places, such as caves or groves, and its chief duty (or duties?) was female, akin to the mother and fertility goddesses we have mentioned before. Since the Mexicans had no temples, we are not surprised to find that they lacked large cult statues as well, but religious cults in Mexico are not few in number and of

greatest significance even on a small scale. Two scenes come to mind: one of a child (see from Moscow) may represent the golden age, one of his several identities; one of them (fig. 10) shows her with three long snakes wound around her arms, body, and headpiece. Their meaning would seem to be clear—in these ancient religions, snakes are associated with earth deities and male fertility; just as the female breasts of our ancestors suggest female fertility, that is the really a "virgin image" that light, female snake would be equally fitting for a virgin figure, and the snakes may represent a ritual of snake handling rather than a divine attribute. Perhaps, then, our figure is a queen or priestess? Her serene ability looking to the heavens, and the emphasis on the ancient snakes too with a snake, "belonging" etc. Another parallel is the fact that Cretes had her snakes, so that to make one was probably important, not home grown, yet no snake goddess here or far from discovered outside Crete. Only the debt of the creature looks at a possible foreign origin... the emphatically central quality of the figure, the long vine leaf leaves, curled snakes suggest a fertility—snake and infant, perhaps through Asia Minor—with Mesopotamian art.

The snake goddess dates from the beginning of the third period, between 2500 and 1900 B.C., which pre-dominantly overhangs here of Minoan architecture, sculpture, and painting. After the catastrophe that had swept over the earlier palace, and a century of slow recovery, there was what seems to me open an explosive release in wealth and consequently remarkable outpouring of creative energy. The most surprising aspect of this sudden effluence, however, is its great achievement in painting. At the time of the earlier palace, between 2500 and 1700 B.C., Cretes had developed a type of pottery famous for its technical perfection and its dynamic, swirling ornament (fig. 11), but this in no way prepared us for the "naturalistic" murals that adorned the walls of the new palace. Unfortunately, these paintings have



fig. 10. Child with a Snake, fragment of a Minoan fresco. Third, a little before 1900 B.C. Museum, Candia, Crete

survived only in small fragments, so that we hardly can have a complete composition. At about the design of an entire wall, it gives many of these scenes from nature showing animals and birds among fantastic vegetation, or the structures of the sea. In the remarkable fragment in figure 12, we see a cat continually sniffing a phloxes behind a bush. The cat looks, observed against a background of wild roses, small Egyptian-looking, and the more observation of plants and animals also suggests Egyptian art. But if Minoan wall painting owes its origin to Egyptian influence, it brings an attitude of mind, a sense of beauty very different from that of the Nile valley. Instead of permanence and stability, we find a passion for rhythm, continuous movement, and the forms themselves have an ethereal weightlessness—they seem to float, or sway, in a world without gravity, as if the water were placed under water. Marine life is central in the fish and dolphin scenes in figure 13; one was a favorite subject of Minoan painting, and the marine feeling



fig. 11. The Swirling Vase (detail), from Hagia Triada, 1700-1500 B.C. Height, width 21 1/2". Museum, Candia, Crete



103. Section, Tomb of Ankhnesneferibre.  
(Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.)



104. Section, Tomb of Ankhnesneferibre.

permeates everything else as well, we saw it even in the "Lovers of Meir," the largest and most dynamic Minoan wall-painting so far (chapter 4); the darker patches are the original fragments on which the restoration is based. The conventional title should not mislead us: what we see here is not a highlight but a ritual game in which the performers vault over the back of the animal. None of the nine-related activities are gifts, all formulated (as in Egyptian art) mainly by their lighter skin color. That the bull was a sacred animal, and that bull-vaulting played an important role in Minoan religious life, is beyond doubt; even such as this still refers to the Greek legend of the youths and maidens sacrificed to the Minotaur. If we try, however, to "read" the fresco as a description of what actually went on during these performances, we find it strangely ambiguous. Do the three figures show successive phases of the same action? How did the vaulter in the center get onto the back of the bull, and in what direction is he moving? Subsequent have some unrelated color experts without getting clear answers to these questions. And while this does mean that the Minoan artist was deficient—it would be absurd to blame him for failing to accomplish what he never intended to do in the first place—it also that fluid, effortless ease of movement was more important to him than formal precision or dramatic power. He has, as it were, idealized the ritual by converting it to harmonious, playful aspects to the point that the participants behave like dolphins gamboling in the sea.

12. The floating world of Minoan wall painting was an imaginative creation as rich and original that its influence can be felt throughout Minoan art during the rise of the

new palace. In painted pottery, the abstract patterns of old time (fig. 101) gave way to a new openness of design drawn from plant and animal life. Some vessels are covered entirely with fish, shells, octopuses, etc., as if the maker itself had been caught-within-the-fish, very Minoan!—animal depictions, had there been any, might have retained its independence, but the small-scale works to which the Minoan sculptor was confined are often already akin to the style of the murals. The most extraordinary of these, in both form and content, is the relief covering the upper part of a water vessel, the so-called Harvester Vase (fig. 102): the lower part is fairly a procession of fish, seawater man, trade to the main, carrying long, bearded implements that look like a combination of scythe and sickle. A harvest festival? Quite probably, although taken again the fairly chaotic of the composition seems preoccupied over descriptive clarity. One view of the scene includes three figures but for a fourth who is carrying a cornucopia to both of Egyptian origin, they are following with all their might, especially the "cheerleader," whose place is so detached that the site goes through the site. What makes the scene what is remarkable—in fish, unique—is its emphasis on physical strain, its energy, reserve gains, which combine sharp observation with a consistently humorous touch. How many works of this sort, we wonder, did Minoan art produce? Only one here is not archaeological at all like it before: in the relief of volutes carrying a lion (fig. 103), carved about two centuries later under the impact of the Hittite style. Is it possible that places similar to the Harvester Vase stimulated Egyptian artists during their brief but important period?

## MUSEUMS AND ART

Along the southwestern shores of the Greek mainland there existed during Late Helladic times (c. 1500-1100 B.C.) a number of settlements corresponding to many separate chiefdoms of Mycenaean Crete. They, too, were grouped around patrilines. Their inhabitants have come to be called Mycenaeans, after Mycenae, the most important of these settlements. Most of the works of art unearthed there by excavation often showed a strikingly Mycenaean character, the Mycenaeans were at first regarded as having come from Crete, but it is now agreed that they were the descendants of the earlier Greek tribes, who had entered the country some 2000 B.C. One where you go, these people had but an inconspicuous pastoral existence in their new homeland; the modest levels of this period have yielded only some simple pottery and a few minor weapons. Toward their B.C., however, they suddenly began to bury their dead in steep-shaft graves and, a little later, in circular stone chambers, known as tholos tombs. This development marked its height around 1400 B.C. in such impressive structures as the one shown in figures 1 and 2 at Mycenae, a site of considerable importance in the Mycenaean thought of the art historians for a tomb and gate to the misleading name "The Treasury of Atreus." Royal places in tholos tombs in this era be reached only in Egypt during the same period.

The Treasury of Atreus had been utilized of its own tomb long ago, but other Mycenaean tombs were found intact, and when they yielded up buried men, women, and children (the royal dead were wrapped and sometimes preserved)—like Egyptian mummies, their faces covered by golden masks similar in purpose if not in style to the masks found in Pharaonic tombs of the Middle and New Kingdoms—many other objects of there was also a good deal of personal equipment—drinking



Gold Mask in the Tomb of a Lion's Head, from a tholos-tomb at Mycenae (c. 1400 B.C.). Gold, height 7". National Museum, Athens.

vessels, jewelry, weapons—made of a gold and copper alloy in combination. Some of these pieces, such as the magnificent gold vessel in the shape of a lion's head (fig. 3), show a highly expressive style of ancient plasticity bounded by sharp edges which suggests contact with the Near East, while others are so Mycenaean in flavor that they might be imports from Crete. Of the items that are

fig. 2 (a). The Treasury of Atreus (c. 1400 B.C.). Gold, height 2-4/5". National Museum, Athens.



the two-faceted gold cups from a tomb at Napfies (fig. 100), they must have been made about 1500 B.C., a few decades after the first Egypt, but where, for whom, and by whom? Here the problem "Minoan or Mycenaean?" becomes acute. The dispute is not as idle as it may seem, for it tells our ability to differentiate between the two neighboring cultures. It also forces us to consider every aspect of the cups: do we find anything in their style or content that is pre-Minoan? Our first response, surely, is to note the similarity of the human figures there to the Harappan Yaks, and the similarity of the bulls to the animals in the "Tomb of the Bulls." On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that the men on the Napfies cups are not engaged in the Trojan ball-throwing game that is the far more distinctive business of watching the animals on the rings, a subject that does not occur in Minoan art, though we do find it in Mycenaean. Once we realize this, we are able (at least to notice) that the designs on the cups does not quite match the continuous rhythmic movement of Minoan compositions, and that the animals, for all their physical power, have the look of cattle rather than of sacred animals. It would seem, then, that the cups are a Mycenaean adoption of Minoan forms, either by a Minoan artist or by a Trojan working for Mycenaean patrons.

In the nineteenth century B.C., Mycenaean then presents a strange picture: a culture, powerful Egyptian influence on local customs combined with an equally strong or-

bitis influence from Crete and with an extraordinary material wealth as expressed in the lavish use of gold. Did the Mycenaeans perhaps conquer the Minoans, causing the destruction of the "new" palace there about 1500 B.C.? This idea has now been discarded; the new palace, it seems, was destroyed by a natural catastrophe (earthquake and tidal waves) following the eruption of a volcano. In any event, it does not account for the preceding connection with Egypt. What we need is a rational explanation that involves the Mycenaeans with Crete as well as Egypt about a century before the destruction of the new palace; and such a theory—fascinating and plausible, if difficult to confirm in detail—the first taking shape in recent years. It runs about as follows: between 1700 and 1500 B.C., the Egyptians were trying to rid themselves of the Minoans, who had seized the Nile Delta (see page 28). For this they gained the aid of warriors from Mycenaean, who returned home laden with gold (of which Egypt alone had an ample supply), and deeply impressed with Egyptian literary customs. The Minoans, unwilling for anyone to follow, forced the Mycenaeans back and forth, so that they, too, had a new and closer contact with Egypt (which was indispensable for their custom property toward 1500 B.C., as well as for the rapid development of naturalistic wall painting at that time). The close relations between Crete and Mycenaean, once established, were to last a long time, toward 1400 B.C., when Linear B script began to appear, the Mycenaeans were the rulers of Crete, either by conquest or through dynastic marriage. In any event, their power rose as that of the Minoans declined; the great monuments of Mycenaean architecture were all built between 1400 and 1300 B.C.

Apart from such details as the shape of the columns or decorative motifs of various sorts, Mycenaean architecture was little to the Minoan tradition. The palace on the mainland were fitting fortresses constructed to defensive walls of huge stone blocks, a type of construction quite unknown in Crete but similar to the Stone Fortifications of Beğazlıci (see fig. 80). The Lion Gate of Mycenae (fig. 101) is the most impressive remnant of these massive ramparts, which implied such are in the Greeks of later times that they were regarded as the work of the Cyclopes (a mythical race of one-eyed giants) from the Treasury of Atreus, although built of smaller and more precisely shaped blocks, has a Cyclopean feel (see fig. 101). Another aspect of the Lion Gate belongs to the Minoan tradition: is the great stone relief over the

100. The Lion Gate, Mycenae (c. 1300 B.C.).



101. Plan of the Mycenaean Megaron.







Fig. 144. *Three Figures*, from Myanmar (c. 1900-1920). Bronze, height 37". National Museum, Chicago

showing. The two lions flanking a symbolic Maues column form the central group, heraldic imagery as the golden lion's head we encountered in figure 138. Their function as guardians of the gate, their size, muscular bodies, and their symmetrical design again suggest an influence from the ancient Near East. The way at this point could the Tropen War, inconceivable in Homer's *Iliad*, which brought the Myrmecians to their Maues encounter (see fig. 133)? It seems likely, however, that they began to fully embrace the tropes, for male or not, male rather than lion.

The center of the palace, as Myanmar and other male land men, was the royal audience hall, called the *ungay* room. Only its plan is known for certain: a large rectangular room with a round hearth in the middle and four columns to support the roof beams (fig. 133). It was entered through a deep porch with two columns, and an antechamber. This design is in essence no more than an enlarged version of the simple house of native practitioners; its structure can be traced back to Middleolithic times. There must have been a rich decorative scheme of wall paintings and ornamental carvings to show its dignity as the king's abode.

No trace has been found of Myanmar temple architecture—of it was absent. The palace did, however, include sacred spaces, as in China. When gods were worshipped there is a sense of dignity Myanmar religion rarely included Maues elements but also influences from Asia Minor, as well as traces of Greek origin inherited from their own forebears. But gods here are not way of merging or exchanging their identities, as that the religious images in Myanmar art are extremely hard to recognize. What, for instance, are we to make of the simple lion's head group (fig. 143, 144) associated at

Myanmar to 1900? The style of the piece—decidedly current shapes and size, fluidly body movements—still echoes Maues art, but the subject is strange indeed. Two kneeling women, closely seated, wear a single cloth; whose is it? The natural interpretation would be to regard the figure on the right as the mother, about the child's legs to her breast and arms around her, the second woman, whose left hand rests on the other's shoulder, would then be the grandmother. In such a generation family group are a well-known subject in Chinese art, as that we often find St. Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Infant Christ combined in similar fashion.

It is the memory of these few words that guides me now of the Myanmar story. Yet we must be wary for a subject in ancient images that the one reading of the group. On the other hand, there are very widespread myths about the stories about the same scene from place to place who is identified by his mother and named by example, grandson, or even animals. We are thus forced to conclude—rather reluctantly—that our story is all scattered stories: a motherless child girl with her mother, the real mystery, however, lies deeper. It is the wonder play of parents, the intimate human feeling, that binds the three figures together. Perhaps is the entire range of ancient art before the Greeks do not that gods—or men, for that matter—expressing affection radiantly warm and dignified. Something quite basically new is reflected here, a specific view of divine beings that makes even the Maues make gods (fig. 143) and even women and men. Was this change of attitude, and the ability to express it in art, a Maues achievement? Or did they inherit it from the Maues? However that may be, our story group opens up a dimension of expression that had never been achieved in Egyptian Mauesography.

## 5. Greek Art

The works of art we have come to know so far are like fascinating strangers: we approach them fully aware of their alien background and of the “language difficulties” they present. If it turns out that, after all, we can understand something of what they have to say, we are surprised and grateful. As soon as we teach the Greeks, our attitude undergoes a change: they are not strangers but relatives, we feel older members of our own family whose art we recognize immediately. A Greek temple will remind us as a glimpse of the First National Bank around the corner, a Greek statue will bring to mind countless other statues we have seen elsewhere, a Greek coin will make us want to see for the small change in our own pocket. The sense of familiarity is not an accidental blessing. We would do well to keep in mind that the continuous tradition which links us with the Greeks is a handicap as well as an advantage. If we are to gain an unobscured view of Greek architecture, we must take care not to be misled by our memories of the First National Bank, and in judging Greek sculpture we had better forget its later-day descendants in the public park.

Another complication peculiar to the study of Greek art arises from the fact that we have three separate, and sometimes conflicting, sources of information on the subject. There are, first of all, the monuments themselves, a reliable but often woefully inadequate source. Then we have various copies made in Roman times, which tell us something about important Greek works that would otherwise be lost to us entirely. These copies, however, always pose a problem: some are of such high quality that we cannot be sure that they really are copies, others make us wonder how faithfully they follow their model. Finally if we have several copies, all slightly different, of the same lost original. Finally, there are the literary sources. The Greeks were the first people in history to write at length about their own artists, and their accounts were eagerly collected by the Romans, who handed them down to us. From them we learn what the Greeks themselves considered their most important achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting. This written testimony has helped us to identify some celebrated artists and monuments, but much of the rich world of which so much more remains today, while other works, which do survive and which make us so among the greatest masterpieces of their time, are not mentioned at all. To reconcile the literary evidence with that of the copies and of the original monuments, and to weave these strands into a picture of the development of Greek art, is a difficult task indeed, despite the vast amount of work

that has been done since the beginnings of archaeological scholarship two hundred years ago.

What were the Greeks? We have not seen of them before—the Egyptians, who had come to Greece about 2000 B.C.—other Greek-speaking tribes entered the peninsula from the north, toward 1000 B.C., established and absorbed the Mycenaean stock, and gradually spread to the Aegean islands and Asia Minor. It was these tribes who during the following centuries created the great civilization for which we now reserve the name Greek. We do not know how many separate tribes there were in the beginning, but two main groups stand out: the Dorians, who settled mainly on the mainland, and the Ionians, who inhabited the Aegean islands and the coast. By 600 B.C. Asia Minor and then Asia had closer contacts with the western coast of Asia. Some centuries later, the Greeks also spread westward, founding important settlements in Sicily and southern Italy. Despite a strong sense of kinship based on language and common beliefs, and represented in such traditions as the first great Panhellenic (all-Greek) festival, the Greeks remained divided into many small, independent city-states. The pattern may be traced as an echo of agricultural beginnings, as an inheritance from the Egyptians, or as a response to the geography of Greece, whose mountain ranges, narrow valleys, and jagged coastline would have made political unification difficult in any case. Perhaps all three factors combined in another. The intense rivalry of these states—military, political, and commercial—undoubtedly stimulated the growth of ideas and institutions. Their own thinking about government continues to make use of a number of key words of Greek origin which reflect the evolution of the city-state: democracy, aristocracy, tyranny, democracy, and, most important, justice (derived from justice, the citizens of the polis or city-state). In the end, however, the Greeks paid dearly for their inability to broaden the concept of the state beyond the boundaries of the polis. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), in which the Spartans and their allies defeated the Athenians, was a catastrophe from which Greece never recovered.

The formative phase of Greek civilization extends about four hundred years, from 800 B.C. to 400 B.C. Of the first three centuries of this period we know very little, but after about 500 B.C. the Greeks rapidly emerge into the full light of history. The earliest specific dates that have come down to us are from that time: 490 B.C., the founding of the Olympic Games and the starting point of Greek chronology, as well as several slightly later dates

accounting for the fragmentation of various styles. They can also see the full development of the iconic characteristic of Greek style in the fine arts, the so-called *kanonismos*. We know it only from painted pottery and small-scale sculpture: monumental architecture and sculpture in stone did not appear until the twentieth century. At first the potter's hand has decorated only with abstract designs—triangles, circles, concentric circles—but toward the 4th c. before and around 300 years before to appear within the geometric framework, and in the most mature examples these figures will form elaborate scenes. Our specimen (fig. 10), from the Dipylon cemetery in Athens, belongs to a group of very large vases that served as grave monuments; its features have been through which liquid offerings would flow down to the dead below. On the body of the vessel we see the deceased lying in state, flanked by figures with their arms raised in a gesture of mourning, and a funeral procession of children and a woman in front.

The most remarkable thing about this vase is that it contains no reference to an afterlife, no promise to purely compensation. How can a worthy man, it asks us, who was rewarded by many and had a splendid funeral? Did the Greeks, then, have no conception of a hereafter? They did, but the realm of the dead to them was a collective, ill-defined region where the souls, or "shades," led a hostile and painful existence without undergoing demands upon the living. When Odysseus, in the Homeric poem, contemplating the shades of Achilles, tells the dead hero not to despair for his own demise: "I think not consciously of death, Odysseus. I'd rather come on earth the poorest man . . . than find it over all the wasted dead!" If the Greeks believed the shades had received their graves, and even passed lifetimes over there, they did so in spite of grief, remembrance, rather than to satisfy the needs of the dead. Clearly, they had refused to adopt the elaborate funeral customs of the Mycenaeans (see page 73). Nor is the Geometric style an outgrowth of the Mycenaean tradition but a fresh—and in some respects quite primitive—start. Given his limited repertory of shapes, the artist who painted our vase has achieved an astonishingly varied effect. The spacing of the bands, their width and density, show a masterly understanding of the structure of the vessel. His interest in representation, however, is in no way limited: the figures in groups, repeated across the rim, are little more than another kind of ornament, part of the same overall system, so that their size varies in accordance with the area to be filled. Figures and geometric elements will occur in the same field, and the distinction between them is often difficult. Images indicate age, whether of a person, a dead, or a tree, or even with reference to time and human kinds, and the children, female images, etc., between the figures may be decorative or descriptive—we cannot tell. Much the same could be said of figure 11, a dipylon vase from another Geometric vase which makes an extraordinary contrast with the religious view of nature into (see fig. 10); if it were not for the fact that the vase is made from red and



10. A Dipylon, showing what a Geometric vase is to the Museum in Berlin, 8th century B.C.

that the biggest bit has stood the test of use of the vase, we would read the design simply as a pattern, rather than as a死者之圖. And what of the rim? Are they monumental circles or abstract vase fillers?

Geometric pottery has been found not only in Greece but in Italy and the Near East as well, a clear indication that Greek traders were well established throughout the western Mediterranean in the eighth century B.C. What is more, they had already adopted the Phoenician alphabet and adapted it for their own use, so we know from the inscriptions on these vases more. The greatest Greek collection of this era, however, are the two *kylixes* upon the floor and the *kylixes*. The vase in the Museum

11. Dipylon vase (8th century B.C., height 30"). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Chicago Photo)



more immediately a hint of the counterpower of these poems, if our knowledge of eighth-century Greece were based on the visual art alone, we would inevitably think of it as still simpler and more provincial society than the literary evidence suggests. There is a paradox here that leads to its resolution. Perhaps, at this particular time, Greek civilization was so language-oriented that painting and sculpture played a less important role than they were to assume in the following centuries. In that event, the classical style may well have been something of an overreaction to the eighth century, a conservative reaction almost bound to the scene. In the shipwreck scene, its rigid order already seems in process of dissolution; representation and narrative demand greater scope than the style can provide. Toward the end, the dark heady horses, are shown some flooding in, and Greek art enters another phase, which we call the Orientalizing style.



110. The Binding of Prometheus and Hermes (Pithos-*kylix* amphora, c. 675-650 B.C.; height 21". Museum, Vienna)

As its name implies, the new style reflects powerful influences from Egypt and the Near East, introduced by increasing trade with those regions. Between c. 700 and 650 B.C., Greek art absorbed a host of Oriental motifs and ideas, and was profoundly transformed in the process. The change becomes very visible if we compare the large amphora (a two-handled storage jar) from Eretria (fig. 111) with the Clippion vase of a doublet-year-maker. Geometric ornament has not disappeared altogether, but it is confined to the peripheral zones—the feet, the handles, and the lip; new, variegated motifs—such as spirals, interlocking bands, papyrus and rosettes—are promiscuously combined; on the shoulder of the vessel we see a flock of fighting animals, derived from the imagery of Near Eastern art. The major areas, however, are given over to narratives, which has become the dominant element. The figures have gained so much in size and descriptive precision that the decorative patterns, common among them, can no longer interfere with their actions; ornament always set now belongs to a separate and lower realm, clearly distinguishable from that of representation. As a result, the binding of the giant Prometheus by Hermes and his companions—the scene on the neck of the amphora—is etched with meticulous direction and dramatic force. If there were lack the heady sweep of epic heroes, their movements have an expressive vigor that makes them seem thoroughly alive. The clasp of another narrative structure is depicted on the body of the vase, the main panel of which has been badly damaged, so that only two figures have survived intact: they are Hermes, the owner of the snake-haired, scimitar-bladed caduceus whom Perseus killed with the aid of the gods. Even there an artist as intent on the articulation of the body as beyond the limits of the Geometric style.

The Eretria vase belongs to a group called *Pithos-kylix*, the successors of the great tradition of vase painting that was soon to develop in Athens, the biggest ancient pottery. A second half of Orientalizing vase is known as *Pithos-kylix*, since it points toward the later pottery production of Corinth. These vessels, noted for their spirited animal motifs, share particularly close links with the Near East. Some officials, such as the perfume vase in figure 112, are modeled in the shape of animals. The encircling little owl, "attendants" to the paws of a lion's head and set in contrast to pure and expression, helps us to understand why Greek pottery came to be so loved throughout the Mediterranean world.

#### ARCHAIC PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

The Orientalizing phase of Greek art was a period of experiment and imitation, in contrast to the stable and consistent Geometric style. Once the new elements from the East had been fully assimilated, however, there emerged another style, as well defined as the Geometric but infinitely greater in range: the archaic, which lasted



Fig. 108. *Polio-Chryseion* (Antique Vase, 5th cent. B.C., Height 7". The Louvre, Paris)

Fig. 109. *Pentis*, *Arctides* (Antique Vase, 5th cent. B.C., Height 10 1/2". Musée Gréco-Romain)



from the later seventh century to about 650 B.C., the time of the Salamis Greek victories over the Persians at Salamis and Platea. During the Archaic period, we can see the unfolding of the various genres of Greek art only in vase painting but also in monumental architecture and sculpture. While the latter art lacks the balance, the sense of perfection of the Classical style of the later fifth century, it has a freedom that gives it a particularly strong appeal for the modern beholder. It is difficult to argue with those who regard it as the most vital phase in the development of Greek art.

Greek architecture and sculpture in a large way must have begun to develop long before the sixth-century century. Until the time, however, both were mainly utilitarian, and nothing of them has survived except the foundations of a few buildings. The decorative taste and sense of taste, for the sake of permanence, was the more important here than that entered Greece during the Orientalizing period. Moreover, the evolution in material and technique must have brought about desired changes of style as well, so that we cannot easily reconstruct the appearance of the last wooden temples or statues or the bronze later works. In vase painting, on the other hand, there was no such break in continuity. It thus seems best to deal with Archaic vase before we turn to sculpture. The few surviving monuments of Archaic architecture will be discussed in a separate section devoted to the development of Greek architecture in a short two-page article.

The appearance of Archaic vase painting is in some ways completely unique. Theocratic poetry, however great its value as an archaeologist's tool, rarely enters into the mainstream of the history of art; we think of it, if general, as a wall or boundary which by its very nature retards the advance the level of a nation's art. This is true even of African vase, despite their exceptional beauty and technical refinement, and the same may be said of the vast bulk of Greek pottery. Yet if we study such pieces as the *Dipylon* vase or the amphora from Eleusis,

impressive not only by virtue of their sheer size but in evidence of personal effort, we cannot escape the feeling that they are among the most authentic works of art of their day. There is no way to prove this, of course—for too much has been lost—but it seems obvious that there are objects of highly individual character, rather than routine work produced in quantity according to set patterns. Archaic vase painting is a good deal smaller than their predecessors, since pottery vessels no longer served as grave monuments (which were now made of stone). Their painted decorations, however, show a far greater emphasis on personal release than Egyptian scenes from mythology, legend, and everyday life appear to do. In variety and the artistic level in other very high regard, especially among Attic vase, there stands the classical technique behind the beauty of these vessels is evident from the fact that after the middle of the sixth century the finest vase frequently bear the signatures of the men who made them. This indicates not only their individualization—perhaps as well as personal—good taste



Fig. 10. Central, Dyonisos (see also  
caption of fig. 10a) with three-figured kylix (a. p. 10a).  
Dionysos (a. p. 10a). Kylix, Antikensammlung, Munich

in their work, but also that they could become famous for their personal style. To us, such signatures in themselves do not mean a great deal; they are no more than convenient labels giving us some insight of an artist's work to gain some insight into his personality. And, remarkably enough, that is possible with a good many Aeolian vase painters. Some of them have no distinctive single distinctive artists' "handwriting" can be recognized even without the aid of a signature; and in a few cases we are lucky enough to have dozens (in one instance, over one hundred) by the same hand, so that we can trace single master's development over a considerable period. Aeolian vase painting thus introduces us to the first clearly defined personalities in the entire history of art. For while it is true that signatures were in Aeolian sculpture and architecture as well, they have not helped us to identify the personalities of individual masters.

Aeolian Greek painting was, of course, not confined to vases. There were murals and panels, too. Although lacking the richness of their shape, a few poorly preserved fragments, we can form a fair idea of what they looked like from the wall-paintings in the tombs of the same period (see fig. 10, 10a and caption 10). Now, we wonder, was this large-scale work related to the vase painters? Did the vase painters follow the lead of these painters, and if so, how closely does their output resemble the large-scale compositions they copied? We do not know—in fact, we cannot be sure that we have asked the right questions. One thing seems certain, however: all Aeolian painting was essentially drawing filled in with color. But

color, therefore the murals could not have been very different in appearance from the vase painters, even if their range of pigments was less narrow. According to the literary sources, Greek wall painting did not come into vogue until after the Persian wars (c. 475-450 B.C.), through the gradual discovery of modeling and spatial depth. From that time on, vase painting became a lower art, since depth and modeling were beyond its limited technical means. By the end of the fifth century, its decline was obvious. Characteristically enough, the vases, some of most of the vase painters we know date from before the Persian war. Afterward the better clearly died out, along with the activities of the vase painters. The great age of vase painting, then, was the Aeolian one (c. 675-475), the best vase painters enjoyed as much prestige as other artists. Their work was the traditional counterpart of the murals of the period and, we may assume, similar in quality. Whether or not it directly reflects the best wall paintings, it deserves to be viewed as a major achievement in its own right.

The difference between Orientalizing and Aeolian vase paintings is one of artistic discipline. In the simplicity from Etruscan (fig. 10, 10a), the figures are shown purely as solid volumes, purely in outline, even a combination of both. Toward the end of the seventh century, after vases, are treated these inconsistencies by adopting the "black-figure" style, which means that the entire design is enclosed in black against the natural clay; internal details are scratched in with a needle, and white and purple may be added on top of the black to make certain more vivid parts. The nature of this procedure, which is even a decorative, two-dimensional effect, also appears in figure 10a, a black-figure vase of c. 675-650 B.C. In Etruscan. The slender, elongated form has a female figure, yet also realism and strength, so that the composition adapts itself to the circular surface without becoming more ornamental. Dyonisos realizes in his best style and was once entirely white; it moves with the same ease as the dolphins, whose light forms are counterbalanced by the heavy figures of grapes. But why is he at all? What does the happy party of Etruscan image mean? According to a Roman hymn, the god of wine had once been abducted by pirates, whereupon he caused them to give all over the ship and frightened the sailors until they jumped overboard and were turned into dolphins. We are told here in his return journey was even to be joyfully received by every Greek thinker accompanied by seven dolphins and seven bunches of grapes for good luck.

If the open elegance of Etruscan seems to create something of the open atmosphere primary (see fig. 10, 10a) for an instructive comparison, the work of the slightly younger Ptolemy seems more akin to the formal Orientalizing style of the binding of Polyphemos in the Etruscan epiphany (the scene of Herakles killing the lion, seven captives including the Ptolemy (fig. 10a and caption 10, 10a) and realism. The two heavy bodies are blacked-out and combined, so that they almost give together into a single, compact



Fig. 1.01. The Farnese Fama, Capitoline Museum, Rome  
center of an axis perpendicular to the plane of the relief  
c. 200-250 A.D. Marble, Roman, height, 100 cm.



Fig. 1.02. The Laocoön Group, Vatican Museums, Rome  
center of an axis perpendicular to the plane of the relief  
c. 200-250 A.D. Marble, height, 170 cm.

with twisted lines and volutes—often have been added with almost economy in order to avoid breaking up the massive expanses of flesh. The Fama succeeds to an extraordinary degree in conveying the three-dimensional quality of these figures—the knowledge of body structure, the ability to use foreshortening—none the less was the abundance and elaboration of floridities not needed—no elaborate detail of anatomy where movement against anything we have seen before. Only in such details as the ear of Glaukos do we still find the traditional contribution of front and profile views.

From now on we find that the circumlocution foreshortened technique made the study of foreshortening actually difficult, for in some of its cases it used its reverse procedure, leaving the figures not well fitted in the foreshortened. This red-figure technique gradually replaced the other without around 500 B.C. In a famous vase well depicted in figure 1.03, a type of c. 450-400 B.C., by an unknown master nicknamed the "Farnese Painter," the details of the Laocoön and Glaukos are very badly drawn with the front, rather than foreshortened, as the artist depends for his on the profile view that before, indeed, to explain the internal lines of composition that permit him to show bodies foreshortened and overlapping bodies precise details of anatomy from the pleated skirt, and interesting facial expressions. It is so foreshortened all these new effects that he has made the figure as large as the possible could. They almost seem to burst from their circular frame, and a piece of the Laocoön's helmet has actually been cut off. A master striving for monumental effect, but with more traditional results, may be seen in the Laocoön and Glaukos by Greek

Fig. 1.02, one of the masterpieces of late Archaic vase painting. It shows the goddess of doom leading the body of her son, who had been killed and disfigured of his groin by Laocoön. In this moving execution of grief, Greek art reaches a point that is strongly prophetic of Christianity (see fig. 1.03). No less remarkable is the expression of freedom of the thoughtlessness, the face as an Apollo and the head as a young girl's face. Glaukos knows how to lose the contours of his face beneath the drapery, how to control vigorous, dynamic contours with delicate and more delicate secondary strokes, such as those indicating the anatomical details of Glaukos's body. This vase also has a special interest because of its different inscription, which includes the signature of the painter and potter as well as a dedication ("this vase is beautiful").

The vase itself that distinguishes the foreshortening style from the traditional—figuring animals, winged figures, scenes of combat—had reached Greece mainly through the importation of ivory settings and metalwork from Phoenicia or Syria which offered three-dimensional as well as Egyptian influences. Such objects have usually been found in Greek soil, so that we can regard this channel of transmission as well established. They almost help us, however, to explain the rise of monumental sculpture and sculpture in stone about 500 B.C., which must have been based on experience with Egyptian works that could be studied only on the spot. We know that small columns of Greek columns in figures at the time, for when, we wonder, did Greece suddenly develop a taste for monumentality, and how did her artists acquire so quickly to the Egyptian manner of stone carving? The reply



189. Female Figure (Green) c. 400 B.C.  
Limestone, height 19 1/2".  
The Louvre, Paris



190. Standing Female Figure (Green) c. 400 B.C., Marble.  
Height 6 x 1 1/2". The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Fletcher Fund, 1928)



may never be cleared up. For the oldest surviving witnesses of Greek stone sculpture and architecture show that the Egyptian tradition had already been well assimilated and internalized, through their link with Egypt a well-defined reality.

Let us consider two very early Greek statues, a female figure of c. 600-550 B.C. (Fig. 132) and a male youth of c. 560-550 (Fig. 133), and compare them with their Egyptian predecessors (Fig. 131). The conclusions are certainly striking: we note the block-constructive, cubic character of all four statues, the flat, broad-shouldered silhouette of the male figures, the position of their arms, their crooked legs, the way their heads were set (by far, west, the emphatic twisting of the knees). The horizontal, regular treatment of the hair, the close-fitting garment of the female figure and her coiled arms are further points of resemblance. Helped by Egyptian standards, the *Artemis* statue becomes a bit "intrusive"—slightly over-shouldered, awkward, less close to nature. Whereas the Egyptian sculptor allows the legs and hips of the female figure to press through the skirt, the Greek shows a solid, undifferentiated mass from which only the legs protrude. But the Greek statue also has virtues of their own that cannot be measured in Egyptian terms. First of all, they are truly free-standing—the earliest large-scale images of the human form in the entire history of art of which this can be said. The Egyptian statue had never dared to liberate such figures completely from the stone; they remain inscribed in it to some degree, not least, so that the empty space between the legs, and between the arms and the torso (or between two figures in a double statue, as in Fig. 92) always remains partly filled. There are never any holes in Egyptian stone figures. In that sense, they do not make an sculpture in the round but as an extreme case of high relief. The Greek statue, on the contrary, does not retain holes in the flesh. It separates the arms from the torso and the legs from each other (even if they are raised in a *diorsi*), and goes to great lengths to cut away every bit of dead material (the only exception are the tiny bridges between the feet and the thighs of the male youth). Apparently it is of the greatest importance to him that a statue consist only of stone that has transformational meaning within its original whole; the stone must be transformed, it cannot be perceived in terms of rest, neutral matter. This is not, as one might say, a question of technique but of artistic intention. The art of liberation followed by not two figure statues there with a spirit basically different from that of any of the Egyptian statues. While the latter were bound by a spell that has released them from every trace of the old idea of stone, the Greek images are new, full of hidden life. The direct gaze of their huge eyes offers the most telling evidence to the gods, human gaze of the Egyptian figures.

Where do they represent? We call the female statue by the general name of *Kore* (*Maide*), the male one by that of *Kouros* (*Maide*)—conventional names that give

over the difficulty of identifying them better. But can we explain why the *Kouros* is always male while the *Kore* is female? Whatever the reason, both types were produced in large numbers throughout the Archaic era, and their growth continues (remained) extraordinarily stable. Some are associated with the names of gods ("*Therapomenon*" or "*Terapomenon*" with dedications to various deities. Then, then, was votive offerings, but whether they represent the statue, the deity, or a divinely favored person such as a victor or athletic games, remains uncertain in most cases. Others were placed in graves, yet they can be viewed as representations of the deceased only in the broadest and completely impressionistic sense. This odd lack of differentiation seems part of the essential character of

FIG. 132. *Artemis* (Kouros from Amyclae), c. 600-550. Marble, height 1' 2". National Museum, Athens



these figures, there are neither gods nor men but something in between, an ideal of physical perfection and vitality shared by mortal and immortal alike, just as the language of the Etruscan epic itself is the mixture of both literary and mythology.

If the type of *Kriotes* and *Kriote* is inherently circumscribed, its artistic interpretation shows the same inner dynamic we have found in Archaic vase painting. The pace of this development becomes strikingly clear from a comparison of the *Kriotes* of figure 13a with another carved some 75 years later (fig. 13b) and identified by the inscription on its base as the funerary statue of *Kriotes*, who had died a hero's death in the front line of battle. Like all early figures, it was originally painted traces of color can still be seen in the hair and the pupils of the eyes instead of the deeply-carved, abstract pieces of the older statue, we now find smiling curves. The whole

body displays a greater awareness of massive volume, but there are elasticity, and sometimes anatomical details are more functionally traditional than before. The style of the *Kriotes* thus corresponds exactly to that of Pausanias' *Kriotes* (sculpture 31); we witness the transition from black-figure to red-figure in sculptural terms. There are some very distinct from the middle years of the sixth century marking previous generations along the same road, such as the magnificent *Call-Kriotes* of c. 570-550 (fig. 13c), a red-figure statue representing the *Kriotes* with the spiritual animal he is offering to *Kriotes*. Needless to say, it is not a prototype, any more than the *Kriotes* is, but it shows a type the found influence more abundant years. The *Kriotes* originally had the *Kriotes* standing past the legs are badly damaged, and the body conforms to the *Kriotes* ideal of physical perfection; its features, except those are emphasized rather than obscured, by the thin cloth, which he does like a second skin, detaching itself only occasionally to the others. The face, effectively framed by the soft curve of the animal, no longer has the masklike quality of the early *Kriotes*; the features here, as it were, caught up in the new *Kriotes* body in the story, now, are presented a gesture, a momentary expression of life: the lips are drawn up in a smile. The most important not to impose any psychological meanings to this "Kriotes



above: 13b. *Call-Kriotes* (upper portion) c. 550 B.C. Marble, height of entire statue 62". Acropolis Museum, Athens



right: 13c. *The Kriotes* (head) c. 570-550 B.C. Marble, height 11 1/2". The Louvre, Paris

scale," for the restrained expression occurs through carefully crafted direct sculpture from the face of the dead face Koonin. Only after years of slow, gradual, late work. One of the most famous instances of it is the enigmatic *Woman Head* (fig. 14), which probably belonged to the body of a Koonin. Slightly later than the *Cliff-Dweller*, it shows the black-figure phase of Koonin sculpture at its highest stage of refinement. Her eyes would have the appearance of widely separated beads on a line that sets off the subtly asymmetrical plane of the face.

The Koonin style is somewhat more variable than that of the Koonin, although it follows the same pattern of development. A defined figure by definition, it poses a different problem—how to make body and drapery. It is also likely to reflect changing facilities from differences of pose. Thus, the impressive statue in figure 15, carved about the same time as the *Cliff-Dweller*, does not represent a more evolved stage of the Koonin style, but an alternative approach to the same theme (cf. the one found in the Temple of Hera, mentioned in footnote, and may well have been an image of the goddess, because of her great size as well as her extraordinary dignity. If the earlier Koonin culture the planes of a rectangular slab, the "fibers" seem like a constant source of the tension of their construction, such as the support in figure 16, we find here a smooth, continuous flow of lines creating body and body. For the magical effect of the statue depends not so much on its abstract quality as on the way the abstract form becomes both like the swelling pulsation of a living body. The great upward sweep of the lower third of the figure gradually subsides, to reveal several separate layers of garments, and its gaze is directed further than merely upward, it encounters the prevailing shapes of arms, legs, and torso. In the end, the drapery, so completely unobtrusive upon the formation, turns into a second skin, the kind we have seen in the *Cliff-Dweller*.

The Koonin of figure 14, in contrast, seems a lesser descendant of our first Koonin, even though she was carved a few centuries later. She, too, is modeling rather than collecting, with a strongly sculptural work. The simplicity of her garments, however, is new and sophisticated. The heavy cloth forms a distinct, separate layer over the body, covering but not concealing the subtly marked shapes beneath, and the left hand, which originally was extended forward, protruding a subtle gift of water and, from her grasp the entire spatial quality upon beyond the two earlier Koonin figures we have discussed. Slightly later is the more vigorous treatment of the hair, which falls over the shoulders in soft, curly strands, as compared with the massive, rigid wig in figure 15. More conservatively of all, perhaps, (after all, most have with its enchantingly few expressions—whether more naturalistic than any we have seen before. Here, as in the Koonin, we enter the representing red-figure phase of Koonin art.

One final Koonin sculpture, the above a decade later, has some of the quality of figure 15, though both were



(15) "Wife" from Koonin, c. 1700-1800 B.C.  
Museum, height 12".  
The Louvre, Paris

found on the facemasks of statues. In many ways the same must also be the case for human figures; in fact, the probably came from China, another island of human likeness. The architectural grandeur of her sculptures, though, has given way to an ornate, perhaps overly theatrical grace. The garments still keep around the body in soft diagonal curves, but the play of subtly differentiated

Fig. 109. *Statue of Artemis Paphos* c. 320 B.C. (Marble, height 67". Acropolis Museum, Athens)



fold, pleats, and textures has almost become an end in itself. Color must have played a particularly important role in such works, and we are fortunate that so much of it survives in varnishes.

When the Cretan began to build their temples in stone, they also fell back to the age-old tradition of architectural sculpture. The Egyptians had been covering the walls (and even the columns) of their buildings with reliefs since the time of the Old Kingdom, but these carvings were no shallow ones (figs. 32, 34, 35, 46) that they tell the continuity of the wall surface undisturbed; they had no weight or volume of their own, so that they were related to their architectural setting only in the same limited sense as Egyptian wall paintings (with which they were, in practice, interchangeable). This is also true of reliefs on Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian buildings (see figs. 53–54, 91, 92). There existed, however, another kind of architectural sculpture in the ancient Near East, originated, it seems, by the Hittites: the great guardian figures protruding from the frieze that framed the gateway of fortresses or palaces (see figs. 36, 37). This tradition must have inspired, although perhaps indirectly, the carving over the Lion Gate at Mycenae (see fig. 11). We must nevertheless note one important feature that distinguishes the Mycenaean guardian figures from their predecessors: although they are carved in high relief on a huge slab, this slab is thin and light compared to the enormously heavy, Colossal blocks carved in it. In building the gate, the Mycenaean architect left an empty rectangular space above the frieze; for fear that the weight of the wall above would crush it, and then filled the hole with the comparatively lightweight relief panel. Here, then, we have a new kind of architectural sculpture—a work integrated with the structure yet also a separate entity rather than a modified wall surface or frieze. The Lion Gate relief is indeed the clearest ancestor of Greek architectural sculpture, as will become evident when we compare it with the figure of the early Archaic Temple of Artemis on the island of Corfu, erected some after 600 B.C. (figs. 120, 121). Here again the sculpture is confined to a zone that is framed by structural members but is itself structurally empty: the triangle between the horizontal pediment and the rising sides of the roof. This area, called the *metopion*, need not be filled in at all except to protect the wooden rafters behind it against incursions; it demands only wall but merely a thin screen. And it is against this screen that the pedimental sculpture is displayed. Technically, these carvings are in high relief, like the guardian lions at Mycenae. Characteristically enough, however, the bodies are strongly undercut, so as to detach them from the background. Even at this early stage of development, the Greek sculptor wanted to assert the independence of his figures from their architectural setting. The head of the central figure actually overlaps the frieze. What is this frightening creature? Not Artemis, surely, although the temple was dedicated to that goddess. As a matter of fact, we have not her before;



109. Central Portion of the West Pediment of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (see plate 107). Limestone, height 2' 7". Museum, Corfu.

the is a Gorgon, a descendant of those on the Erechtheion (fig. 107). Her purpose here was to serve as a guardian, along with the two huge lions, standing off evil from the temple and the sacred image of the goddess within. (The other pediments, of which only small fragments survive, had a similar figure.) Through its defunct, therefore, as an extraordinarily monumental—until well after Enlightenment—idea type. On her face, the Andromeda appears as a childlike grin and its expression further her love also and real life, the face here represented (young, or rather young, in a glorified sense) that evokes metamorphosis and liberation. The conventional, hereditary arrangement of the Gorgon and the two lions—effects in the temple which we have not seen from the Lion Gate at Mycenae but from many other temples as well (see fig. 10, bottom corner, and fig. 10, top). Because of its ancient character, it has the shape of the pediment is perfect. For the early Andromeda design was not content with that, to also reward the pediment to contain negative images, therefore to be added a number of smaller figures in the space left between or behind the huge main group. The design of the whole thus shows two conflicting purposes in every balance. As we might expect, sculpture will come into and over freedom.

Aside from the pediment, there were not many places that the Greeks found suitable for architectural sculpture. They might put freestanding figures—often of



110. Reconstructive Drawing of the West Front of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (after Rodgerson).

terracotta—above the walls and the center of the pediment, to break the severity of its outline. And they often placed reliefs in the space immediately below the pediment. In Greek temples such as that of Corfu (fig. 107), the "frieze" consists of alternating engravings—blocks with their vertical markings and sculptures. The latter were



112. Relief of the Gods and Heroes, from the north frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians in Argos.  
Marble, length 40'. Museum, Delphi



113. Reconstruction of the Facade of the Treasury of the Siphnians in the Sanctuary of Argos.  
in Delphi Museum, Delphi

originally the empty space between the ends of the ceiling beams; hence they, like the pediment, could be filled in with sculpture. In some architectures, the triglyphs were omitted, and the frieze became what the term usually denotes (i.e., a continuous band of painted or sculptured decoration). The frieze would alternately

display the columns of a porch (see details shown—see a very surprising development in view of the columnar quality of the Akroteria frieze). All these possibilities are contained in the Treasury by numerous groups for viewing either girded around at Delphi shortly before 545 B.C. by the inhabitants of the Ionian island of Siphnos. Although the building itself is no longer standing, it has been convincingly reconstructed on the basis of the preserved fragments (fig. 113). Of its Ionic compound door, the most impressive part is the upper half frieze. The detail reproduced here (fig. 112) shows part of the frieze of the Greek gods against the giants: on the extreme left, two lion-headed putti the statues of Cybele and her consort as winged putti, in front of them, Apollo and Artemis advance together, showing their grooves, a dead giant, despoiled of his armor, lies on their feet, while three others enter from the right. The high relief, with its deep undercutting, recalls the Corinthianism, for the Siphnian sculptor has taken full advantage of the spatial possibilities offered by his technique. He uses the projecting ledge at the bottom of the frieze as a stage on which he can place his figures in depth. The arms and legs of these statues are carved completely in the round on the second and third tiers, the forms become shallow, yet even those figures carved from so an artist permitted to merge with the background. The result is a unified and condensed but very convincing aspect that permits a dynamic relationship between the figures such as we have never seen before in surviving reliefs. Any comparison with other examples (see figs. 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120) will show that Athens still has indeed discovered a new dimension here, not only in the physical but also in the expressive sense.

Meanwhile, in pedimental sculpture, relief has been abandoned altogether. Instead, we find separate statues placed side by side in complex dramatic sequences designed to fit the triangular form. The most sophisticated example of this kind, that of the east pediment of the temple at Argos, was created about 480 B.C., and thus belongs to the final stage in the evolution of Archaic



equipped. The figures were found in places on the ground and are now displayed, in a somewhat more natural position, in the Chhatra at Mumbai. The position of each within the pediment, however, can be determined almost exactly, since their height (and so their scale) varies with the sloping sides of the triangle (fig. 124). The center is occupied by the standing goddess Ashoka, who solemnly presides, as it were, over the battle between Shiva and Vishnu that rages on either side of her in symmetrically adjoining niches. The correspondence in the poses of the figures on the two halves of the pediment makes for a balanced and orderly design, yet it also forces us to see the figures as elements in an ornamental pattern and to subordinate their individuality to context. They speak most strongly to us when viewed one by one, leaving the most impressions are the figures nearest the left-hand corner (fig. 125) and the kneeling Bhairava—who may be Shiva's favorite form—from the right-hand half (fig. 126). Both are lean, muscular figures whose bodies seem miraculously functional and vigorous. That is itself, however, does not explain their great beauty, which we may attribute the artist's command of the human form in action. What really comes up is their ability of spirit, whether in the sense of being at or in the act of being. These men, we sense, are suffering—or carrying out—what has been decreed, with resolute dignity and resolution. And this contributes itself to us in the very fact of the magnificently firm shapes of which they are composed.

124. Reconstruction (drawing) of the East Pediment of the Temple at Angkor (after Perle/Singh)

125. Bhairava, from the east pediment of the Temple at Angkor (c. 1000 A.D.). Marble, height 2' 10" (Singapore, Museum)



126. Shiva Warrior, from the east pediment of the Temple at Angkor (c. 1000 A.D.). Marble, height 10" (Singapore, Museum)



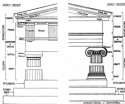


1.17 General Plan of a Typical Greek Temple (after Chausse)

## ARCHITECTURE

The Greek achievement in architecture has been idealized since ancient Roman times with the creation of the three classic architectural orders, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. Actually, there are only two, the Corinthian being a variant of the Ionic. The Doric has seemed forever to form the Greek standard; it may well claim to be the basic order, since it is older and more simply defined than the Ionic, which developed on the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor. What do we mean by "architectural order"? By common agreement, the term is used for Greek architecture only (and in dramatic, poetic, and rightly so, for some of the other architectural systems known to us produced anything like it. Perhaps the simplest way to make clear the unique character of the Greek columns is their order is to call them as "the Egyptian temple" or "the Greek church"—the order of

buildings, however much they may have to conform, are so varied that we cannot dwell a generalized type from them—while "the Doric temple" is a real entity that actually forms in our minds as we examine the monuments themselves. We must be careful, of course, not to think of this abstraction as an ideal that permits us to measure the degree of perfection of any given Doric temple; a simply means that the elements of which a Doric temple is composed are extraordinarily constant in character, in kind, and in their relation to one another. As a result of this narrowly circumscribed rigidity of forms, Doric temples of being so far more clearly recognizable family, just as the Egyptian statues do; like the Egyptian statues, they share an internal consistency, a mutual adjustment of parts, that gives them a unique quality of wholeness and organic unity. The term Doric order refers to the standard parts, and their sequence, constituting the structure of any Doric temple. Its general outlines are already familiar to us from the facade of the Temple of Artemis at Ephes (Fig. 1.15); the diagram in Figure 1.17 shows it in detail, along with the outlines of all the parts. To be comprehensive, the detailed terminology may seem something of a nuisance, yet a good many of these terms have become part of our general architectural vocabulary, so useful as of the fact that analytical thinking in architecture as in countless other fields, originated with the Greeks. Let us first note the three main divisions: the stepped platform, the columns, and the entablature which includes everything that rests on the columns. The Doric column consists of: the shaft, marked by shallow vertical grooves known as flutes; the capital, which is made up of the flaring, pediment-like abacus, and



1.18 The Doric and Ionic Orders (after Chausse)





100. The "Temple of Hera" (c. 460-450) and the "Semitic" (c. 520-510), Paestum, Italy.

a square rather than the oblong. The construction is the most complex of the three major styles: it is subdivided into the architrave by series of small blocks directly supported by the columns, the frieze with its triglyphs and metopes, and the projecting cornice. In the long walls of this temple, the cornice is horizontal, while on the short sides (or gables), it is split open in such a way as to include the pediment between its upper and lower parts. The entire structure is built of stone blocks fitted together without mortar; they had to be shaped with extreme precision to achieve smooth joints. Where necessary, they were fastened together by means of metal dowels or cramps. Columns, with very rare exceptions, are composed of sections, drawn tightly together (cf. fig. 101). The roof consisted of terracotta tiles supported by wooden rafters, and wooden beams were used for the ceiling (that is, the floor of the roof cavity).

The plans of Greek temples are not directly linked to the columnade, as we have seen, concern the structure itself. They vary very according to the size of the building or regional preferences, but their basic features are so fixed after 600 B.C. that it is useful to study them from a generalized "typical" plan (fig. 102). The temple is the only or one of two rooms in which the steps of the deity is placed, and the porch (pronaos) with its two columns flanking the platform (prothron). The Treasury Treasury shows the museum plan (see fig. 102). After we had a second porch added behind the cella, to make the design more symmetrical. In the larger temples, this second porch is surrounded by a colonnade called the peristyle, and the structure is then known as peripteral. The very largest temples of Ionia (Greece) may even have a double colonnade.

101. Corner of the "Semitic," Paestum (c. 520-510).





141. Paestum, "Temple of Poseidon." Photographed after 1850.

Architectural plan of " "



142. Plan of the "Temple of Poseidon" at Paestum.

How did the Doric temple originate? What factors shaped the rigid and precise vocabulary of the Doric order? This is an important and fascinating problem, which has occupied archaeologists for many years but which can never can be answered only in part, for we have hardly any remains from the time when the system was still in process of formation. The earliest stone temples known to us, such as that of Arconia at Gela, show that the essential features of the Doric order were already well established some after 700 B.C.: that these features developed, individually and in combination, why they coalesced into a system so rapidly as they seem to have done, remains a puzzle to which we have few reliable

data. The early Doric tradition in stone apparently drew upon three distinct sources of inspiration: Egypt, Mycenae, and pre-Achaean Greek architecture in wood and mud-brick. The Mycenaean contribution is the most significant, although probably neither most important, of these. The central axis of the Greek temple, the cella and pronaos, clearly derives from the megaron form (fig. 130), a plan through a continuous tradition or by way of revival. There is something oddly symbolic about the fact that the Mycenaean royal hall should have been converted into the driving place of the Greek gods; for the entire Mycenaean site had become part of Greek mythology, as attested by the Minotaur story, and the walls of the Mycenaean fortresses were believed to be the work of mythical giants, the Cyclopes. The religious awe the Greeks felt before these remains also helps us to understand the relationship between the Lion Gate relief at Mycenae and the sculptured pediments on Doric temples. Finally, the facing, cordon-like capital of the Minotaur Mycenaean columns is a good deal closer to the Ionic column and therefore than to any Egyptian capital. The shaft of the Ionic column, on the other hand, appears upward, not downward as does the Minotaur-Mycenaean column, and this definitely points to Egyptian influence. Perhaps we will recall now—with some surprise—the Doric column (not rather half-column) in the famous chancel of Eros at Naxos (fig. 43), which clearly approximates the Doric shaft more than 2,000 years before its appearance in Greece. Moreover, the very notion that temples ought to be built of stone, and that they required large numbers of columns, must have come from Egypt. It is true, of course, that the Egyptian temple is designed to be approached from the inside, while the Greek temple is arranged so that the impressive exterior matters most (few were allowed to enter the deity's cella, and religious ceremonies usually took place in short covered aisles of doors, with the temple beyond as a backdrop). But might a peripheral temple not be interpreted as the external court of an Egyptian sanctuary turned inside out? The Greeks also must have acquired much of their stone-cutting and masonry techniques from the Egyptians, along with architectural treatment and the knowledge of geometry they needed in order to lay out their temples and to fit the parts together. Yet we cannot say just how they went about all this, or exactly what they took over, individually and artistically, although there can be little doubt that they owed more to the Egyptians than to the Minotaur or Mycenaean. The problem becomes acute when we consider a third factor: to what extent can the Doric order be understood as a reflection of wooden structures? These theories of architecture who believe that late folkways have preserved this line of approach as given largely, especially in trying to explain the details of the entablature. By this point, their arguments vary considerably (some would assume that at one time the triglyphs did mark the ends of wooden beams, and that the frieze markings known as guth



Eduardo Chillida, *Plaza, abstracta*, sculpture for the National Plaza  
consist of heavy black-painted cast-iron from Tascara, about 1970-75, Museo Centro Reina



*Athena Parthenos. Marble. From the Parthenon. About 450 B.C.  
Height 6' 10". Acropolis Museum, Athens.*

case fig. 18b) are the descendants of wooden pegs. The peculiar vertical subdivisions of the hieroglyphs are perhaps a bit more difficult to accept as a survival of these half-round pegs. And when we come to the fluting of the columns, we doubt whether in fact, when they really developed from side marks on a round mast, or did the Greeks take them over ready-made from the "proto-form" stone columns of Egypt? As a further test of the functional theory, we would have to ask how the Egyptians came to put flutes in their columns. They, too, after all, had come had to translate architectural forms from impermanent materials into stone. Perhaps it was they who turned side marks into flutes? But the prehistoric Egyptians had no little timber that they seem to have used it only for ceilings, the rest of their buildings consisted of mud-brick, reinforced by bundles of reeds. And since the proto-form columns of hieroglyphs are not then revealing that are situated in walls, their fluting might represent a sort of abstract echo of bundles of reeds—that are also columns of hieroglyphs with reeds rather than columns. But what comes a good deal closer to the notion of a survival of that mast is the other hand, the Egyptians may have developed the habit of fluting without reference to any earlier building technique or, at perhaps they found it an effective way to bridge the horizontal joints between the drums and to stress the continuity of the shaft as a continuous unit. Even the flutes did not flake the shafts of their columns down to stone, but waited until the entire column was quarried and in

position. In that way, fluting certainly enhances the expressive character of the column—a fluted shaft looks stronger, more energetic and mature, than a smooth one; and this, rather than its reason of origin, accounts for the persistence of the habit. Why then did we come at such length into an argument that seems so "not necessary" already in order to suggest the complexity—and the limitations—of the technological approach to problems of architectural form. The question, always, is: how can, if there are different theories can be explained on a theoretical basis will have to repeat and again. Ultimately, the history of architecture cannot be fully understood if we view it only as an evolution of style in the abstract, without considering the actual purposes of building or its technological basis. But we must likewise be prepared to accept the purely aesthetic impulse as a motivating force. At the very start, these columns obviously imitated stone mast features of wooden temples, if only because these features were deemed necessary in order to identify a building as a temple. When they are derived then in the Greek order, however, they did not do so from blind conservatism or fear of habit, but because the wooden forms had by now been so thoroughly transformed that they were an integral part of the stone temples.

We must confront the problem of function once more when we consider the best-preserved Greek temple. There temples, the so-called "Parthenon" of Paestum in southern Italy (fig. 19a, right; fig. 19b), is related to its neigh-

19a. The Parthenon, in Paestum and Calabrisia here from the north, with the acropolis behind.





above: 199. Photo taken from the Western Entrance of the Temple of the Porphyry

below: 199. Plan of the Acropolis at Athens in perspective (after H. W. Lawrence)



too, the so-called "Temple of Ptolemy" (fig. 174, left), which was built almost a century later. Both are Doric, but we at once note striking differences in their proportions. The "Basilica" columns are not spreading (and are only because so much of the construction is missing), while the "Temple of Ptolemy" looks well and compact. Even the columns themselves are different: those of the older temple taper far more emphatically, their capitals are larger and more flaring. Why the difference? The positive shape of the columns of the "Basilica" (especially, that is, compared to fifth-century Doric) has been explained as being due to overcompensation: the architect was particularly familiar with the properties of stone as compared with wood, exaggerated the taper of the shaft for greater stability, and enlarged the capitals so as to narrow the gaps as he stepped to the blocks of the entablature. Maybe so—but if we accept this interpretation itself as evidence to account for the design of these Archaic columns, do we not judge them by the standards of a later age? To call such simply "primitive," or awkward, would be to stamp the particular expression effect that is theirs—and theirs alone. The "Basilica" columns seem to be more hardened by their load than those of the "Temple of Ptolemy," so that the contrast between the supporting and the supported members of the order is attenuated rather than harmoniously balanced, as in the later building. Nations flourish according to its expression; the richness of the "Basilica's" capitals is not only suggestive in contrast to the "Temple of Ptolemy," it seems more elastic and hence more discarded by the weight it

carries, almost as if it were made of rubber. And the shafts are only those of stone government taper but also a particularly strong ledge of stone along the line of taper, so that they, too, convey a sense of elasticity and compression compared with the rigidly geometric blocks of the entablature. (This sense, called "tension," is a basic feature of the Doric column, although it may be very slight; it renders the shaft with a "muscular" quality rather unknown in Egyptian or Mesopotamian columns.)

The "Temple of Ptolemy" (figs. 174, left, 175, left)—it was probably dedicated to them—is among the best preserved of all Doric structures. Begun c. 470 B.C. and finished thirty years later, it follows the plan of the temple at Agrigento. Of special interest are the relation supports of the walls ending (fig. 175, right) rows of columns, each supporting a smaller set of columns in a way that makes the tapering walls continuous despite the architrave in between. Such temporary columns had become practical necessity for the walls of the larger Doric temples of the fifth century.

In 480 B.C., shortly before their defeat, the Persians had destroyed the temple and shrine on the Acropolis, the second half of the Athens which had been a fortified city since Mycenaean times. Of modern archaeologists, this disaster has turned out to be a blessing in disguise, since the debris, which was subsequently used to fill the gulches made by the Persian guns, such as those in figures 176, 177, 178 and column 15, which probably would not have survived otherwise. The rebuilding of the Acropolis

174. The Propylaea, by Mnesicles (view from the east), 477-470 B.C., Acropolis, Athens.



Left: The Parthenon  
viewed from the west  
and the Temple of Athena Nike  
built into the Acropolis  
wall.



under the leadership of Pericles during the late fifth century, when Athens was at the height of her power, was the most ambitious enterprise in the history of Greek architecture, as well as its artistic climax. Individually and collectively, these structures represent the Classical phase of Greek art at full maturity. The parthenon, and the only one whose completion was not cut short by the Peloponnesian War, is the Parthenon (figs. 143, 144), dedicated to the virgin Athena, the patron deity in whose honor Athens was named. Built of gleaming white marble on the most prominent site along the southern flank of the Acropolis, it dominates the entire city and the surrounding countryside, a brilliant landmark against the backdrop of mountains to the north of it. The history of the Parthenon is as extraordinary as its artistic significance—it is the only sanctuary we know that has so well four different fates in succession. The architects Ictinus and Callicrates created it in 447–438 B.C., an amazingly brief span of time for a project of this size. In order to meet the huge expense of building the largest and most lavishly decorated on the Greek mainland, Pericles drew into funds collected from states allied with Athens for reasons of defense against the Persians. He may have felt that the temple was no longer a real war, and that Athens, the chief victim and victor at the close of the Persian war in 480–479 B.C., was justified in using the money to rebuild what the Persians had destroyed. He was also weaker: the position of Athens, however (Thucydides speaks reproachfully of her for adorning the city “like a bride with precious stones, statues and temples during a threatened rape”), and contributed to the disastrous outcome of the Peloponnesian War. In Christian times, the temple became first a Byzantine church, then a Catholic cathedral, and finally, under Turkish rule, a mosque. It has been a

ruin since 1456, when a storm of perpendicular the Turks had put into the city dependent during a siege. Much of the sculpture was removed during the years 1687–1690 by Lord Elgin. These Elgin Marbles are today the greatest treasure of the British Museum.

As the perfect embodiment of Classical Greek architecture, the Parthenon makes an instructive contrast with the “Temple of Prometheus” at Paestum. Despite its greater size, it seems far less massive. Rather, the dominant impression created is one of beauty, balanced grace, and the utmost refinement of the Doric order. This has been achieved by a graceful lightening and readjustment of the proportions: the entablature is lower in relation to its width and to the height of the columns, the column proportions are, and the columns themselves are a good deal more slender, the tapering and entasis are less pronounced, and the capitals smaller and less flaring, while the spacing of the columns has become wider. Or we might say that the load carried by the columns has decreased, and as a consequence the supports can hold



Left: Acropolis of Paestum  
from the Temple of  
Athena Nike

Left: Parthenon, Athens,  
from the Temple of  
Athena Nike, 447–438 B.C.





30 The Eastfront  
seen from the east,  
201-202 B.C.,  
Atracopia, Indiana



their task with a new sense of ease. The so-called "relaxations," intentional departures from the strict geometric regularity of the design for aesthetic reasons, are another feature of the Classical Doric style that can be observed in the Parthenon better than anywhere else. Thus the support platform and the entablature are not absolutely straight but slightly buckled, so that the center is a bit higher than the ends; the columns lean inward, and the interval between the corner columns and the entablature is smaller than the standard interval adopted for the pediment as a whole. A point that has been written about these deviations from mechanical exactitude. That they are planned rather than accidental is beyond doubt, but why did the architects go to the enormous trouble of carrying them through? (Every capital of the entablature is slightly distorted to fit the curving entablature!) They seem to be regarded as optical corrections dropped to produce the illusion of absolutely straight horizontals and verticals. Unconsciously, however, the architects' attention does not work. If it did, we should be unable to perceive the deviations except by careful measurement, not the fact is that, through unconscious, they are visible to the naked eye, even in photographs such as our figure 30. Moreover, it is simple that do not have them either. If the columns did not give the appearance of leaning inward, nor do the horizontal lines look "bowed." Plainly, then, the deviations were built into the Parthenon because they were thought to achieve its beauty, they are a positive element that is meant to be noticed. And they do indeed contribute—in ways that are hard to define—to the highest harmonious quality of the structure.

The walls of the Parthenon (see fig. 30) is unusually wide and somewhat thicker than in other temples, so as to accommodate a second room behind it. The problem and its consequence at the western end have almost

disappeared, but there is an entire row of columns in front of other columns. The architects chose these columns to mean more than those, since it has to recognize and interpret, have a continuous sculptural frieze that encloses the entire walls (fig. 30).

Immediately after the completion of the Parthenon, Pericles commissioned another splendid and expensive edifice, the monumental entry gate to the western end of the Acropolis, called the Propylaea (see also fig. 30). It was begun in 427 B.C., under the patronage of Mnesicles, who completed the main part in 425 years. The designer had to be a student of the art of the Propylaea. What, again, the main structure was built of marble, and its various elements comparable to those of the Parthenon. In their function for an entrance to the temple to which the columns of a Doric temple have been adapted to another task, so as to appear suitably varying size. Mnesicles has indeed acquired himself a subtle, but designer only the difficult terrain but also maintain it, so that a wide passage going inside becomes a splendid entrance to the sacred precinct in which it opens. Of the two porches (or "beams") at either end, only the eastern one is in full condition today (fig. 30). It was built in a Classical Doric temple form, except for the wide opening between the front and front columns. The western porch was flanked by two wings (fig. 30). The one to the north, considerably larger than the other, provided a picture gallery (pinakothek); the last known instance of a room especially designed for the display of paintings. Along the central roadway that passes through the Propylaea, on both two rows of columns which are Ionic rather than Doric. Apparently at that time the trend in Athenian architecture was toward using Ionic elements inside Doric structures (we recall the sculptural frieze of the Parthenon walls).



Fig. 12. The Monument of Epistates, Athens. c. 174 B.C.

Athens, with its strong Hellenic orientation, had shown itself hospitable to the eastern Greek style of building from the mid-fifth century on, and the finest surviving examples of the Ionic order are to be found among the structures of the Acropolis. The previous development of the order is known only in very fragmentary features: of the large Ionic temples that were placed in various towns on Samos and at Ephesus, none has survived except the plans. Its vocabulary, however, seems to have remained fairly fixed, with strong affinities to the West (see next page text), so that it did not really become an order in its own right until the Hellenistic period. Even then it remained to be rather more flexible than the Doric order, the most striking feature in the Ionic columns, which differs from the Doric not only in body but also, as it were, in spirit (see Fig. 12). It seems to me extremely probable that of its own, the shaft is more slender, and there is less tapering and usually the capital does a triple double scroll, or volute, however the columns are shown, which projects strongly beyond the width of the shaft. The stone details add up to an easily very distinct from the Doric columns because close to each other from the diagonal to an

actual building (Fig. 13). How shall we define it? The Ionic column is, of course, lighter and more graceful than its western cousin. It lacks the latter's muscular quality. Instead, it evokes the idea of a growing plant, of something like a formalized palm tree. And this vegetal analogy is not alone fitting, for we have early evidence, or tradition, of the Ionic capital that bear it out (Fig. 14). If we were to pursue these plantlike columns all the way back to their point of origin, we would eventually find ourselves at Sappura, where we not only encounter "palm-trees" supporting the wonderfully graceful papyrus half-columns of Figure 15, with their curved, flaring capitals. It may well be, then, that the Ionic column, too, had its ultimate source in Egypt, but instead of reaching Greece by sea, as we suppose the papyrus Doric column did, it reached a shore and overcame path by land, through Syria and Asia Minor.

In post-Classical times, the only Ionic structures on the Acropolis (which had been the small treasury built by eastern Greek colonists of Delphi in their original style see Fig. 112) show the Athenian architects who took up the Ionic order about 470 B.C., thought of it, at first, as suitable only for small temples of simple plan. Such a building is the little Temple of Athena Nike on the western flank of the Propylaea (Fig. 14), probably built 470-460 B.C. from a design prepared many years earlier by Callicrates. Larger and more complex is the Erechtheion (Fig. 14) and particularly Fig. 142 on the western edge of the Acropolis opposite the Parthenon. It was erected 470-460 B.C., perhaps by Mnaseas, but like the Propylaea, was manifestly intended to be irregular, sloping etc. The area had various associations with the myth of founding of Athens, so that the Erechtheion was actually a "palaeonion" sanctuary with several religious functions. Its name derives from Erechtheus, a legendary king of Athens; the entire zone was dedicated to Athena Polias (Athens the city goddess) and it may also have covered the spot where a contest between Athena and Poseidon was believed to have taken place. (Apparently there were four rooms, in addition to a basement on the western side that their main purpose is under dispute.) (See also a note below.) The Erechtheion has two porches attached to its flanks, a very large one facing north and a small one toward the Parthenon. The latter is the famous Porch of the Maidens, its roof supported by six female figures (see below) in a high degree, instead of regular columns (see Fig. 142). The western whether these statues were the reason why a Thetis-goddess drove the building to form the Erechtheion (see below) was not. We cannot altogether blame him, for here the exquisite refinement of the Ionic order does indeed convey a feeling through an affectionate quality, compared with the masculinity of the Parthenon across the way. Apart from the carefully sculptured decorations on the Erechtheion was contrast to the lines of which very little survived. The pediments remained here, perhaps for lack of funds at the end of the Peloponnesian War. However, the ac-

external carrying on the floors and capitals of the columns, and on the frames of doorways and windows, is conspicuously different and rich; in fact, according to the account described on the building, was higher than that of figure sculpture.

Such emphasis on ornament seems characteristic of the late-fifth century. It was at this time that the Corinthian capital was invented, as an elaborate substitute for the Ionic. Its shape is that of an inverted bell covered with the early decorative carvings of the acanthus leaves, which seem to sprout from the top of the column shaft (fig. 102). In fact, Corinthian capitals were used only for interiors. Two century-earlier relief shows find them replacing Ionic capitals on the exterior. The earliest known instance is the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in Athens (fig. 103), built soon after (fig. 97). It is not really a building in the full sense of the term—the interior, though hollow, has no entrance—but an elaborate support for a tripod used to support a statue. The column structure, rising over 100 feet, is a miniature version of a temple, a type of corner building of which several earlier examples are known to have existed. The columns are engaged not on the walls (which has been suggested here, to make the monument more complete). Soon after, the Corinthian capital came to be employed on the members of large buildings as well, and in Roman times it was the standard capital for almost any purpose.

During the three centuries between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the Roman conquest, Greek architecture shows little further development. Even before the rise of Alexander the Great, the largest volume of building activity was to be found in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. There we do encounter some structures of a new kind, often under Oriental influence, such as the huge Tomb of Mausoleus at Halicarnassus (see page 13, fig. 103) or the Pergamon Altar (see page 13, fig. 104), now disappearing into a labyrinthine grid pattern. But traditional architecture in the mid-fifth century, assumed to be important, is not the monumental building covering the market place

where the civic and commercial life of Greek towns was centered: private houses, too, became larger and more ornate than before. For the architectural vocabulary, especially as well as technically, remained essentially that of the temples of the late fifth century. The basic vocabulary of Greek architecture was increased in one respect only: the ancient houses achieved a regular, defined shape. Before the fourth century, the residences had steeply-bent or natural slopes, probably covered, equipped with stone benches; now the hillside was provided with successive rows of rooms, and with staircases at regular intervals, as at Epheesus (fig. 105). In the center is the orchestra, where most of the action took place. At the extreme right we see the remains of a hall-like building that formed the backstop and supported the scenes.

How are we to account for the fact that Greek architecture almost grew significantly beyond the stage it had reached at the time of the Peloponnesian War? After all, neither intellectual life nor the work of sculpture and painting shows any tendency toward extension during the last three hundred years of Greek civilization, but we perhaps overlook two architectural achievements after 400 B.C.: the more than sixteen innovations that permitted Greek architecture from continuing the pace of development it had maintained in technique and classical style.<sup>1</sup> A number of such innovations seem to credit the ancient with monumental structures at the expense of interior spaces; the concentration of effort on temples of one particular type; the lack of interest in any structural system more advanced than the post-and-beam (capable of supporting horizontal beams). Until the late-fifth century, there had at least positive advantages; without them, the great monuments of the Parthenon age would have been unthinkable. For the preservation of the traditional Greek temple was clearly motivated by them, as indicated by the attention lavished on repetitive refinements. When Greek architecture reached after the Peloponnesian War was a breakthrough, a revival of the experimental spirit of the seventh century, which would create an inter-



29. The Theater, Epheesus (c. 300 B.C.)



122. Standing Youth / The Discus Boy,  
c. after 450. Marble, height 50".  
Acropolis Museum, Athens

acids are building materials, roofing, and iron for axes. What prevented the breakthrough? Could it have been the architectural orders, or rather the cost of wood that produced them? The response will run down: that it was the very coherence and rigidity of these orders which made it impossible for Greek architects to depart from the established pattern. What had been their great strength in earlier days now became a tyranny. It remained for later ages to adapt the Greek column, to brick and concrete, to arched and vaulted construction, for such adaptation necessitated doing a certain amount of violence to the original character of the orders, and the Greeks, it seems, were incapable of that.

## CLASSICAL SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Among the statues excavated from the debris of the Parthenon had left behind on the Acropolis, there is one *Kouros* (fig. 122) that stands apart from the rest. It must have been carved very shortly before the finished *parthenon* (p. 12). This remarkable work, which seems here attributed to the Athenian sculptor Kallias and which therefore has come to be known as the *Discus Boy*, differs widely but importantly from the *Anaktoria Kouros* figures we discussed above (figs. 124, 125): it is the first statue we know that manifests the full sense of the word. Of course, the earlier figures also stand, but only in that sense that they are in an upright position, and are not reclining, sitting, kneeling, or running: their stance is really an arrested walk, with the weights of the body resting evenly on both legs. The *Discus Boy*, too, has one leg placed forward, yet we never doubt but are instant that he is standing still. Why this is so becomes evident when we compare the left and right half of his body. For we then discover that the strict symmetry of the *Anaktoria Kouros* has now given way to a calculated asymmetry: the knee of the forward leg is lower than the other, the right leg is thrust down and forward, the left leg up and backward, and if we trace the axis of the body, we realize that it is now a straight vertical line but a false. Still, even so, to be exact, a reversed *Kouros*. Taken together, all these small departures from symmetry tell us that the weight of the body rests mainly on the left leg, and that the right leg plays the role of an elastic prop or barrow to make sure that the body keeps its balance. The *Discus Boy*, then, not only stands; he stands at ease. And the artist has masterfully observed the balanced asymmetry of this relaxed, sustained stance. To describe it, we use the Italian word *contrapposto* (contraposition), the leg that carries the main weight is conventionally called the engaged leg, the other, the free leg. These terms are useful shorthand, for from now on we shall have frequent occasion to mention contraposition. It was a very basic discovery. Only by learning how to represent the body at rest could the Greek sculptor gain the freedom to show it in motion. But is there not plenty of motion in *Anaktoria* too? There is indeed (see figs. 124, 125):

right, but otherwise what was technical and indefinable kind, we must admit that the pose without really feeling it, is the Roman idea, on the other hand, we cannot but believe that we have a new impulse for an animation of the body, especially that evokes the importance we have of our own body. Life now suffices the entire figure, hence the classical statue, the "type of life," is no longer needed. In the process we have a certain, positive expression characteristic of the early phase of Classical sculpture too, as it is evidenced, the Roman figure.

The new articulation of the body that appears in the Roman days was no made in full development within half a century in the mature Classical style of the Parthenon era.

12a. *Brachiorms (Lower Torso)*. Roman copy after an original of 4th century B.C. by Polykleitos, Marini, height 1 m. National Museum, Naples.



12b. *Aphrodite from the Treasury of Augustus* in Naples, 1st century B.C., height 1.71 m. Museum, Naples.

The most famous Kouroi statue of that time, the *Chrysephoros* (Globe Museum) in Polytechnia (fig. 154), is known to us only through Roman copies whose fairly dry forms convey little of the beauty of the original. Still, it makes an impressive comparison with the *Attic* Kouroi. The comparison with the cragged top in the forward position has now become much more complete; the differentiation between the left and right halves of the body can be seen in every muscle, and the turn of the head, barely hinted at in the *Attic* Kouroi, is now pronounced. The seated pose, the pose, if uncomplex, anatomical detail, and above all the harmonious proportions of the figure, made the *Chrysephoros* recognized as the standard embodiment of the Classical ideal of human beauty. According to one ancient writer, it was known simply as the *Canon* (rule, measure), a concept was its authority.

But let us return to the *Attic* Kouroi. The reason why this term was chosen to describe the character of Greek sculpture during the years between 480 and 450 B.C., becomes clear once we look at the splendid *Chrysephoros* from Nauplia (fig. 155), the earliest surviving large female statue in Greek art. It must have been made about 450-

440, later than the *Attic* Kouroi, as a votive offering after a war. The young woman originally stood on a *tholos* shown by four horses. Despite the long, heavy garments, we sense a hint of conservatism in the body—the face is carefully differentiated so as to inform us that the left leg is the craggy one, and the shoulders and breast turn slightly to the right. The garment is severely simple, as compared with *Attic* drapery the folds were softer and more plastic, we first specifically for the first time in the history of sculpture that they reflect the technique of real cloth. Not only the body but the drapery, too, has been transformed by a new understanding of functional relationships, so that every fold is shaped by the forces which are upon it—the downward pull of gravity, the shape of the body underneath, and the folds it wraps that create its flow. The fact that the person, whatever her way had we seen in the *Attic* Kouroi, but the outer index of the eyes, ruthlessly pressed in this instance, as well as the slightly parted lips, give it a more animated expression. The feeling of the entire figure conveys the solemnity of the event commemorated, for *Chrysephoros* and sister statues at that time were competitors for divine favor, outperforming in the modern sense.

The greatest sculptural ensemble of the *Attic* Kouroi is the pair of pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, carved c. 460 B.C., and now reassembled in the local museum. In the west pediment, the most mature of the two, we see the victory of the Lapiths over the Centaurs under the eyes of Apollo, who forms the center of the composition (fig. 156). His commanding figure is part of the drama and yet above it, the calmest of right arms and the strong line of the head show his active intervention—he calls the victory his, as he is a god, does not physically help us achieve it. Nevertheless, there is a tension, a gathering of forces, in this powerful body that make its surroundings doubly impressive. The forms themselves are massive and simple, with soft contours and unadorned, continuous surfaces. Apollo's glance is directed at a Centaur who has seized Epikheia, the bride of the king of the Lapiths (fig. 157). Here we witness an other achievement of the *Attic* Kouroi: the passionate struggle is expressed not only through action and gesture but through the emotions mirrored in the faces—excitement on the face of the girl, pain and desperate effort on that of the Centaur. No wonder an *Attic* artist here knows how to combine the two figures into a group in compact, as full of unobtrusive movement.

Heroic action had already been explored in pedimental sculpture of the Late Archaic period (see figs. 151, 152). Such figures, however, although technically correct in the round, are not three-dimensional; they represent, rather, a kind of super-reality, since they are designed for one against a background and from one direction only. To infuse the same freedom of movement into genuinely three-dimensional statues was a far greater challenge; not only did it run counter to an age-old tradition that denied mobility to stone figures, but the authoring had to be



155. Apollo (portion), from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, c. 460 B.C.  
Marble, now Munich, Germany, Olympia

done to make it more or to re-equip their all-around balance and self-sufficiency. The problem could not really be tackled until the concept of contrapposto had been established, but even this was slow to enter the artistic or popular settings. Difficulties, large, free-standing statues, a statue as the most important achievement of the Greek style. The basic figure of this kind was measured from the one arm: the point of Greece came thirty years ago (fig. 141), a magnificent work bysoy (Theodore Peckham), almost seems but not in the act of finding his balance (or discomfort). The pose is that of an athlete, yet it does not make us see the strained phase of a continuous movement of movement, but as an ever-inspiring gesture that reveals the power of the god. Nothing is wrong in a direct attitude here, rather than a specific performance (even as a particular authority). Some years after the *Discobolus* (about 460 B.C.), Myron created his famous bronze statue of the *Discobolus* (Theodore Peckham), which can be enjoyed as a representation comparable to that of the *Discobolus*. Like the latter, it is known to us only from Roman copies (fig. 142). Here the problem of how to combine a sequence of movements into a single pose without forcing it is a very much more complex one, involving a violent twist of the torso in order to bring the action of the arm into the same plane as the action of the legs. We wonder whether the copy doesn't make the design seem harsher and less poised than it was in the original.

The *Discobolus* brings us to the threshold of the second half of the century, the era of the mature Classical style. The conquest of movement in the free-standing statue now reached a liberating influence on political sculpture, not only in the sense of a new equilibrium, stability, and balance. The *Discobolus* (fig. 142), a work of the style, was carved for the pediment of a temple temple but is so richly three-dimensional, so self-contained, that we hardly suspect her original context. Nike, according to legend, had transported the statue of Apollo and Hermes by floating of her own own own own own, when upon the two gods killed all of Nike's children. Our Nike has been cast in the hands while running her enough broken, she rises to the ground while trying to retract the final arm. The violent movement of her arm has made her gesture slip off, her reality is in a dramatic device, rather than a necessary part of the story. The artist's primary motive is dramatic, however, was to display a beautiful female body in the kind of movement action history reserved for the male male. (The Nike's the earliest large female nude in Greek art, 460, we must not forget the artist's intention: it was not a detailed moment in the physical aspect of the statue, but the desire to make motion and emotion and thus to make the beholder experience the suffering of this victim of a great fate. Looking at the face of the Nike, we feel that here, for the first time, human feeling is expressed as eloquently in the features as in the rest of the figure. A final glance backward at the wounded mother from



141. *Discobolus*, attributed to Myron, from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (c. 460 B.C.). Marble, slightly over life-size. Munich, Glyptothek.



142. *Apollon* (The Nike), c. 460-450 B.C., Myron, height 6' 10". National Museum, Athens.



Left: fig. 1 (g), *Diskobolos* (Polyklos [Heros]). Roman marble copy after a bronze original of c. 450 B.C. for Myron. (Louvre Museum, Paris, France)

Below: fig. 1 (h), *Phrygastis* (c. 450–400 B.C.; Marzocchi). Right: fig. 1 (d), *Marzocchi Torso*, Rome



figures (fig. 1 g) will show us how very differently the agency of death had been conceived only half a century before. What separates the *Phrygastis* from the world of *Diskobolos* is less a quality assumed again in the Greek world, perhaps, which means suffering, but particularly suffering contrasted with nobility and restraint so that it reaches rather than hinders us. I am dubious we may approach it now and then, as in the *Fox and Monsoon* group (fig. 1 c), yet the full force of *phrygastis* can be felt only in Classical works such as the *Nike of Sappho*, in order to measure the astounding development we have witnessed since the beginnings of Greek monumental sculpture less than two centuries before, we ought to compare the *Nike* with the earliest pedimental figure we came to know, the *Caryatid* from Claria (fig. 1 j), and as we do so, we suddenly realize that these two worlds appear they may be, belong to the same artistic tradition. For the *Nike*, too, shares the physical stance, even though its meaning has been radically misinterpreted. Once we recognize the

ancient origin of her pose, we understand better than before why the *Nike*, despite her suffering, remains so monumentally self-contained.

The largest, as well as the greatest, body of Classical sculpture of our disposal consists of the remains of the plastic decoration of the Parthenon, most of them, unfortunately, in fragmentary and fragmentary condition. The center of Westpediment occupies completely, and of the figures in the corners only three from the east pediment are sufficiently well preserved to convey something of the quality of the ensemble. They represent various deities, most in sitting or reclining poses, witnessing the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (figs. 10, 11a). Here, even more than in the case of the *Nike*, we marvel at the spaciousness, the complete ease of movement of these statues. There is neither violence nor pathos in them,





(15) *Young Godseben*, from the east pediment of the Parthenon, c. 438-432 BC. Marble, over 150cm. British Museum, London

linked in specific action of any kind, with a steady full posture of being. We feel it especially in the relaxed muscular body of *Phaonias* and in the self-sufficiency of the stone godseben, reclined in the slippers that seem to shore the position of a liquid substance as it flows and settles around the forms underneath. The figures are so finely conceived in depth that they appear that one could go up to them, as it were. How, we wonder, did they ever fit into the crowded stage of a pediment? Might they not have looked a lot like *Demogorgon*, as if they had been merely

detached them? The great master who designed these marbles felt something of the sort, for the compositions are whole suggests that he reflected except the triangular field as more than a purely physical limit. In the steep angle, as the corner, at the feet of *Demogorgon* and the reclining *godseben*, he has placed two former heads: they are meant to represent the character of the young men and the young men emerging into their slipping fabric: the pedimental space, he clearly the heads are merely too fragments arbitrarily cut off by the frame. Clearly, we

(16) *Young Godseben*, from the east pediment of the Parthenon, c. 438-432 BC. Marble, over 150cm. British Museum, London



upper left, otherwise, from  
the west side of the Parthenon.  
c. 460–450 B.C. Marble, height 27".  
British Museum, London  
(see also fig. 10.10)



below: 104, 105a, from the east side  
of the Temple of Athena Nike.  
c. 420–410 B.C. Marble,  
height 27". Acropolis Museum, Athens



are approaching the moment when the pediment will be rejected altogether as the focal point of Greek architectural sculpture.

The frieze of the Parthenon, a continuous band of figures in high relief, shows the procession of the Greater Panathenaea, as held in honor of Athena. It is of the same high rank as the pedimental sculptures. In a somewhat different way, too, suffered from its substitution to the architectural setting, for it must have been poorly lit and difficult to see, placed as it was immediately below the ceiling. The depth of the carving and the concept of total are not radically different from the frieze of the Epistyle Treasury (see fig. 1.12), although the illusion of space and of crowded time is now achieved with narrative ease. The most remarkable quality of the Parthenon frieze is the rhythmic grace of the design, particularly striking in the spatial movement of the groups of humans (fig. 10.9).

Who was responsible for this magnificent array of sculptures? They have long been associated with the name of Phidias, the chief sculptor of all artistic enterprises sponsored by Pericles. According to ancient writers, Phidias was particularly famous for effigies ivory-and-gold statues of Athena for installation in the cella of the Parthenon, a column four to the same techniques for the temple of her god in Olympia, and an equally large bronze statue of Athena that stood on the Acropolis facing the Propylaea. None of these carvings, and countless representations of them in later times, are clearly inadequate to convey anything of the artist's style. It is, in any event, hard to imagine that numerous masters of this art, burdened with the requirements of cult images and the demands of a difficult technique, shared the reality of the *figura literata*. The substitution they obtained could have been due in large part to their size, the profusion of the materials,



fig. 209. The Greek Gods of Olympus (c. 470-460 B.C.).  
 (Museum, Leipzig) (c) National Museum, Athens



fig. 210. The Ancient Puerus. Detail of an early red-figure vase.  
 (Museum, Leipzig) (c) Puerus collection

and the ears of religious art surrounding them. "Platonic" personality thus remains visibly intelligible, in any form from a great genius, or simply a rare able co-ordinated and superior. The term "Platonic style" specifies therefore the Parthenon sculptures in so many lines a general idea, justified by its acceptance but of questionable accuracy. Undoubtedly a large number of master works survive, from the frieze and the two pediments were executed in less than ten years (c. 440-430 B.C.). The statues, which we have mentioned, date from the 440s.

It is hardly surprising that the Platonic style should have dominated Athenian sculpture until the end of the fifth century and beyond, even though large-scale sculpture-composition gradually came to a halt because of the Peloponnesian War. The last of these two the *Telephos* group around the great temple of Athena Nike, c. 420-410 B.C. Like the Parthenon frieze, it shows a festive procession, but the participants are winged Nike figures (personifications of victory) rather than citizens of Athens (the Nike fig. 211 is taking off her mantle, in conformity with an agreed tradition, indicating that she is about to sing, as fully proved two pages ago). The winged ones again, the other closed—can effectively con-

stitute nothing but long, far balance, so that she performs with consummate elegance of movement what is really a rather artificial act. Her figure is more strongly attached than the other person than are those on the Parthenon frieze, and her garments, with their deeply cut folds, cling to the body as if they were not too late seen an earlier phase of the treatment of drapery in the three pediments of the Parthenon, fig. 210. "Platonic" too, and also from the last years of the century, is the famous Greek Gods of Olympus (fig. 212). Materials of this kind were produced in large numbers by Athenian sculptors, and their expert work was subject to approval the Platonic style throughout the Greek world. Five of them, however, can reach the perfection of design and the gentle nobility of our example. The demand is expressed in a simple dramatic scene: she has put on a necklace from the box held by the girl nearest and seems to be contemplating it as if it were a lapidary. The intensity of the carving can be seen especially well in the forms before removed from the frieze, such as the woman's left arm supporting the lid of the jewel box, or the red helmet (figure's right shoulder), then the relief merges almost imperceptibly with the background, so that the

188 The Two Women Peleus  
Peleus and Phryne, detail of  
a Peloponnesian vase. Early 5th century B.C.  
Museum National de l'Élysée, Paris



ground no longer appears as a solid surface but assumes something of the transparency of empty space. This novel effect was probably inspired by the painter of the period, who, according to the literary sources, had achieved a great breakthrough in mastering three-dimensional space. Although we have no records or proofs to verify this claim, and vase-painting by its very nature could offer the new concept of pictorial space only in rudimentary fashion, still, there are vessels that bear an exception to this general rule: we find them mostly in a special class of vases, the *kylixes* (all *kylix* used as literary offerings). These had a white coating on which the painter could draw as freely, and with the same spatial effect, as his modern counterpart using pen and paper. The white ground, in both cases, is treated as empty space from which the depicted forms seem to emerge—if the draughtsman knows how to achieve this. Not many *kylixes* painters were capable of bringing off the illusion. Foremost among them is the contemporary, nicknamed the “Adriatic Painter,” who drew the young women in figure 188. Although some twenty-five years older than the *kylixes*, this vase shows exactly the same scene: here, too, a standing maidservant holds a lion from which the discarded lioness (or valiant piece of jewelry). There is the same usual of “Adriatic” scenes, and even the statue match almost exactly. This scene, then, was a standard subject for painted or sculptural memorials of young women.

One chief interest, however, is the masterly draughtsman: despite writing few lines, even thick, and flat, the artist not only creates a three-dimensional figure but treats the body beneath the drapery as well. How does he manage to persuade us that these shapes exist in depth rather than merely on the surface of the vase? First of all, by his command of foreshortening. But the “*kylixes*” of the time are equally important, their swelling and falling, which make some contours stand out boldly while others merge with one another or disappear into the flat ground. However, we must not assume that the curves of the *kylixes* actually bear out *kylixes*, more likely, they look alike from a common source, which may have been a marble cule like that of *kylixes* but with a painted representation of the great lion scene.

Considering its artistic advantages, it might appear the white-ground technique to be more generally adopted. But, however, was not the case. Instead, from the mid-fifth century on, the impact of monumental painting gradually transformed vase painting so a whole new world lay off that tried to reproduce large-scale compositions in a kind of shorthand dictated by its own limited technique. The result, more often than not, was sparse and overcrowded. Even the finest examples suffer from this defect, as we can see in figure 189, which is taken from a vase produced in central Italy—probably by a Greek master—not very long after 480 B.C. It shows *Thetis*,



Emperor Nero. Roman (died 68 AD).  
About 65-67 AD. Height 17 1/2". National Museum, Athens.



*Funerary frescoes. Two representations of small paintings.  
About 450-400 B.C., Tomb of the Lionesses, Tarquinia*

also was subject to better orders a freestone, being obtained by following her two predecessors for instance. That artist, the so-called Hermit of Paphos, has placed those of the figures on a rocky slope like fourths, intended to be far (far away), some suspended in mid-air in order to suggest the spatial setting of the scene. In some cases, the freestone, in the shape of two pages coming out of a book, is the upper right-hand corner. Yet the effect remains awkward-like, because of the otherwise black back ground. He has also tried to enlarge his color range: the body of These has a lighter red than the other figures, and some details have been added in white. This expedient, too, fails to solve the problem, since his machine does not permit him to shade or model. He has most only on creating a hierarchy of dramatic excitement to hold the scene together, and, being a spiritual slaughterer, he placed Hercules fifth, it is a measure of second hand, for the composition must have been inspired by a model or panel picture. He is, in a word, thinking for a real space, he realized technical points, even thinking was to disappear altogether.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY AND THE HELLENISTIC ERA

There is, unfortunately, no single work like *Isidoreus* (Hercules) that would enable us to diagram the third phase in the development of Greek art, from a gap to the first century A.D. The century-and-a-half gap between the end of the Hellenistic War and the rise of Alexander the Great seems to be labeled "Isidoreus' limited," the remaining reconstruction and a half. "Hellenistic," a name meant to convey the spread of Greek civilization westward



old. Reconstruction drawing of  
the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus  
(after F. Kienast)

through Asia Minor to Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the borders of India. It was perhaps natural to expect that as great as world-shaking as the conquest of Alexander would also bring about an artistic revolution. But the history of art is too always to have with political history, and we have come to realize that there was no decisive break in the tradition of Greek art after one of the fourth century. The art of the Hellenistic era is the direct outgrowth of development that occurred, not at the time of Alexander but during the preceding fifty years. Here, then, is our dilemma. "Hellenistic" is a concept so closely linked with the political and cultural consequences of Alexander's conquest that we cannot very well extend it backward to the early fourth century, although there is wide agreement now throughout the years after 336 B.C. to be far better understood if we view it as post-Hellenistic rather than as late Hellenistic. Until the right word is found and some general acceptance, we shall have to

the Hermit of Paphos: Head of Greek-style Hercules, from the collection of the Museum, Hellenistic  
(after G. L. Smith, figure 12) Head of Hercules, London



left: 175, *Telephos*, from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (see fig. 161), fragment 175, British Museum, London

right: 176, *Demeter*, from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (see fig. 161), fragment 176, British Museum, London



make do with the existing stone as best we can, always keeping in mind the essential continuity of the "total plan" we are about to examine.

The contrast between Classical and post-Hellenistic is strikingly demonstrated by the only project of the fourth century that corresponds to the Peristyle in size and ambition. It is not a temple but a huge tomb—no huge, in fact, that its name, *Mausoleum*, has become a generic term for all manner of funerary monuments. It was erected at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor in the great post-bellum and after year by Mausolus, who raised the work to a category of the Peristyle, and by his widow Artemisia. The structure itself is completely destroyed, but its dimensions and general appearance can be reconstructed on the basis of ancient descriptions and the fragments (including a good deal of sculptural material) found years ago. The drawing in figure 168 does not pretend to be exact in detail; probably there were statues that were actually stone. We do know, however, that the building rose in three stages to a height of about 140 feet. A sub-entablature (base 127 feet wide and 16 feet deep) supported a cor-



amounts of time—often as little as half an hour—and almost any time a pyramid is viewed by its devotees with members of the discipline. The sculptural program consisted of three beams showing Lapide-Bathing Columns, Crowds Lighting Axes, men, and their wives, then continued lengthwise to the end of the Pyramid of the Moon. There were also scenes of royal-priesthoods from and to unknown members of the Egyptian pantheon, including portraits of the deceased and their ancestors. The cosmopolitan and interspersed character of the monuments, based on the idea of human life as a personal struggle at different times in history, Greek, is not immediately obvious the ancient way it has been carried out. The huge size of the temple, ancient particularly the pyramid, shows that Egypt may imply an indication of the value beyond ordinary human means. The knowledge with the gods may have been limited at. Apparently Maat was not the most of himself as a deity without a certain advantage from the Persians, who in turn had absorbed it from the Assyrians and Egyptians, although it seems to have wanted to glorify the individual personality as much as the light of the. The discovery of the temple and its monuments may have shown the cosmopolitan

an impression and confidence at the same time, with its multiple forms and the swelling force of a gathered multitude of testimonies about the unknown.

According to ancient sources, the sculptures on each of the four sides of the monument were attributed to a different master, chosen from among the best of the time. Hence, the most famous, that the main style, the one to the east. His dynamic style has been recognized in some portions of the Amazon front, such as the posterior figure of the The Paphlagonian tradition are still in force, but there is also a decidedly an "Classical" solution, physical as well as emotional, conveyed through strained movements and passionate facial expressions which are in a fashion of "leaping" style, to a certain extent, are no longer than the Paphlagonian style of the Paphlagonian style, consistency and harmony have been maintained so that each figure may have greater scope for grouping, capturing gestures, even to the extent of direct conflict such as that between the mother and son and the equally involved crowd. Clearly, if we are to do justice to this expressive, energetic style we must not judge it by Classical standards.

res. duplicates of the Collins. Names were often an original of the (1840s) by Frederick Martin, length 10".  
 Kansas Museum, Kansas

[illegible]

fig. 174. *The death of Helen*.  
Roman marble copy,  
probably of a Greek original of  
the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.  
Height 7' 2". Vatican Museums, Rome

fig. 175. *Apollonius*  
(Diogenes). Roman marble copy,  
probably after a Hellenic original of  
c. 320-40. Height 6' 2".  
Vatican Museums, Rome



The "young Hellenistic" flavor is even more pronounced in the portrait statue presented as representing Menekles himself (fig. 176). The colossal figure must be the work of a man younger than Leokares and even less remembered by Classical standards, probably Bryaxis, the master of the fourth style. We know, through Roman copies, of some Greek portraits of Hellenistic rulers, but they seem to represent types rather than individuals, whereas the Menekles is both the earliest Greek portrait to have survived in the original and the first to show a clear-cut personal character. This very fact links it with the future rather than the past, for individual likenesses seem to play an important part in Hellenistic times. Not so is merely the head, with its heavy jaw and small, sensitive mouth, that records the artist's appearance: the thick neck and the broad, fleshy body seem equally individual. The massiveness of the torso is further emphasized by the sharp-edged and well-defined drapery, which might be said to encase rather than merely clothe, the body. The great volume of folds across the abdomen and below the left arm were designed for picturesque effect more than for functional clarity.

Some of the features of the Menekles sculpture show in other important works of the period. Foremost among these is the wonderful seated figure of Diogenes from the temple of that genius at Sikyon (fig. 177), a work only slightly less in date than the Menekles, thus upon the drapery, though more thickly textured, has an impressive volume of its own, mostly built in the structure of folds across the chest from an effective counterpart to the shape of the body beneath. The deep creases gain into the distance with an intensity that suggests the influence of Sisyphus. The modeling of the head, on the other hand, has a relief volume that points to an altogether different master: Praxiteles, the master of feminine grace and sensitive treatment of flesh. As it happens, his most celebrated work, an *Aphrodite*, was likewise made for Sikyon, although probably some years later than the Menekles. But his reputation was well established even earlier, so that the unknown sculptor who copied the Menekles would have had no difficulty incorporating some Praxitelean qualities into his own work. The *Unknown Aphrodite* by Praxiteles achieved such perfect form that she is often called to be present

interest was symptomatic for abstract production. To what extent the interest was based on the beauty, or on the fact that the marble/terracotta we know is the first completely naturalistic image of the goddess, is difficult to say; for the statue is known to us only through Roman copies that can be no more than pale reflections of the original (fig. 174). She was to have countless imitations in Hellenistic and Roman art, a more historical consciousness of Phrygian history in the group of Roman coins the artist Boudier at Olympia (fig. 175); it is of such high quality that it was long regarded as Phrygian's own work. Today some scholars believe it to be a very fine Greek copy made some three centuries later. The statue is of fine composition for us, except perhaps in one respect: it emphasizes the unfortunate fact that we do not have a single undamaged original by one of the famous sculptors of Greece. Nevertheless, the Roman collection considered by Phrygianism strong as known. The false proportions, the enormous parts of the torso, the play of gentle curves, the sense of complete relaxation influenced by the use of an outside support for the figure to lean against, all these agree well enough with the character of the Greek Aphrodite. We also find many refinements here that are certainly lost in a copy, such as the charming treatment of the marble's surface, the meticulously "waxed" modeling of the features, even the hair, all comparatively rough for contrast, almost the only bit of the rest of the work. The blank, broad stance of the Roman makes it easy to believe that the Greek Aphrodite was the artist's most successful accomplishment.

The same qualities must in many other statues, all of them Roman copies of Greek models, however when Phrygian coin. The best known—one is tempted to say the most successful—is the statue Belvedere (fig. 176); it remains as best for its own sake than because of its tremendous popularity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Winckelmann, Goethe, and other champions of the Greek Revival thought it the perfect exem-



176. The Belvedere *Aphrodite*. Roman copy of a Greek original, ca. 100 B.C. Menophantos (Olympia). Munich

plar of classic beauty; plastic such as reproductions of it were considered indispensable for all students, art academies, or liberal arts colleges, and generations of students grew up in the belief that it embodied the essence of the Greek spirit. This confidence tells very good stuff—we accept the opinion of the great scholars that placed the character of the Greek ideal. Although our own time takes a rather jaundiced view of the statue, we feel better about that swelling at the bottom of our translators. What lesson, whether the side of same may not turn some day? Let us not discount the possibility



177. *Aphrodite of Knidos*. Roman copy after a Greek original of c. 350-325 B.C. from Knidos. Berlin (Museum). Modern Italy, Rome



Left: 178. The West Front of the Altar of Zeus at Olympia (restored). State Museum, Berlin  
 Below: 179. Plan of the Altar of Zeus at Olympia (after J. Schaefer)



that the Apollo Belvedere may again hold a message for our generation.

Besides *Kripos* and *Phaidros*, there is yet another great name in pre-Hellenistic sculpture: *Lykippos*, whose long career may have begun as early as c. 450 and continued to the end of the century. The main features of his personal style, however, are more difficult to grasp than those of his two famous contemporaries, because of the controversial evidence of the Roman copies that are assumed to reproduce his work. *Skias* is often praised for replacing the statue of *Polykleitos* with a new set of proportions that produced a more dynamic balance in marble form. *Skias*, too, was perceived to be used to have had no master other than nature itself. But these statements describe little more than a general trend toward the end of the fourth century. Certainly the proportions of *Phaidros'* statues are *Lykippian* rather than *"Polykleitan,"* nevertheless *Lykippoi* have been the only artist of his time to compare with aspects of reality. Even in the case of the *Apokryphos*, the statue most intimately linked with his name, the evidence is far from conclusive (fig. 173). It shows a young athlete cleaning himself with a sponge, a motif often represented in Greek art from Classical times on. Our version, of which only a single copy has turned up to this, is distinguished from all the others by the fact that the arms are horizontally extended in front of the body. The bold frontal intonation, at the cost of obscuring the view of the torso, is a noteworthy feat, whether or not we credit it to *Lykippos*; it endows the figure with a new capacity for spontaneous three-dimensional movement. A similar freedom is suggested by the diagonal line of the front leg. Even the carefully laid reflector, the arm turned toward spontaneity.

Of the unique masterpiece sponsored by Alexander the Great, such as the famous portrait of the great conqueror by *Lykippos*, no direct evidence survives. In fact, we know very little of the development of Greek sculpture

late as a whole during the first hundred years of the Hellenistic era. Even after that, we have few fixed points of reference, of the large number of works since disposed, only a small fraction can be securely identified as to time and place of origin. Moreover, Greek sculpture was now being produced throughout a vast territory, and the interplay of local and international currents must have formed a complex pattern, a pattern of which we have only some isolated strands. One of them is represented by the famous group dedicated by Antioch I of Syria (to city in northwestern Asia Minor) between c. 140 and 130 B.C., to commemorate victories over the Gauls. The *Chalans* or *Keltai* in the *Skias* statue entered Asia Minor and kept ruling the Greek states there until Antioch forced them to withdraw, no more than a few centuries later as the Celts did in the Gaul's Empire. The statues commemorating their defeat were reproduced in marble for the Romans (who may have had a special interest in them because of their contacts with Celtic tribes in northwestern Europe), and a number of these copies have survived, including the famous *Elgin Gaul* (fig. 174). The sculptor who conceived the figure must have known the *Uglier* well, for he has carefully rendered the ethnic type in the facial structure and in the bristly clouds of hair. The torque around the neck is another characteristically Celtic feature. Otherwise, however, the Gaul shares the heroic quality of Greek warriors, such as those on the Trojan pediments (see fig. 175) and if his agony were infinitely more realistic in conception, it still has considerable dignity and pathos. Clearly, the Gauls were not considered unworthy foes. "They know how to die, barbarians though they were," is the thought conveyed by the statue. Yet we also sense something else, something equally true but never before been part of the Greek image of man. Clearly, as we witness it here, is a very concrete, physical presence, no longer able to share the light. The Gaul puts all his warring strength into his arms, as if

fig. 1. *Alcides and Polydorus*,  
from the east side  
of the Great Portal  
of the Altar of Zeus  
at Pergamon, a relief in  
marble, height 11' 10"  
from Munich, Berlin



to prevent some tremendous invisible weight from crushing him against the ground. A similar implication of uncontrolled bodily responses may have been in the *Marathon Fight* (fig. 19b), which is probably a very fine Roman copy after a Hellenistic work of the late third century, contemporary with the *Dying Gaul*. It depicts a man sprawled on a rock, adopting the heavy-breasting, anguished manner of the *Indochinese*. He is obviously dying, and the convulsive gesture of the right arm con-

veys the twisted expression of the last hours (the passionate, disturbing nature of his dream). Then again we witness a partial uncoupling of body and mind, as two persons are shown in the *Dying Gaul*.

Some decades later, we find a second sculptural style flourishing at Pergamon. Among the works, the one that impressed me most had a highly original motif: on a hill above the city, in connection with the father's acropolis, Mount of the sculptural decoration has been discovered by excavation, and the statue near those of the altar has been reconstructed in Berlin (fig. 20). It is an important structure indeed. The altar proper occupies the center of a rectangular court surrounded by an Ionic colonnade which rises on a tall base about 100 feet square, a monumental flight of stairs leads up the east on the west side (fig. 21). After structures of such great size would be built here as Greek tradition knew Persian ones, but the Pergamon altar is the most substantial of all, as well as the only one of which considerable portions have survived. Its hidden feature is the great frieze crowning the base, 400 feet long and between 7 and 8 feet tall. The huge figures, carved so much so deeply that they are almost detached from the backgrounds, have the scale and weight of monumental statues without the cooling temperate factor: a unique compound of two separate traditions that represents a flowering moment in the development of Greek architectural sculpture (fig. 22). The relief, the battle of gods and giants, was traditional on the front frieze, we saw it before on the *Iphigeneia* frieze's fragment (fig. 23). At Pergamon, however, it has a novel importance, since the victory of the gods is meant to epitomize the victory of Athens'—such a transference of history into mythology had been an established device in Greek art for a long time: victories over the Persians were habitually represented in terms of Lapetus fighting Cronos or Greeks fighting Amazons, but to place *宙斯* [Zeus] in analogy with the gods themselves implies an

fig. 2. *Side of Amazoness*, c. 200–150 B.C.,  
Marble, height 6', The Louvre, Paris





fig. 10. *Athena, Hercules, and Prometheus* in Rome.  
The *Lacoon Group* (permeated, rather continuous  
movement). Late antiquity or c. 170th, height 7'.  
Vatican Museums, Rome.

evolution of the rules that is Oriental rather than Greek in origin. Since the time of Mosaicus, who may have been the first to introduce to an Greek cult, the idea of divine kingship had been adopted by Alexander the Great and continued to flourish among the best sculptors who devoted his name, such as the rulers of Pergamon. The carving of the *Lacoon*, though not very visible in detail, has tremendous dramatic force; the heavy, muscular bodies rubbing at each other, the interpenetration of light and dark, the heaving wings and wind-blown garments, are almost overwhelming in their dynamism. A swirling movement pervades the entire design, down to the last lock of hair, linking the victors and the van, unified in a single continuous rhythm. It is this sense of unity that disciplines the physical and emotional violence of the struggle and thus keeps it—but just barely—from engulfing in unbroken violence.

Equally dramatic in its impact is another great victory monument of the early second century, the *Nike of Samothrace* (fig. 11). The goddess has just descended upon the prow of a ship; her great wings spread wide, she is still partly restrained by the powerful head wind against which she advances. This invisible force of overriding air here becomes a tangible reality; it not only balances the forward movement of the figure but also shapes every fold of the wonderfully animated drapery. As a result, there is an active relationship—indeed, an interdependence—between the statue and the space that



fig. 11. *Nike of Samothrace*, c. 100 B.C.  
British Museum, height 5'11".  
Collection Metrol. C. Beazley, New York.

envelops it, neither as force exerted upon it, nor shall we see it again for a long time to come. The *Nike of Samothrace* deserves her fame as the greatest masterpiece of Hellenistic sculpture.

Until the time of her discovery almost a hundred years ago, the most admired work of Hellenistic sculpture had been a group showing the death of *Lacoon* and his two sons (fig. 12). It had been found in Rome as early as 1510 and had made a tremendous impression on Michelangelo and countless others. The history of its fame is rather like that of the *Apollon Belvedere*; the two were treated as complementary, the *Apollon* emphasizing harmonious beauty, the *Lacoon* outdoor tragedy. Today we tend to find the posture of the group somewhat contrived and rhetorically its marbled surface looks rather as if it displays of virtuoso technique. Yet, as a Greek original (according to ancient sources, by Agamemnon, Antenorides, and Phidias) of Rhodes it carries a good deal more conviction than the stately *Apollon*. In style, imitating the wild-like spread of the three figures, already absorbed from the Pergamon frieze, although in dynamism has now become unconsciously self-conscious. On this basis we may assign it to the end of the second century. The Romans, we may assume, imported the group because the subject held a special meaning for them: the divine punishment meted out to *Lacoon* and his sons threatened *Antonia* of the fall of Troy and caused him to flee the city in time. Great *Antonia* was believed to

have come to Italy and to have been the ancestor of Massimo and Remo, the death of Leonardo could be equated to the first link in a chain of events that ultimately led to the founding of Rome.

Moreover, an important branch of Greek sculpture went the fourth century, continued to flourish in Hellenistic times. In achievement, however, are known to us only indirectly for the most part, through Roman copies. One of the first originals in the way must have been found from Delos, a work of the early first century B.C., sculpture 75. It was not made as a free but, in accordance with Greek custom, as part of a full-length statue. The identity of the sister is unknown. Whereas for us, we get an intensely private view of her, that immediately captures our interest. The fluid modeling of the somewhat fatty features, the somewhat phlegmatic mouth, the unhappy eyes under lowered brows, reveal a psychological truth: the depths and anxieties, an emotional tension, infectious personality. There are echoes of Greek art in these features, but it is a rather translated neo-classicistist form. Most of these particular characteristics had nearly ceased earlier in the Greek world, not as they exist today. But it is significant that the incompleteness of such work could be contrasted to a work of art only when Greek independence, ultimately to tell us personally, was about to come to an end.

Before we leave Hellenistic sculpture, we must cast at least a passing glance on another aspect of it, represented by the excavations from the ruins of a small temple (fig. 81). The introduction to the new series of small-scale works produced for private ownership, had given rise to such in the same way as painted vases had been in earlier times and, like vase pictures, they show a range of subject matter far broader than that of monumental sculpture. Besides the familiar mythological themes we encounter a wealth of everyday subjects: fags, street encounters, games, young girls of Delos. The portraits, the banquets, the portraits—sculpture that rarely enters into Greek monumental art—this is a completely new form. At first first, as it was

example, these small figures have an imaginative freedom rarely matched on a larger scale. The full upper torso of the seated dancer, combined by the elegant look of the elegantly, creates a multiplicity of interesting views that previously known the technique to turn the statue in his hands. For his contemporary is the first example of concern and concern forms, the striking contrast between the elegant silhouette of the figure and the mobility of the body within. If we only have clear and where this little masterpiece was made!

## COINAGE

The study of coins as works of art, and the great majority of them about sculpture as such. The study of their history and development, known as numismatics, offers many rewards, but visual delight is the least of these. If many Greek coins have an inscription to this general rule, it is not simply because they are the earliest of the time of stamping metal plates of standard weight with an identifying design engraved in bronze. Greek coinage begins here in 550, after all, the first postage stamps were to have distinguished their first postage stamps. The reason, which is the present contribution of Greek numismatics. Every city-state had its own stamps, selected with particular care, and the designs were changed at frequent intervals to be to take account of events, victories, or other occasions for local pride. As a consequence, the number of coins struck at any one time remained relatively small, while the number of stamps was large. The constant demand for new designs produced highly skilled specialists who took satisfaction in their work that their customers recognized it. Greek coins therefore not only an invaluable source of historical knowledge but an excellent expression of the changing Greek sense of form. Within their own compass, they illustrate the development of Greek sculpture from the sixth to the second century as faithfully as the larger works we have mentioned. And since they have a



fig. 80. Aurei, seated female figure, 1st cent. B.C., British Museum, London.

fig. 81. Aurei, seated female figure, 1st cent. B.C., British Museum, London.



fig. 186. Apollo, marble copy from Greece, c. 470-460 B.C.  
Diameter 17 1/2". British Museum, London

continuous series, with the plans and plans of almost every other well-established city reflect this development more fully in some respects than do the works of minor mental art.

Characteristically enough, the finest coins of Archaic and Classical Greece were usually produced not by the most powerful states such as Athens, Corinth, or Sparta, but by the lesser ones along the periphery of the Greek world. Our first example (fig. 186), from the Argive island of Peleponnesos, reflects the origin of coinage: a figure so deeply embedded in a native religious belief, like an impression in wax. The winged god, his powerful stance so perfectly adapted to the theme, is a summary-representation of Archaic art, done in the oblique style. On the coin from the island of Naucratis (fig. 187), almost half a century later, the air fills the entire area of the coin, the smiling Heracles (he is as tightly as if he were squeezing inside a barrel). An astonishingly monumental figure, he shows the celebration and organic vitality of the Naucratis style. Our third coin

(fig. 188) was struck in the Sicilian town of Catania toward the end of the Hellenistic War. It is signed with the name of its maker, Herakleides, and it well deserves to be, for it is one of the most masterpieces of Greek coinage. What would have thought it possible to achieve the full-face view of a head in wax relief with such clarity? This radiant image of Apollo has all the smiling confidence of the mature Classical style. Its position completely transcends the limitations of the tiny scale of coins.

From the time of Alexander the Great onward, coins began to show profile portraits of rulers. The successors of Alexander at first put his likeness on their coins, to emphasize their link with the distant conqueror. Next a place is shown in figure 189; Alexander here displays the human idealizing him with the red-headed Egyptian god Anubis. His "inspired" expression, conveyed by the full-lipped mouth and the upward glance of the eyes, is an eloquent statement of the emotionalism of Hellenistic art as the final modeling of the features and the agitated, restless face. As a likeness, the head can have only the most transient relation to the way Alexander actually looked; yet this idealized image of the self-empowering great conqueror the focus of the new movement depicts more than do the large-scale portraits of Alexander. Once the Hellenistic rulers started putting themselves on their coins, the likeness became more individual. Perhaps the most interesting of these (fig. 190) is the head of Antiochus of Syria (sometimes Antiochus), which stands at the opposite end of the scale from the Alexander-type. Its mobile features show a man of sharp intelligence and wit, a bit skeptical perhaps about himself and others, and, in any case, without any desire for self-glorification. This powerfully human portrait seems to point the way to the freer head from Rome to replace the bearded gods here. It has no counterpart in the monumental sculpture of its own time, and thus helps to fill an important gap in our knowledge of Hellenistic portraiture.



fig. 187. c. 460. Alexander the Great  
with Anubis (Horus), from Syracuse  
obverse (seen by Lychnothos,  
c. 460 B.C.). Diameter 17 1/2"

fig. 188. Antiochus of  
Syria, about 150 B.C. (see p. 15).  
Diameter 17 1/2".  
British Museum, London



## 6. Etruscan Art

The Italian peninsula did not emerge into the light of history until fairly late. The Etruscan age seems to do so first and only in the eighth century B.C., about the time the eastern Greeks began to write along the southern shores of Italy and in Sicily. Even earlier, if we are to believe the Classical Greek historian Herodotus, another great migration had taken place: the Etruscans had left their homeland of Tyrrhenia in Asia Minor and settled in the area between Florence and Rome, which in his day he knew as Tyrrhenia, the country of the Tyrr or Tyrrheni. Who were the Etruscans? Did they really come from Asia Minor? Strange as it may seem, Herodotus' claim is still the source of lively debate among scholars. We know that the Etruscans borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks toward the end of the eighth century, but their language—of which our understanding is so far from complete—has left among us known tongues. Fortunately and unfortunately, the Etruscans are strongly linked with Asia Minor and the western Near East, yet they also show many traits for which no parallels can be found anywhere: might they not, then, be a people whose presence in Italy ended long before the time before the Indo-European migration of a more common stock brought the Mycenaeans and the Dorians into Greece and the ancestors of the Romans to Italy? If so, the earlier borrowing of Etruscan civilization from about 800 B.C. could have resulted from a fusion of the primitive Italian stock with small but powerful groups of migrating peoples from Lydia in the course of the eighth century. Interestingly enough, such a hypothesis seems very close to the legendary origin of Rome: the Romans believed that their city had been founded in 753 B.C. by the descendants of refugees from Troy (see page 100 in Asia Minor). Was this perhaps an Etruscan story which the Romans later made their own, along with a great many other things they took from their predecessors?

What the Etruscans themselves believed about their origin we do not know. The only Etruscan writings that have come down to us contained hardly more than a few sentences longer than writing in Mycenaean Greek, though Roman authors tell us that a full Etruscan language never existed. We would, in fact, know practically nothing about the Etruscans at first hand were it not for their elaborate tombs, which the Romans did not inherit when they destroyed a vast Etruscan city and which themselves have survived since until modern times. Italian burials of the kind had been of the number only found elsewhere in prehistoric Europe: the remains of the deceased, contained in a pottery vessel or urn, were placed in a simple pit along with the equipment they

required in afterlife (compare burials, prehistoric and Roman, both made for women, in Mycenaean Greece, the primitive cult of the dead had been elaborated under Egyptian influence as shown by the monumental female burials, something very similar happened eight centuries later in Etruria, Tomb of the Clit, Etruscan female burials began to illustrate in some, the interiors of actual dwellings, covered by great natural mounds of earth; they could be reached by roads or domed halls of horizontal, overlapping courses of stone blocks, as was the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae (see fig. 10). And at the same time, the pottery was gradually made on human shapes: the lid grew into the head of the deceased, and body moldings appeared on the vessel itself, which could be placed on a sort of throne to imitate high rank (fig. 11a). Although the modest beginnings of Etruscan civilization, we find evidence of great wealth in the form of exquisite goldsmith's work discovered with much treasure from the Etruscanizing Greek vases of the same period, and

the House of the Clit, Etruria, Italy, c. 500 B.C. (a) Tomb of the Clit, Etruria, Italy, c. 500 B.C. (b) Etruscan House, Clit





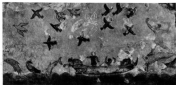
Figure 10.10: *Antiochepagos*, from Giovanni, a 1st-century CE terracotta, 1st century CE, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome

Figure 10.11: Wall painting details, c. 400 BCE, Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, Tarquinia

intermingled with previous objects imported from the ancient Near East. The seventh and sixth centuries BCE saw the Etruscans at the height of their power. Their cities rivaled those of the Greeks; their fleet dominated the western Mediterranean and projected a vast commercial empire competing with the Carthage and Phoenicians, and their territory stretched as far as Naples in the south and the lower Po valley in the north. Rome itself was ruled by Etruscan kings for about a century, until the establishing of the Republic in 509 BCE. The kings threw the first substantial walls around the seven hills, drained the swamps near of the Tiber, and built the original temple on the Capitoline Hill, thus marking the end of what had been little more than a group of villages before. But the Etruscans, like the Greeks, never formed a unified nation; they were numerous, but a loose federation of individual city-states gave to quarreling

among themselves and slow to unite against a common enemy. During the fifth and fourth centuries, some Etruscan cities after the other succumbed to the Romans; by the end of the third, all of them had lost their independence, although many continued to prosper, if not able to judge by the richness of their tombs during the period of political decline.

The flowering of Etruscan civilization thus coincides with the Archaic age in Greece. It was during this period, especially toward the end of the sixth and the early years of the fifth centuries, that Etruscans got closest to greatest vigor. Greek Archaic influence had displaced the Orientalizing tendencies—many of the finest Greek vases have been found in Etruscan tombs of that time—but Etruscan artists did not simply imitate their Hellenic models. Working in a very different culture—writing, they trained their own characteristically. They might appear to use



the Egyptian cult of the dead was under Greek influence, but they were by no means the same. On the contrary, the Greeks and their equipment gave more substance to the capacities of the sculpture and picture represented. The deceased themselves could now be represented full length, reclining on the beds of stoneware shaped like couches, as if they were participants in a festive repast, as if these souls shone from their lips. The monumental example in figure 196 shows a husband and wife side by side, elegantly gay and majestic at the same time. The entire work is of stoneware and was once painted in bright colors. The smoothly rounded, classic forms betray the Etruscan sculptor's preference for modeling in soft materials, in contrast to the Greek love of more carving; there is less formal discipline here but an extraordinary sweetness and vivacity. We do not know precisely when dies the earliest Etruscan tomb about 600 B.C. at least. I figure such as our reclining couple, which for the first time so fully represent the deceased as thoroughly alive and enjoying themselves, suggest that they regarded the tomb as an abode not only for the body but for the soul as well. In contrast to the Egyptians, who thought of the soul as entering the body and whose funerary sculpture therefore represented "moments" in experience, the Etruscans believed that by filling the tomb with banquet, dancing, games, and similar pleasures they could induce the soul to stay put in the city of the dead and therefore not leave the realm of the living. How else can we understand the purpose of the wonderfully well-kept city of marbles in those funerary chambers? Since nothing of this sort has survived in Greek territory, they are uniquely important, not only as an Etruscan achievement but also as a possible reflection of Greek wall painting. Perhaps the most "astonishing" of them all is the great marine procession of c. 520 B.C. in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinia, of which figure 197 shows the best-preserved portion: a row, continuous sequence of water and sky in which the fishermen, and the hunter with his dolphin,

play only an incidental part. The true, dynamic movement of fish and dolphins is strongly reminiscent of Minoan painting of a thousand years earlier (see fig. 195) but the technique, flowing quality of Etruscan art is different. "It might also recall Greek" influence in a third way and in the classical Greek counterpart to our scene. The differences here, however, are as revealing as the similarities, and our wonder if any Greek technique ever knew how to place man in a natural setting so effectively as the Etruscan painter did. Could the model have been inspired by Egyptian scenes of hunting in the marshes, such as the one in figure 195? They were the most convincing precedents for the general conception of our subject. If so, the Etruscan artist has brought the scene to life, just as the reclining couple in figure 196 has been brought to life compared with Egyptian funerary scenes. A somewhat later example, from another tomb in Tarquinia (figure 18), shows a pair of women dancing; the prominent change of their movements upon walking is so characteristically Etruscan rather than Greek in spirit, of particular interest is the transparent garment of the woman, which lets the body show through. Otherwise, the differentiation appears only a few years earlier, in the final phase of Minoan wall painting. The contrasting body-color of the two figures constitutes a practice introduced by the Egyptians more than two thousand years before (see subfigure 15).

During the fifth century, the Etruscan view of the hereafter must have become a great deal more complex and less definite. We notice the change immediately if we compare the group in figure 196, a stately, contained survival of well-bred men and their wives, with its predecessor in figure 195. The women here sit at the head of the couch, but also in that of the wife of the young man, her wings indicate that she is the bride of death, and the woman on the left hand inside the hole of the stoneware. The participant in painting her is so often say, "Behold, my time has come!" The thoughtful, melancholy air of the two figures may be

196, Death and  
Rebirth of Death  
(funerary monument,  
Early 6th century B.C.,  
Tomb of the Spiders,  
Tarquinia, Italy)  
Archaeological Museum,  
Florence





Fig. Tomb-Chamber, 3rd century A.D. Tomb of the Rabbits, Caracal

death were connected to the influence of Classical Greek art which permeated the style of our group. At the same time, however, a new mood of uncertainty and regret is reflected: man's destiny lies in the hands of inexorable supernatural forces; death is the great death rather than a continuation, often on a different plane, of life on earth. In later times, the doctrine of death gains an even more fearful aspect: other, more terrifying demons enter the scene, often burning against themselves again for possession of the soul of the deceased. One of these demons appears in the form of *Sphragis* (a trait of the third century A.D. at Caracal, easily decorated with stone reliefs rather than paintings). The entire chamber, cut into the live rock, closely imitates the interior of a house, including the beams of the roof. The sandy glassers (not the cupress, which recall the facade type from Asia Minor being, left, on surface the wall surfaces between the niches, are covered with exact reproductions of weapons,

armor, household implements, small domestic animals, and tools of the deceased. In such a setting, the under-lipped demon and his three-headed brother have no competitors as Caracal, the guardian of the infernal regions) were particularly disgusting.

Only the stone foundations of Etruscan temples have survived, since the buildings themselves were wooden. Apparently the Etruscans, although they were masters of masonry construction for other purposes, resorted for religious reasons to the use of stone in temple construction. The design of these structures bears a general resemblance to the rough Greek temples but with considerable distinctive features, some of which were to be perpetuated by the Romans. The entire structure rests on a solid base, or podium, that is no wider than the cella and has steps only on the south side; these lead to a steep porch, supported by two rows of four columns each, and to the cella beyond. The cella is generally subdivided into three compartments, for Etruscan religion was dominated by a triad of gods, the protectors of the Roman gods, Jupiter, and Minerva. The Etruscan temple, then, resembles more of a square, square stage compared to the graceful Greek structures, and more closely linked with domestic architecture. Needless to say, it provided no place for stone sculpture; the plastic decoration usually consisted of terracotta plaques covering the architecture and the edges of the roof. Only after 400 B.C. do we occasionally find large-scale terracotta groups designed with the pediment above the porch. We know, however, of one rather strange—and so remarkably bold one—to find a place for monumental sculpture on the exterior of an Etruscan temple. The so-called Temple of Apollon at Veii, not very far south of Rome, a structure of standard type in

Fig. Reconstruction Drawing of the "Temple of Apollo" at Veii (after E. Banti)



every other respect, had four-fifths feminine status on the edge of its feet, as shown in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 184, 192). They formed a dramatic group of the sort we might expect in Greek pedimental sculpture (the case of *Heracles* and *Apollon* for the mortal kind, in the presence of other deities. The best preserved of these figures, the *Apollon* (fig. 192), has long been acknowledged as the masterpiece of Hellenistic female sculpture: the massive body, completely unrelated to the conventional attributes of the deity; the sherry, muscular legs; the tumbled, purposeful curls—all these bring an aggressive power that has no counterpart in the outstanding Greek statues of the same date. That *Venus* was indeed a sculptural center at the end of the sixth century seems to be confirmed by the Roman tradition that the face of the *Terrestrial Venus* of the city called on a statue from *Ves* to make the *Terrestrial Image* of *Ves* for the temple on the *Vesuvius* hill. This image has disappeared, but it seems safe to assume that Rome, the Roman figure of the goddess that dominated *Heracles* and *Bacchus*, is not so unrepresentative (fig. 192). The two foremost Hellenistic sculptures, and the early history of the statue in classical, non-religious, literature, have been suggestive of being a medieval work. Nevertheless, it is almost surely an Hellenistic statue original, for the wonderful beauty of expression, the broad physical power of the body and legs from the same awesome quality we come in the *Apollon* from *Ves*. In any case, the survival of the statue in Rome has the strongest links with Hellenistic sculpture, in which *Venus* seems to have played an important part from very early times.

The Hellenistic concern with ellipses of the female might lead us to expect an early interest in individual portraiture. Yet the features of such female images in three figures (figs. 192 and 193) are mainly impersonal, and it was only toward the end of the century, under the influence of Greek portraiture, that individual Hellenism began to enter in Hellenistic sculpture. The finest of these are not female portraits, which tend to be rather crude and perfunctory, but the heads of female statues. That of a boy (fig. 191) is a real masterpiece of its kind, the features of the modeling inside a special elegance in the sensitive mouth and the gentle, radiantly eyes. No less impressive is the very high quality of the casting and finishing, which leaves not the action line of the Hellenism in many instances in mind. Their ability in this respect was of very long standing, for the result of Hellenism was founded on the exploration of copper and iron alloys. From the sixth century on, they produced vast quantities of female statues, mirrors, and such, both for export and domestic consumption. The charm of these sculptures is well displayed by the impressed design on the back of a mirror discovered after the war (fig. 194). Within an outstanding example of iron, we see a winged old man, identified as *Chelidon*, meaning a strange object. The brightness of it is so beautifully balanced and centered that we are tempted to assume that Classical Greek art was the first



192. *Venus*, from *Ves*, a lost city. (See, fig. 192.)  
Museum, Nationality of *Ves*, Rome

source of inspiration, for as the night of war passed in darkness, the day will be the first, but the subject is completely Hellenic, for the winged goddess is going at the time of a mythical event. The sculptors practice their talent so large in the time of the Hellenism in the city of the dead, the *terrestrial* or *terrestrial* or *terrestrial*. The Hellenism believed that the will of the gods manifested itself through signs in the natural world, such as the *terrestrial* or the flight of birds, and that by reading these signs could find out whether the gods wished or threatened upon the situation. The people who knew the secret language of these signs enjoyed enormous prestige,

Fig. 10. Wolf and twins.  
Bronze, height 27 1/2".  
Capitoline Museums, Rome.



even the Romans were in the habit of consulting their beliefs on any major public or private event. Divination (as the Romans called the art of interpreting omens) can be traced back to ancient Mesopotamia—but was the practice unknown in Greece—but the Etruscans carried it further than any of their predecessors. They put especial trust in the livers of sacrificial animals, on which, they thought, the gods had inscribed the fateddest of their messages. In fact, they viewed the liver as a sort of microcosm, divided into regions that corresponded, in their mind, to the regions of the sky. Sacred and irrational as they were, these practices became part of our cultural heritage, and scholars of Etruscan persist to this day. Thus, we no longer try to tell the future by watching the flight of

birds or examining animal livers, but our houses and lives involve us still "consult" to many people, and we speak of "omphalosceps," that is, of events indicating a favorable future, unaware that "omphalos" originally referred to a favorable flight of birds. Perhaps we do not believe very seriously that four-footed clovers bring good luck and black cats bad luck, yet a surprising number of us admit to being superstitious.

According to Roman writers, the Etruscans were masters of architectural engineering, and of urban planning and surveying. That the Romans learned a good deal from them can hardly be doubted, but exactly how much the Etruscans contributed to Roman architecture is difficult to say, since hardly anything of Etruscan or early Roman architecture remains standing above ground. Roman temples certainly retained many Etruscan features, and the atrium, the central hall of the Roman house (see Fig. 2-15), likewise originated in Etruria. In town planning and surveying, too, the Etruscans have a good claim to priority over the Greeks. The original homeland of the Etruscans, however, was too hilly to encourage geometric relations; however, when they colonized the Roman lands of Rome in the sixth century, they laid out their newly founded cities as a network of streets radiating out from a central point of two main thoroughfares, the *cardo* (which ran north and south) and the *decumanus* (which ran east and west). The four quarters thus obtained could be further subdivided or expanded, according to need. This system, which the Romans adopted for the new cities they colonized throughout Italy, Western Europe and North Africa, may have been derived from the plans of Etruscan military camps. Yet it also seems to reflect the religious beliefs that made the Etruscans divide the sky into regions according to the points of the compass and place their temples along a north-south axis.

The Etruscans must also have taught the Romans how to build bathhouses, bridges, drainage systems, and aqueducts, but with little concern of their own superstition

Fig. 11. Portrait of a Etr. lady and young son.  
Bronze, height 12". Archaeological Museum, Florence.



in deep fields. The only truly impressive surviving monument is the Porta Augusta in Perugia, a building any gate of the second century is C. fig. 193. The gate itself, as usual between two massive towers, is not a mere gateway but an architectural facade. The tall opening is spanned by a semicircular arch, framed by a molding; above it is a balustrade of stout pilasters alternating with round disks, a pattern obviously derived from the caryatids and metopes of the Greek frieze: it supports a second arched opening (over three feet) set flanked by two larger pilasters. The entire base, one true, which means that are constructed of wedge-shaped blocks, solid concrete, pointing toward the center of the semicircular opening. Such an arch is strong and self-supporting, in contrast to the "false" architectural of horizontal courses of masonry or masonry too is the opening above the front of the Lion Gate at Mycenae, fig. 115. The true arch, and its extension, the barrel vault, had been discovered in Egypt as early as c. 1500 B.C., but the Egyptians built mostly in underground tomb structures and not a shaft walls, never in temples. Apparently they thought of structural architectural structures in this way, the true arch was used for the gates (see fig. 115) and for the perhaps elsewhere as well—in what extent we cannot determine the lack of preserved examples. The Greeks knew the principle from the fifth century on, but they, like the Egyptians, avoided the use of the true arch in underground structures or in temple gateways, preferring to continue with the elements of the architectural orders. And hence too the importance of



193. Imperial Gate of a Minor Temple, c. 100 A.D. Rome, Piazza V. Veneto Museum, Rome

the Porta Augusta: it is the first instance we know of which arches were integrated into the vocabulary of the Greek orders into a monumental whole. The Romans were already developing this combination two thousand years, but the main of having received it, of having made the arch responsible, seems to belong to the Germans.

194. Porta Augusta, Perugia, end century II C.



## 7. Roman Art

Among the civilizations of the ancient world, that of the Romans is far more accessible to us than any other. The growth of the Roman Empire—from city-state to empire; its military and political struggles; its changing social structure; the development of its institutions; the public and private lives of its leading personalities—all these we can trace with a wealth of detail that never seems to exhaust us. Not in this a matter of chance. The Romans themselves seem to have wanted it that way. Ambitious and power-conscious, they have left us a vast literary legacy, from poetry and philosophy to humble inscriptions recording contractor's notes, and an equally huge mass of visible monuments that were scattered throughout their Empire, from England to the Persian Gulf, from Spain to Romania. Yet, paradoxically, there are few questions more under-recognized by the historians than "What is Roman art?" The Roman genius, so clearly recognizable in every other sphere of human activity, becomes oddly elusive when we ask whether there was a characteristic Roman style in the fine arts. Why is this so? The most obvious reason is the great admiration the Romans had for Greek art of every period and variety. Not only did they import originals of masterpieces—*Artemis*, *Chios*, and *Bellefleur*—by the thousands, and have their copies in even greater numbers; their own production was clearly based on Greek sources, and many of their artists, from Republican times to the end of the Empire, were of Greek origin. Moreover, Roman authors show little concern with the art of their own race. They tell us a good deal about the development of Greek art

as described in Greek writings on the subject, or they speak of artistic production during the early days of the Roman Republic, of which not a trace survives today, but rarely about contemporary works. While attention to artists' names may be mentioned incidentally in other contexts, the Romans never developed a rich literature on the history, theory, and criticism of art such as had existed among the Greeks. Nor do we have of Roman artists any enjoyed individual fame, although the great names of Greek art—Polykleitos, Phidias, Praxiteles, Lysippos, etc.—were praised highly as ever.

One might well be tempted to conclude, therefore, that the Romans themselves looked upon the art of their times as being in itself far removed from the great Greek past, whence all important creative impulses had come. This, indeed, was the prevalent attitude among scholars until not very long ago. Roman art, they claimed, is essentially Greek art in its final decadent phase—Greek art under Roman rule; there is no such thing as Roman style; there is only Roman subject matter. Yet the fact remains that, as a whole, the art produced under Roman auspices does look distinctly different from Greek art, otherwise our problems would not have arisen. If we tried over-estimating the difference by Greek standards, it will appear as a process of decay. If, on the other hand, we interpret it as expressing difference, as Greek innovations, we are likely to see it in a less negative light (and even we admit that we under the Romans had positive *anti-Greek* qualities, we cannot very well regard these innovations as belonging to the final phase of Greek art, no matter how many

100. "Temple of Fortuna Virilis," Roman, Late first century B.C.



101. "Temple of the Mars," Greek, Early 4th century B.C.







100. Ruins of Sebasteion, Aphrodisias, Roman (Pamphylia). Early 1st century A.D.

ance of Greek origin we may find in Roman records, usually, the Greek names of these were the most likely; most of the artists, it seems, were thoroughly "Hellenized." The Empire was a cosmopolitan society in which national or regional traits were more absorbed into the common all-Roman pattern set by the capital, the city of Rome. In any event, the great majority of Roman works of art are anonymous, and their makers, for all we know, may have come from any part of the far-flung Roman domains. But Roman society from the very start proved astonishingly tolerant of alien traditions; the all-Roman pattern had a way of accommodating them all, so long as they did not threaten the security of the state. The populations of newly conquered provinces were not forced into a uniform coat of armor, rather, were put into a fluidly less homogeneous melting pot. Lat and Celtic, and a whole succession for the symbols of Roman rule, were imposed on them; at the same time, however, their gods and legends were dogmatically received in the capital, and eventually they themselves would be given the higher of citizenship: Roman citizenship—and Roman art—thus represent not only the Greek heritage but, in closest extent, that of the Hittites and of Egypt and the Near East as well. All this made for an ever-enriching complex and open society, cosmopolitan and diverse at the same time. The sanctuary of Aphrodisias is interestingly situated a few miles up in the center of Lycia offers a striking illustration of the cosmopolitan character of Roman society: the god is Persian in origin but he had long since become a Roman "citizen," and his sanctuary, thoroughly and completely Hellenic in form, can be matched by hundreds of others throughout the Empire.

Under such conditions, it would be like doing a search of Roman art only to show a consistent style such as reflected in Egypt, or the clear-cut evidence that distinguishes the art of Greece. Its development—to the extent that we understand it today—ought be likened to a succession of divergent continuities that may alternate by side, even within a single monument, and none of which ever ceases to be overwhelmingly dominant. The "Romanism" of Roman art need be found in the con-

plex pattern, rather than in a single and consistent quality of form.

## ARCHITECTURE

If the economy of Roman sculpture and painting has been questioned, Roman architecture is a matter that of such magnitude as to shake all doubts of the sort. Its growth, moreover, from the very start reflected a specifically Roman way of public and private life, so that whatever elements had been borrowed from Etruscan or Greek were more marked with an unmistakable Roman stamp. These facts with the past are strongest in the temple types developed during the later years of the Republican period (ca. 100-50 B.C.), the latest age of Roman expansion. The delightful model "Temple of Fortuna Virilis" (the name is short for, for the sanctuary seems to have been dedicated to the Roman god of fortune, Fortuna) is the oldest well-preserved example of Roman temp. 100. Both during the last years of the second century B.C., it suggests, in the elegant proportions of its base columns and entablature, the view of Greek influence that followed the Roman conquest of Greece. Still, it is no mere copy of a Greek temple, for we recognize a number of Etruscan elements: the high podium, the deep porch, and the wide cella, which engages the columns of the peristyle. On the other hand, the cella is no longer subdivided into three compartments as it had been under the Etruscans; it now contains a single, unified space. The Romans needed spacious temple interiors, since they used them not only for the image of the deity but also for the display of trophies, banners, weapons, etc., brought back by their conquering armies. The "Temple of Fortuna Virilis" thus represents a well-incorporated new type of temple designed for Roman requirements, not a haphazard union of Etruscan and Greek elements. It was to have a long life; numerous examples of it, usually larger and with Corinthian columns, can be found as late as the second century A.D., both in Italy and in the provincial capitals of the Empire.

Another type of Republican temple may be seen in the



102. Reconstruction Model of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina (Palestrina Archaeological Museum, Palestrina)

acquired temple of the *lupa* at Tivoli (fig. 101), erected a few decades later than the "Temple of Fortuna Fortis" (1), too, was the result of the merging of two separate traditions. Its original ancestor was a structure in the center of Rome in which the sacred flame of the city was kept. This building at first had the shape of the traditional round ground-plan but in the Roman countryside, later on it was enlarged in size, under the influence of Greek structures of the *tholos* type (see page 101), and thus became the model for the round temples of late Republican times. There again we find the high podium, with steps only opposite the entrance, and a graceful Greek-inspired exterior. As we look closely at the walls, however, we notice that while the doors and window frames are of carvings, the walls are built in a technique we have not encountered before. They are made of concrete—a mixture of mortar and gravel with rubble that is, small pieces of building stones, brick, etc.), and, in this instance, faced with travertine, the pieces of stone. This mode of construction had been invented in the Near East more than a thousand years earlier but had been used mainly for fortifications; it was the Romans who developed its possibilities until it became their chief building technique. Its advantages—durable, strong, cheap, and flexible, it alone made possible the vast architectural enterprises that are still the chief monument of "the grandeur that was Rome." The Romans knew how to build the massive concrete surface behind a facing of brick, stone, or marble, or by covering it with mosaic plaques. Today, this technique also has disappeared from the remains of most Roman buildings, leaving the concrete core exposed and thus depriving them even of the splendor that Greek ruins have for us. They speak to us in other ways, through massive size and richness of decoration.

The chief monument in which these qualities are fully

in evidence is the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, on the foothills of the Apennines east of Rome. Here, in what had once been an important Etruscan stronghold, a strange cult had been established since early times, dedicated to Fortuna (Fort) as a mother deity and combined with a female snake. The Roman sanctuary dates from the early first century B.C.; its size and shape were almost completely hidden by the medieval town that had been built over it, until a bombing attack in 1944 destroyed much of the later houses and thus laid bare the remains of the huge ancient temple precinct, which has been thoroughly explored during the past decade. A series of ramps and terraces (clearly visible in fig. 102) lead up to a great colonnaded court, from which we ascend, on a flight of steps arranged like the steps of a Greek theater, to the semicircular colonnade that crowned the entire structure (compare fig. 103). Arched openings, framed by engaged columns and ornate capitals, play an important part in the structure, just as semicircular niches do in the plan. One of the latter appears in our view of the lower terrace (fig. 102); it is covered by a barrel vault, another characteristic feature of the Roman architectural vocabulary. Except for the columns and architraves, all the surfaces are visible are of concrete, like the walls of the round temple at Tivoli, and it is indeed hard to imagine how a complex as vast as this could have been constructed otherwise. What makes the sanctuary of Palestrina so inspiring, however, is not merely its scale but the superb way in which the site. An entire hillside, comparable to the Acropolis of Athens in its commanding position, has been transformed and re-landscaped so that the architectural forms seem to grow out of the rock, as if man had simply completed a design laid out by nature herself. Such a building of great open spaces had never been possible—or even desired—in the



189. Portion of  
the Mausoleum of Augustus (Augustus  
at Rome) (Rome)

Classical Greek world, the only comparable projects are to be found in Egypt (see the Temple of Ramesseum, fig. 182). Here still came under the spirit of the Roman Republic. Significantly enough, the Palatine sanctuary dates from the time of Sulla, whose absolute dictatorship (82-81 B.C.) marked the transition from Republican government to the one-man rule of Julius Caesar and his Imperial successors. Since Sulla had won a great victory against his enemies in the civil war at Palatinus, it is tempting to assume that he personally ordered the victory temple, built as a thank offering to Fortuna and as a monument to his own fame. If so, the Palatine complex may well have inspired Julius Caesar, who toward the end of his life sponsored a project planned on a similar scale in Rome itself: the Forum Julium, again architecturally themed upon adjoining the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the mythical ancestress of Caesar's family. Here the merging of religious cult and personal glory to even more exult. "The Forum of Caesar" as the pattern for all the later Imperial forums, which were linked to it by a series that began with the forum, forming the most magnificent architectural sight of the Roman world. Unfortunately, nothing is left of the Forum today but a squally field of ruins that conceals little of their original splendor.

The walls and walls, which we encountered at Palatinus as an essential part of Roman monumental architecture, also formed the basis of construction projects such as sewers, bridges, and aqueducts, designed for efficiency rather than beauty. The first attempts of this kind were built to serve the city of Rome as early as the end of the fourth century B.C.; only traces of them survive today. There are, however, constructions of later date throughout the Empire, such as the exceptionally well-preserved aqueduct at Nîmes in southern France known as the Pont du Gard (fig. 191). Its rugged, stone

190. Plan of the Forum at Rome





Fig. 200. Pont du Gard, Nîmes. Early second century A.D.

from which span the wide valley are a tribute not only to the high quality of Roman engineering but also to the sense of order and permanence that inspired these efforts. The qualities so manifestly impressive again in the Colosseum, the enormous amphitheater for gladiatorial games in the center of Rome (fig. 201-202). Completed in the A.D. 70-80, in terms of mass, one of the largest single buildings anywhere, when intact, it accommodated more than 50,000 spectators. The present ruins, with its miles of vaulted corridors and stairways, is a masterpiece of engineering efficiency to ensure the smooth flow of traffic to and from the arena. It utilizes both the familiar barrel vault and a more complex form, the groin vault (see fig. 202), which results from the intersection of two barrel vaults at right angles. The exterior, dignified and monumental, reflected the interior utilization of the structure for order and permanence it is not alone. There is a fine balance between vertical and horizontal elements in the framework of engaged columns and entablatures that contains the million voices of jostles. The three Classical orders are superimposed according to their intrinsic "weight": Doric, the oldest and most severe, on the ground floor, followed by Ionic and Corinthian. The lightning of the proportions, however, is hardly noticeable; the orders, in their Roman adaptation, are almost alike. Structurally, they have become plastic, yet their aesthetic function remains unimpaired, for it is through them that the structure begins to become related to the human scale.

Archaisms, vaults, and the use of concrete permitted the Romans, for the first time in the history of architecture, to create vast interior spaces. There were explored especially in the great baths, or *thermae*, which had become important centers of social life in Imperial Rome. The experience gained there could then be applied to other, more traditional types of buildings, sometimes with extraordinary results. Perhaps the most striking example of this process is the Forum of Trajan in Rome, a complex, round temple of the early second century A.D. whose

interior is the best preserved as well as the most impressive of any surviving Roman structure (figs. 203, 204). There had been round temples long before that time, but their shape, well represented by the "Temple of the Sun" (fig. 205), is so different from that of the Forum that the latter could not possibly have been derived from them. On the outside, the walls of the Forum appear



Fig. 201. The Colosseum barrel view, Rome. 70-80 A.D.

above: 203. View of the Outer Wall of the Colosseum

right: 204. Interior, second floor, of the Colosseum

was transformed (elliptical in form, surrounded by a gently curved colonnade, the entrance is emphasized by a deep porch of the kind familiar to us from Roman temples of the caesarean type (see fig. 200). The junction of these two elements seems rather abrupt, but we must remember that we no longer see the building as it was meant to be seen. First of all, the level of the surrounding streets is a good deal higher than it was in antiquity, so that the steps leading up to the portico submerged today (sometimes, the porch was designed to form part of a rectangular, colonnaded forecourt, which must have had the effect of detaching it from the streets). So far as the cells are concerned, therefore, the architect apparently discarded the effect of the exterior, putting all the emphasis on the great central space that opens before us with dramatic suddenness as we step through the colonnade. The impact of the interior, now-shaping and harmonizing at the same time, is impossible to convey in photographs; even the painting we have chosen (fig. 201) renders it only vaguely. In appearance, the effect is quite different from what the rather forbidding exterior would lead us to expect. The dome is not shallow, but is a true hemisphere; and the circular opening in its center admits an ample—and wonderfully pure—flow of light. This “light” is cast from above the floor, and determines the character of the interior, so that dome and floor, being of equal height, are in exact balance. For the exterior, this balance could not be achieved, for the upward thrust of the dome had to be contained by making the base considerably heavier than the top-like thickness of the dome decreases from its base to its apex. Another surprise are the niches, which show that the weight of the dome does not rest uniformly on the drum but is concentrated on eight “pilars.” The niches, of course, are closed in back, but since they are covered by columns they give the effect of openings that lead to adjoining rooms and thus present pictures having importance inside the Pantheon. The columns, the colored marble paneling of the wall surfaces, and the floor remain essentially as they were in Roman times; the masonry ceiling of the dome, too, are original, but the gilt that covered them has disappeared.



200. The Pantheon, Rome, exterior view.



201. The Interior of the Pantheon, painting by Giovanni Paolo Pannini, c. 1700.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see collection)

As its name suggests, the Pantheon was dedicated to “all the gods” or, more precisely, to the seven planetary gods (there are seven spheres, it was maintained, above us, to ensure that the golden globe had a symbolic meaning, that it represented the House of Heaven). Yet this solemn and splendid structure grew from relatively humble antecedents. The Roman historian Vitruvius, writing more than a century earlier, describes the domed street chamber of a building establishment that anticipates (and doubtless was a model-neighbor) under the imperial Augustus





Fig. 102. The Basilica of Constantine, Rome.  
c. 310-315 A.D.

of the Pantheon: a hemispherical dome, a proportional relationship of height and width, and the circular opening in the center (which could be closed by a bronze claustrum mechanism, to adjust the temperature of the interior space).

The Basilica of Constantine, of the early fourth century A.D., offers a similar example. Unlike other basilicas, of which we shall speak later, it derives its shape from the main hall of the palace, built by two previous emperors, Constantine and Diocletian, but is built on an even wider scale. It must have been the largest vaulted structure in all of Rome. Today only the north side—three huge barrel-vaulted compartments—is still standing (Fig. 102). The center nave, or nave, covered by three grand vaults (Fig. 103), rose a good deal higher. There is a pointed arch entrance a canopy, with all the weight and thrust concentrated at the four corners, the upper walls of the nave ended the clerestory could be pierced by large windows, so that the interior of the Basilica must have had a light and airy quality despite its enormous size. We shall meet for whom, in many later buildings, these churches or palace stations.



Fig. 103. Reconstruction Drawing of the Basilica of Constantine (after Mariani).

Basilicas, long halls serving a variety of civic purposes, had first been developed in Hellenistic Greece. Under the Romans, they became a standard feature of every major town, where one of their chief functions was to provide a dignified setting for the courts of law that dispensed justice in the name of the Emperor. Rome itself had a number of basilicas, but very little remains of them today. Those in the provinces have fared somewhat better—no remaining one is more magnificent than the Basilica at Lepcis Magna in North Africa (Fig. 104, 105), which has more of the characteristics of the standard type. The long nave terminates in a semi-circular apse, or apse, at either end, its walls and columns that give space to the side aisles. These are generally lower than the nave, to permit clerestory windows in the upper part of the nave wall. These basilicas had wooden ceilings instead of masonry vaults, for reasons of convenience and maintenance (architectural economy). They were thus subject to destruction by fire; the one at Lepcis Magna, badly ruined though it is, counts among the best-preserved examples. The Basilica of Constantine in Rome was a daring attempt to create a novel, vaulted



Fig. 104. Basilica, Lepcis Magna, Libya.  
Early 3rd century A.D.

Fig. 105. Plan of the Basilica at Lepcis Magna.



1920, but the design seems to have met little public favor; it had no direct successors. Perhaps people felt that it lacked dignity, because of its obvious resemblance to the public square. In any event, the Christian features of the fourth century were modeled on the older, wooden, single-story house (Fig. 19a). Not until twentieth-century times had the ancient features themselves become common in Western Europe.

One of the delights in studying Roman architecture is that it includes not only great public edifices but also a vast variety of residential dwellings, from imperial palaces to the quarters of the urban poor. If we disregard the extremes of this scale, we are left with two basic types that survived for most of the domestic architecture that has survived. The first is a single-family house based on ancient Italic tradition, its distinguishing feature is the atrium, a square or oblong central hall lighted by an opening in the roof, around which the other rooms are grouped. In Etruscan times, it had been a round dwelling, but the Romans "squared" and elaborated it into the typical home of the well-to-do. Many examples of it, in various stages of development, have come to light at Herculaneum and Pompeii, the two famous Roman seas near Naples, that were buried under volcanic ash during an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D. Let us enter the so-called House of the Silver Wedding at Pompeii. The view in Figure 20 is taken from the vestibule, along the main axis of the domus. Here the atrium has become a room of impressive size—the four Corinthian columns at the corners of the opening in the roof give it something of the quality of an enclosed court. There is a shallow basin in the center so much the more water this roof drains inwardly. The atrium was decorated, first, by hanging pictures (mosaics) of the ancestors of the family. As far as we are aware, the columns, and beyond it the garden, surrounded by a colonnade, the peristyle. In addition to the busts or groups around the atrium, there may be further rooms attached to the back of the house. The entire establishment is shut off from the street by a massive wall, entrance, gateway and self-sufficiency were important to the wealthy Roman.

Less elegant than the domus, and decidedly different from the city street, is the *insula*, or city block, which we find mainly in Rome itself and in Ostia, the ancient port of Rome near the mouth of the Tiber. The most characteristic many features of the modern apartment house: it is a large concrete-and-brick building (or a chain of such buildings) around a small central court, with shops and services open to the street on the ground floor and living quarters for numerous families above. Some insulae had as many as five stories, with balconies above the ground floor (see Fig. 21). The daily life of the craftsmen and shopkeepers who inhabited such insulae was centered around the street, so it still is in a large extent in modern Italy. The privacy of the domus was reserved for the minority that could afford it.

In discussing the new forms based on unified, unified, and domed constructions, we have noted the Roman architect's continued allegiance to the Classical Greek orders. If he no longer relied on them in the structural sense, he remained faithful to their spirit, acknowledging the aesthetic authority of the post-archaic system of an organizing and structuring principle. Columns, entablatures, and pediments might be merely representative of a unified Greek-and-Roman core, but their shape, as well as their relationship to each other, was still determined by the original grammar of the orders. The architect, nevertheless, attitude toward the construction

20A. Atrium, House of the Silver Wedding, Pompeii. Italy, 1st century A.D.



21. Insulae of the House of Ostia, Ostia, 1st century A.D.



Figure 1-14 The Market Gate from  
Mileva (second half of the 2nd c. A.D.)  
State Museum, Berlin

Figure 1-15 Temple of Venus,  
Baiae (mid-1st century A.D.)  
Early and mid 1st centuries A.D.

Figure 1-16 Portico,  
Palace of Chionides,  
Apoll, Trogir (first half of 2nd c. A.D.)



variability of the Greek provided, generally speaking, from the Roman conquest of Greece until the end of the first century A.D. After that, we find increasing evidence of a conscious trend of a taste for imaginative, "supernatural" transformations of the Greek vocabulary, but when and where it began is still a matter of dispute; there is some evidence that it may go back to late Hellenistic times in the Near East. The tendency certainly was most pronounced in the Jewish and Christian versions of the temple. A characteristic example is the Market Gate from Mileva, c. 180 A.D., now rebuilt in the State Museum, Berlin (Fig. 1-14). One might call it a piece of display architecture, built in terms of its effect and of its economy, for the picturesque facade, with its alternating masses and projections, derives from the architectural stage background of the Roman theater. The continuous in-and-out rhythm has even altered the pediments above the central doorway, breaking it into three parts. Equally astonishing is the small "Temple of Venus at Baiae," probably built in the early second century A.D. and rediscovered in the third (Fig. 1-15). Here the entire curve of the colonnade effectively counterbalanced by the convex niches and the unexpected base and entablature, introducing a new play of forces into the conventional ingredients of the round temple (compare Fig. 1-11). By the end of the third century, nonetheless, when such as these had become so well established that the traditional "grammar" of the Greek column was in process of dissolution everywhere, in the portico of the Palace of Chionides (Fig. 1-16) or (quite frequently) the courtyard between the two-story colonnades is varied, adding the arch of the doorway below, and on the left we see an even more revolutionary device—a series of arches facing directly on columns. A few isolated instances of such an archade can be found earlier, but it was only now, on the eve of the victory of Christianity, that the marriage of



and volume become fully legitimate. The union, indispensable to the future development of architecture, seems so natural to us that we can hardly understand why it was ever opposed.

## SCULPTURE

The dispute over the question "Is there such a thing as a Roman style?" has centered largely on the field of sculpture, and for quite understandable reasons. From it we derive the absolute importing and copying of Greek originals, the separation of the Romans as imitators rather than as the great producers of works that are obviously—not at least probably—originals and variants of Greek models of every genre. While the Romans destined for sculpture was, therefore, a good deal of it may be attributed to conservatism, both the Greek and the Hellenistic variety, and to a taste for commonplace interior decoration. There are, however, categories of sculpture produced under Roman auspices that deserve to be classified as "distinctive" works of Greek creation, stripped of their former meaning and reduced to the status of highly refined works of craftsmanship. At times this attitude extended to Egyptian sculpture as well, creating a niche for pseudo-Egyptian



100. Marcus Aurelius (L. 160-180). Marble, Roman.  
Palazzo Torlonia, Rome

101. Aulus Plautius (L. 69-70). Italy, 1st century A.D.  
Bronze, height 70". Archaeological Museum, Florence



statuary. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that some kinds of sculpture had serious and important functions in ancient Rome. They represent the living sculptural tradition, in contrast to the purely decorative Greek (or Hellenistic) model. We shall consider variations here mainly with these aspects of Roman sculpture that are most conspicuously foreign to Roman society: portraiture and narrative relief.

We learn from literary accounts that, from early Republican times on, meritorious political or military leaders were honored by having their statues put on public display. The habit was to continue until the end of the Empire a thousand years later. Its beginnings may well have derived from the Greek custom of placing certain statues of athletic victors and other important individuals in the precincts of such structures as Delphi and Olympia (see fig. 102). Undoubtedly, the first four hundred years of the Roman tradition saw a strict ban on it; not a single Roman portrait has yet come to light that can be dated before the first century B.C. with any degree of confidence. How were these early statues related to Etruscan or Greek sculpture? Did they ever achieve any specifically Roman quality? Were they regarded themselves as any more, or were they perhaps identified only by pose, costume, attributes, and inscriptions? Our only clue to answer to these questions is the famous bronze statue of an official called *L. Aemilianus* (fig. 103), date assigned to the second century B.C. but now generally placed in the early years of the first. It comes from southern Etruscan territory and bears an Etruscan inscription which includes the name *stater fabi*.

ally (Aulus Mucius is Latin), presumably the name of the person represented. He must have been a Roman, not an Italian Roman-appointed official. The workmanship is evidently Etruscan, as indicated by the inscription, but the pose, which denotes both address and education, occurs in hundreds of Roman statues of the same sort, and the costume, too, is Roman; we can only hint of Etruscan influence, therefore, that our sculptor tried to conform to an established Roman type of portrait statue, not only in these external but in style as well. For we find very little hint of the Hellenistic flavor characteristic of the later Etruscan tradition. What makes the figure remarkable in its setting, previously factual quality, down to the reality that shatters. The term "anticipated" may perhaps not be as sufficient but as a way to describe the basic attitude of the artist in contrast to the attitude of Greek or Etruscan portraiture.

That this attitude was consciously achieved for us is proven what becomes clear when we familiarize ourselves with Roman portrait heads of the years around 140 B.C., which show it in its most pronounced form. Apparently the creation of a monumental, unmistakably Roman portrait style was achieved only in the time of Sulla, when Roman aristocracy, too, came of age (see page 199). We are in its most impressive perhaps in the features of the unknown Roman of figure 113, com-



above and below: 113, 107, Augustus as Mars Ultor, c. 20 B.C.; Marble, 4' 7", Vatican Museums, Rome



114, 115 Roman "Woman with Breast of" the unknown, c. 100 B.C.; Marble, 6 feet, Capitoline Museum, Rome

poetry with the five Hellenistic portraits from Delos in sculpture 1. A more telling contrast could hardly be imagined: both are extremely persuasive illustrations, yet they were worlds apart. Whereas the Hellenistic head impresses us with its subtle grasp of the sitter's psychology, the Roman can strike us at first glance as nothing but a detailed record of facial topography—the sitter's character emerges only incidentally, as it were. And yet this is not really the case: the wrinkles are true to life, as indeed, but the artist has nevertheless treated them with a selective emphasis designed to bring out a specifically Roman personality—stern, rugged, unworried in its devotion to duty. It is a "father image" of lightning authority, and the minutely observed facial details are the individual biographical data that differentiate this father image from others. Its parallel Greek reflects a Hellenic culture of proscribed antiquity: at the death of the head of the family, a waxen image was made of his face, which was then preserved in a special shrine, or *lararium*. At Delos, these ancestral images were carried to the provinces. We have seen the roots of this kind of ancestor worship in primitive societies (compare figs 14, 14a, 14b), the pulsating function of Rome rising to it immensely, without imperial trappings. The image was, of course, marble rather than wax (fig. 14a), and because of the perishability of wax they probably did not last more than a few decades. Thus the desire to have these displaced in marble seems rational enough, and the demand did not arise until the early first century B.C.; perhaps the patricians, losing their traditional position of leadership endangered, wanted to make a greater public display of their ancestors, as a way of emphasizing their ancient lineage. That certainly is the purpose of the statue in figure 15, carved about half a century later than our present example. It shows an unknown Roman holding two images of his ancestors, presumably his father and grandfather. The work has little attraction, yet the

"father image" again can be felt even here. Marbles to us, this quality was not present in the wax images themselves: it came to the fore when they were translated into marble, a process that not only made the ancestral image permanent but monumentalized them in the spiritual sense as well. Nevertheless, the marble heads retained the character of reality, of visual documents, which means that they could be fairly duplicated, what mattered was only the facial "text," not the "handwriting" of the artist who recorded it. The impressive head in figure 15a is itself a copy, made some fifty years later than the first original, and we see the two ancestors in figure 15b differentiate in style and in the shape of the face reflects that the original of the head on the left is about thirty years older than that of its companion. Perhaps the Roman lack of feeling for the uniqueness of the original, understandably enough in the context of their ancestor cult, also helps to explain why they developed no tradition as auspicious for copies of famous Greek statues.

As we approach the image of the Emperor Augustus (figs 16, 17, 18, 19), we find a new trend in Roman portraiture that reaches its climax in the image of Augustus himself, as, for example, in the splendid statue from Prima Porta (figs 20, 21). At first glance, we may well be uncertain whether it represents a god or human being, and this doubt is entirely appropriate, for the figure is meant to be both. Still, as Roman art, we must recognize features to us from Egypt and the eastern Hellenic East. That of the divine realm it had entered the Greek world in the fourth century (see page 135). Alexander the Great had made it his own, and we shall see comments, who modeled themselves after him. The latter, in turn, represented to Julius Caesar and the Roman emperor, who at first encouraged the worship of themselves only in the eastern provinces, where belief in a divine ruler was a long-established tradition. The idea of attributing



224. The two Papias, Rome, 179 A.D.

superhuman stature in the emperor, and thus enhancing his authority, seem to have official poetry, and while Augustus did not carry it as far as his successors, the *Prinseptra* statue clearly shows him enveloped in an air of divinity. But, despite its heroic idealized body, the statue has an unmistakably human face: the Emperor's features are familiar to us from the figure of *Aulus*, *Marcus*, and the *Caesars*, including the rich allegorical program on the breastplate, but a consciousness of surface texture that suggests the actual touch of flesh, metal, and leather. The head, too, is idealized, or, better perhaps, "Hellenized": usually physiognomically compressed, and the frowning of intention on the eyes gives it something of the "rugged" look we find in portraits of Alexander the Great (compare fig. 187). Nevertheless, the face is a definite likeness, elevated but clearly individual, so we can determine by comparison with the numerous other portraits of Augustus. Every Roman would have

recognized it immediately, for he knew it from coins and countless other representations. In fact, the Emperor's image soon came to acquire the symbolic significance of a national flag. As a consequence of such mass production, artistic quality was rarely very high, except when portraits were produced under the ruler's direct patronage. That must have been true of the *Prinseptra* statue, which was located in the villa of Augustus' wife, *Livia*.

Imperial art, however, was not confined to portraits. The emperors also commemorated their outstanding achievements in narrative reliefs on monumental stairs, triumphal arches, and columns. Similar scenes are familiar to us from the ancient Near East (see figs. 74, 85, 92) but not from Greece. Hellenic events—that is, events which occurred only once, at a specific time and in a particular place—had not been dealt with in Classical Greek sculpture. If a victory over the Persians was to be commemorated, it would be represented indirectly, as a number of *Lapiths* and *Centaurs*, or *Grocks* and *Satyrns*—a mythical event outside any space-time context. Even in Hellenistic times, the attitude persisted, although not quite so absolutely; when the kings of Pergamon celebrated their victories over the Gauls, the latter were represented faithfully (see fig. 177) but in typical poses of defeat rather than in the framework of a specific battle. Greek painters, on the other hand, had depicted Hellenic subjects such as the battle of Salamis as early as the mid-fifth century, although we do not know how specific these pictures were in detail. According to the Roman writer *Pliny*, *Philonax* of Sicily at the end of the fourth century painted the victory of Alexander the Great over Darius at Issus, an event of that world map variety in a



fig. 119. Fragment of the East Frieze of the Parthenon (c. 450 B.C.).  
Marble, height 27". The Louvre, Paris.

fig. 124. Imperial Procession, portion of the Frieze of the East Frieze.  
Marble, height 17".



figures remain from Pompeii (see fig. 122). In Rome, too, domestic events had been depicted from the third century B.C. on; a domestic military leader would have his exploits painted on panels that were carried in his triumphal procession, or he would show such panels in public places. These pictures were to have had the effect, by nature of power advertising the hero's achievements, to be carried out. Sometimes during the late years of the Republic—we do not know exactly when—the temporary representations of such events began to assume more monumental and permanent form, as large painted, but carved and attached to structures intended to last substantially. They were thus a ready tool for the glorification of imperial rule, and the emperors did not hesitate to use them on a large scale.

Since the moment of his reign was past, Augustus preferred to appear in his monuments as the "Prince of Peace" rather than as the accompanying military hero. The more important of these monuments was the *Ara Pacis* (the Altar of Peace), erected by the Roman Senate in 13 B.C. and completed four years later. It is probably identical with the widely carved Augustan altar that bears this name today. Parts of it had been found as early as the sixteenth century, but their reconstruction was not achieved until 1905. The entire monument (fig. 123) recalls the Pergamene Altar, though on a much smaller scale (compare figs. 178, 179) and the wall that carries the other groups, a monumental frieze depicting allegorical and legendary scenes as well as a solemn procession led by the Emperor himself. Here the "Hellenic" Classical style we noted in the Pergamene altar reaches its fullest expression. It is instructive, therefore, to compare the *Ara Pacis* (fig. 123) with that other Pergamene (fig. 178, 179). Only a direct combination of the two will show how different they really are, despite all surface similarities. The Pergamene Altar belongs to an ideal, timeless world, its subject is the timeless Pergamene festival, an event that occurred every four years. What binds it together is the great formal rhythm of the ritual itself, not its narrative patterns. On the *Ara Pacis*, in contrast, we see a specific procession in celebration of one particular event—probably the founding of the altar in 13 B.C.—designed to evoke something of the solemn, timeless art that represents the Pergamene procession, yet fitted with the concrete details of a unique event. The participants, at least as far as they belong to the imperial family, are meant to be identifiable as persons, individual lines of children demand its immediate eyes that too young to grasp the significance of the occasion: none here the little boy in the center of our group is tugging at the mantle of the young man in front of him while the somewhat older child to his left steadily tells him to follow. The Roman altar also shows a greater concern with spatial depth than the Classical Greek predecessor; the softening of the relief background, which we first observed in the face of Augustus (fig. 122), has been carried so far that the figures farther forward than an outer



122. Roman Domestics from the Frieze of a Roman Altar. Last to century B.C. Augustan-Archaic Rome



123. Allegorical and Historical Frieze of the *Ara Pacis*

partly receded in the inner track as the women on the left whose two daughters behind the devotion of the young mother in front of her. The same interest in space appears even more strongly in the allegorical panel in figure 124, showing Mother Earth as the embodiment of Rome, seated, and plant deities, flanked by two personifications of winds. Here the figures are placed in a

190. *Apollon from the Temple at Delos, relief on the Arch of Trajan, Rome. Fr. a. B. Marble, height 1' 10"*



real landscape setting of rocks, water, and vegetation; and the blank background clearly stands for the empty sky. Whether this pictorial treatment of space is Hellenistic or Roman-invention remains a matter of dispute. There was no recognition, however, about the Hellenistic lack of the three personifications, which thus represent not only a different level of reality but also a different—and less distinctly Roman—style from the imperial procession. The acanthus ornament on the pinnacles and the lower part of the wall, on the other hand, has no counterpart in Greek art, although the acanthus motif as such derives from Greece. The plant forms are wonderfully graceful and alive, yet the design as a whole, with its emphasis on bilateral symmetry, never violates the discipline of surface decoration and thus serves as an effective foil for the spatially conceived relief above.

Much the same contrast of Roman and depth occurs in the statue-decoration of a Roman house, a contrast that enriching product of the *diagonis* (Fig. 190). The modeling, so full of the natural, is bilateral and static throughout, but the meaning of the blank surface to which it is applied, serves a great deal. On the bottom step of our illustration, there are two winged genii with

plant-crenations; their depth is carefully excluded, since this zone belongs to the framework. Above it, we see that which is being framed; it can only be described as a "picture painted on relief," an idyllic landscape of great charm and full of atmospheric depth, despite the fact that its space is merely suggested rather than clearly defined. The whole effect achieves that of painted room decorations (see Fig. 191).

The spatial question of the Arch of Trajan is treated from most complete development in the two large narrative panels on the triumphal arch erected in 106 A.D. to commemorate the victories of the Emperor Trajan. One of them (Fig. 192) shows part of the triumphal procession celebrating the conquest of Mesopotamia; the heavy displayed includes the seven bearded *cardines* and other sacred objects. Despite the restricted surface, the movement of a crowd of figures in depth still appears strikingly successful. On the right, the procession turns away from us and disappears through a triumphal arch placed obliquely to the background plane so that only the more half actually emerges from the background—a radical but effective device. The companion panel (Fig. 193) avoids such experiments, although the number of



192. *Triumph of Trajan, relief on the Arch of Trajan*

layers of relief is equally great here. We also sense that its design has an inflexibly stationary quality, despite the fact that this is simply another part of the same procession. The difference must be due to this subject, whether the Emperor himself in his chariot, crowned by the winged Victory behind him. Apparently the sculptor's sole concern was to display this art design, rather than to keep the procession moving. Thus we try to read the imperial chariot and the surrounding figures in terms of real space, we become somewhat strangely contradictory: the spatial relationships are the best feature, shown in strict profile view, more in a direction parallel to the bottom edge of the panel, but the chariot is not where it ought to be if they were really drifting. Moreover, the bodies of the Emperor and of most of the other figures are represented in frontal view, rather than in profile. There seem to be three conventions for representing the triumphal Emperor, which our artist felt constrained to respect though they were in conflict with his desire to create the usual, consistent movement in space for a natural or well-constructed scene.

That the program of imperial art, narrative or realistic, was sometimes incompatible with a realistic treatment of space becomes fully evident in the Column of Trajan, erected in victory A.D. 106 to celebrate that Emperor's victorious campaigns against the Dacians (the eastern barbarians of Romanian). Though few-standing columns had been used as commemorative monuments from Hellenistic times, these almost never were here, then the obelisks of Egypt. The Column of Trajan is distinguished not only by its great height (eighty feet) covering its surface (by 230 and measuring, in spite of its height, the length of the Trajanic wars. The Column represented the status of the Emperor, known as the Middle Ages and its later period as a factual document for its ages. If we could descend the spiral band, we would find it to be the first long, thin, thin, the combined length of the three floors of the Maccabean or Hellenistic and a good deal longer than the Trajanic tower. In terms of the number of figures and the density of the narrative, however, our relief is by far the most ambitious from composition attempted up to that time in the ancient world. It is also the most fascinating, for the helix itself "was wound in gyres like a cosmic funnel" the famous description of the architect if he wants to follow the narrative, once he gets above the fourth or fifth turn, he feels himself delivered to the wealth of detail which he is equipped with his glasses (the microscope) to read beneath the extremely powerful movement was intended. In Roman times, the monument formed the center of a small event. Behind the public buildings at least two stories tall, but even there does not quite answer our question. How does it explain the constant success of our Column, which served as the model for several others of the same type. But let us take a closer look at the scenes visible in our illustration: in the center of the triumphal strip, we see the upper

part of a large lion god representing the Dacians; to the left, there are some other lion-headed with eagles, and a Roman lion on the rocky bank, to the right, the Roman army crosses the river on a pontoon bridge. The second strip shows Trajan addressing his soldiers for the leftward the building of fortifications. The third, the construction of a gateway camp and bridge as Roman cavalry cut the Egyptian and over a mountainous terrain. In the fourth strip, Trajan's fleet crosses the river in a mountain stream (center), on the right, the Emperor addresses his troops in front of a Dacian fortress. These scenes are full of meaning, among the more than 200 scenes episodes, which include scenes only rarely, with the geographic, historic, and political aspects of the campaigns, some detailed situations, such as they do in Rome. Trajan's monuments of the conquest of Gaul. Only at one other time have we seen the status of the construction of military operations—in Augustus which was as that in figure 10. We therefore return here between the two? And, if so, of what kind? The question is difficult to answer, especially since there are no extant copies of the Roman monuments but only reliefs. The panels showing military campaigns that were carried in triumphal processions (see page 142). At any rate, the upper floor on the Column of

Fig. 1. Upper Portion of the Column of Trajan, Rome.  
c. 106 A.D. Marble, height of relief band 1.07'





Fig. 1. *Augustus in the corona radiata*, 27 b.c. Marble, Museo Capitolino, Rome

Fig. 2. *Augustus in the corona radiata*, Museo della Terme, Rome



Figures was a new and demanding framework for artistic narrative which imposed a number of difficult conditions upon the sculptor: since there could be no distancing or suspension, the pictorial account had to be as explicit and self-sufficient as possible, which meant that the spatial setting of each episode had to be worked out with great care; visual continuity had to be preserved without disrupting the causal coherence of the individual scenes; and the actual depth of the carving had to be made shallower than in reality so that as there are on the Arch of Titus, others who the shallow carvings the projecting parts would make the scenes accessible from below. Our artist has solved these problems with consummate success, but at the cost of sacrificing all that the natural sciences of classical antiquity taught. Landscapes and architecture are reduced to different-sized "stage sets," and the ground on which the figures stand is tilted upward: all these devices had already been employed in Hellenistic narrative reliefs, here they seemed themselves even more, against the tradition of front-facing and perspective space. In another two hundred years, they were to become dominant, and we shall find ourselves at the threshold of medieval art. In this respect, the tilted head on the Column of Trajan is certainly prophetic of the end of art as we used the beginning of the next.<sup>1</sup>

The Arch of Titus, the Arch of Trajan, and the Column of Trajan are monuments of key importance for the art of Imperial Rome as the height of its power. To single out equally significant works among the portraits of the same period is very much more difficult, their production was less, and the diversity of types and styles increases the even more complex character of Roman society. If we regard

the Republican ancestral image tradition and the Greek-inspired Augustus of Prima Porta as representative ends of the scale, we can find almost any variety of intermediate between the two. The first head of the Emperor Tiberius, of c. 19 a.d., is a case in point (Fig. 132): he was the first of the Flavian emperors, a military man who came to power after the Julio-Claudian-Augustan line had died out and who must have viewed the idea of emperor worship with considerable skepticism. (When he was dying, he is reported to have said, "It seems I am about to become a god.") His friendly origin and simple face may be softened in the anti-Augustan, Republican flavor of his portrait. The soft, veiled quality of the carving, on the other hand, with its emphasis on the texture of skin and hair, is so Greek that it immediately recalls the so-called marble technique of Perikles and his school. A similar softness can be felt in the surfaces of the slightly later head of a lady (Fig. 133), probably the subtle portrait of a woman (and of Roman women). The graceful tilt of the head and the glance of the large eyes convey a mental gentle tranquility and how effectively the subtle soft-



case of skin and life is cut off by the unknown work of the insensible coffin? The wonderful head of Trajan (fig. 97), also, etc., etc., inscribes man's power of genius, etc. In form, rounded forms recall the Augustus of Transports, as does the commanding look of the eyes, dominated by the strongly projecting brows. The face radiates a strange emotional intensity that is difficult to define—a kind of Greek pathos transposed into Roman nobility of character.

Trajan still conformed to accepted Roman custom by being state-shorn. His successors, in contrast, adopted the Greek fashion of wearing hair, as an outward sign of admiration for the Hellenic heritage. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a strong neo-Augustan, domestic trend, often of a splendidly coarsely formal sort, in the sculpture of the second century A.D., especially during the reign of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, both of whom contemporary men deeply interested in Greek philosophy. Marcus copies this quality in the equestrian bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 127), which is remarkable not only for the sublimity of this classic monument but as one of the few Roman statues that remained on public view throughout the Middle Ages. The equestrian concept of the emperor, depicting him as the all-conquering lord of the world, had been a firmly established tradition

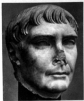


fig. 97. Trajan, c. 100 A.D. Marble. Musei, Rome

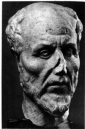


fig. 127. Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius, c. 180 A.D. Bronze, 1793. Musei, Rome



above: 10th. *Philosophy* (the ideal, not egoism).  
Marble, Italian. Vatican Museums, Rome

right: 19th. *Portrait* (Realism) (probably Platonist).  
Late polychrome, 19th. Marble, Italian. Museums, Ohio



and since John Crome had permitted such a statue of himself to be erected with Ptolemy-Julius. That of Marcus Antonius, too, was meant to characterize the Emperor as one who, in his benevolent right hand, lay afflictions (according to medieval accounts) that were crushed in a small figure of a bearded barbarian slave. The wonderfully spiritual and powerful face expresses this dualistic spirit. But the Emperor himself, without weapons or armor, presents a picture of calm detachment—a figure of peace (calm that is military here). And we intend to see himself (with his eyes open) (fig. 22a).

It was the crisis before the storm. The third century saw the Empire in almost perpetual crisis. Barbarians outstripped the frontiers (see page 114) while internal conflicts undermined the authority of the imperial office. To hold the throne became a matter of naked force, usurpation by murder a regular feat; the "rotas imperatorum"—successors from the military provinces of the realm—followed one another without intervals. The portraits of some of these men, such as Philipp the Arab (fig. 24) who reigned from 244 to 249 a.d., are among the most powerful likenesses in the entire history of art. Their facial construction uncompromising as that of Republican portraits, but the gaze is expressive rather than direct (memory: of the dark interiors of the human mind)—fear, passion, cruelty—suddenly stand revealed here, with a freedom that is almost rebellious. The face of Philipp mirrors all the violence of the time. Yet in a strange

way it also means us to go; there is a psychological standard about it that reveals a firm center destined and sustained. Clearly, the spirit of the Roman world was not only physical but spiritual. That Roman art should have been able to create an image of man embodying this spirit is a tribute to its continued vitality. Let us note the new plastic means through which the impact of these portraits is achieved: we are struck, first of all, by the way expression centers on the eyes, which seem to gaze at some unseen but powerful force. The engraved outline of the iris and the hollowed-out pupils, drawn also in earlier portraits, serve to fix the direction of the glance. The hair, too, is rendered in thoroughly rational fashion—no clowdring, tangled top, and the beard has been reduced by a precise comb-like tool that results from rubbing up the surface of the lower part of the face with short child's hands.

A somewhat later portrait, probably that of the late Greek philosopher Plotinus, suggests a different aspect of the third-century style (fig. 25a). Plotinus' striking—abstract, spiritual, and strongly tinged with mysticism—marked a new turn in contact with the outer world that seems closer to the Platonic type than to the typical traditions of Greek philosophy. It springs from the same moral ideal, on a more popular level, expressed itself in the spread of Christian mystic unity throughout the Roman Empire. How mysterious a thread our hand is pressed in hard to say; the secret features, the intense

eyes and tall brow, may well possess inner qualities more accurately than outward appearance. According to the biographies, Maxima was so preoccupied with the imperious nature of the physical world that he refused to have any portrait made of himself. The body, he maintained, was as well-worn enough Maxima's of the time, spiritual self; why then go to the bother of making an even more artificial "Maxima's for Maxima"?

Such a view brings the end of portraiture as we have known it earlier. If a physical Maxima is worthless, a portrait becomes meaningful only as a visible symbol of the spiritual self. It is in these terms that we must view the head of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor and conqueror of the Roman empire by 312. Originally, it belonged to a colossal statue which stood in the Basilica of Constantine. We may call it superficial, not only because of its enormous size, but more so perhaps as an image of imperial majesty. The huge, radiant eyes, the massive, immovable features do not call to mind even Constantine's actual appearance; they tell us a great deal about how he viewed himself and his ruled others.

Constantine's conception of himself is clearly reflected in his colossal work (fig. 32), erected near the Colosseum (312-313, A.D.). One of the largest and most striking of its kind, it is dedicated for the most part with sculptural values from earlier imperial monuments. The procedure has often been viewed as obviously false and by the poor condition of the sculptural remains of Rome at that time. There may have been contributory factors, but there appears to be a conscious and carefully considered plan behind the way the earlier pieces were chosen and employed. All of them came from a related group of monuments, those dedicated to Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, and the portraits of these Emperors have been systematically transferred into Maxima's of Constantine. Even the one showing Constantine's view of himself as the conqueror of Roman glory, the legitimate successor of the "good emperors" of the second century? The next also contains a number of reliefs made espe-



fig. 32. Constantine the Great. Early 4th century A.D. Marble, height 1'. Capitoline Museum, Rome

cially for it, however, such as the throne above the laurel openings, and these show the new Constantine style in full force. If we compare the traditional of figure 32, carved in Hadrian's time, with the relief immediately below them, the contrast is such that they seem to belong to two different worlds. The same represents Constantine, after he came into Rome in 312 A.D., addressing the Senate and the people from the curia in the Forum. The first thing we notice here is the avoidance of all the massive devices developed since the fifth century A.D. for giving spatial depth: we find no altitudes lines, no foreshortening, and only the basic rigidity of monument in the standing posture. The architecture has been flattened out against the relief background, which thus becomes a solid, impenetrable surface. The figures and the people are of broader forms, rounded, equally standing firm—the second row of figures appears simply as a series of heads above those of the first. The figures themselves have an easily visible quality: the heads are very large, while the bodies were not only dwarfed because of the thick, sturdy legs but also lacking in animation. The number and of composition has disappeared completely, so that these figures no longer stand freely and by their own massive efforts, rather, they seem to clasp from the

fig. 33. The Arch of Constantine, Rome. 312-313 A.D.



vision brings. All the distortions we have described so far are essentially negative when judged from the Christian point of view: they represent the loss of hand-worn glasses—a drawback to vision, more primitive levels of expression. Yet such an approach does not really advance our understanding of the new style. The Constantinian pivot cannot be explained as the result of a lack of ability, for it is for two centuries within itself to be regarded as no more than a clumsy attempt to imitate earlier Roman models. Now, can it be viewed as a return to Athens left, since there is nothing in pre-Constantinian times that looks like it. No, the Constantinian sculpture must have had a positive new purpose of its own. Perhaps we can approach it best by increasing our dominant theme of our relief: its sense of self-sufficiency. The sense fills the available area, and this is completely new: how all the background buildings are made to have the same height, the very suggestion that is continuous beyond the frame is actually created. It is as if our artist had asked himself, "How can I get off of this complicated monumental crowd into my panel?" In order to do so, he has imposed an abstract order upon the world of appearances: the visible field of the relief is given over to the tension with Constantinian and his message: the rest to the human and the buildings that identify the Roman Forum as the scene of the action (they are all quite recognizable, even though their scale and proportions have been drastically adjusted). The systematic design also permits him to make clear the unique status of the Emperor Constantine not only recipient of the most sacred cult (he is shown full-face this time), unfortunately, has been knocked off, while all the other figures turn their heads toward him to express their

dependent relationship. That the frontal pose is linked to position of empire reserved for sovereigns, human or divine, is easily demonstrated by the seated figures at the corners of the mosaic; the only ones besides Constantine to have so clearly: these figures are statues of emperors—the same "good emperors" as that described on the arch, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Looked at in this way, our relief reveals itself as a bold and original creation. It is the harbinger of a new vision that will become basic to the development of Christian art.

## PAINTING

The modern technique, whether expert or amateur, is apt to find painting the most exciting as well as the most baffling aspect of art under Roman rule: creating his scene it represents the only large body of ancient painting subsequent to the Etruscan murals and frescoes much of it, having come to light only in modern times, has the charm of the unknown; baffling because we know infinitely less about it than we do about Roman architecture or sculpture. The surviving material, with very few exceptions, is severely limited in range: almost all of it consists of wall paintings, and the great majority of these come from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other settlements buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D., or from Rome and its environs. Their dates cover a span of less than two hundred years, from the end of the first century B.C. to the last first century A.D.; what happened before or after remains largely a matter of guesswork. And since we know no Classical Greek or Hellenistic

Fig. 10. Mosaic from the villa at Anagni (see page 142) and Paphos (early 4th century), detail of the Arch of Constantine





Fig. 10. The Persian Prisoner under Darius, from the South of Iran. Mirror image of a Chalcidian painting. Fourth or penultimate c. 400's. National Museum, Naples.

vase paintings, the problem of singling out the Roman element as against the Greek is far more difficult than in sculpture or architecture.

Thus there was copying of Greek designs, that Greek paintings as well as potters were imported, notably wall painters. But the number of instances in which this can be demonstrated is small indeed. Let us consider two of them. At an earlier point, we mentioned Pity's tombstone as a Greek picture of the late fourth century B.C. representing the battle of Issus (see page 142). The same subject—or, at any rate, another battle of Alexander's war against the Persians—is shown in an exceptionally large and technically accomplished floor mosaic from a house of the first century B.C. at Pompeii. Figure 10 illustrates the center and right half, with Darius and the fleeing Persians (the left-hand portion with the figure of Alexander is badly damaged). While there is no good reason to link this mosaic with Pity's account, we can hardly doubt that it is a copy—such an astonishingly perfect one—of a Chalcidian painting, that a Chalcidian painting of what date? The crowding, the air of hectic confusion, the powerfully modeled and foreshortened forms, the precise cast shadows—what did all these qualities reach this particular stage of development? We do not know, for even the great time of Pergamon seems momentary in comparison. The second instance is the very opposite of the first, a small marble panel from Herculaneum painted in a Chalcidian (lower style) in a group of five women, two of them wearing a gown of Ionian form (fig. 14a). An inscription tells us that Alexander of Athens painted this, the style quite obviously middle (not of the late fifth century B.C.) (compare the Ionic drapery of the Achilles frieze, fig. 10b), yet the execution is so much weaker than the conception that it must be a copy or, better perhaps, an imitation in the Chalcidian manner, comparable to the copies or adaptations of Classical Greek statues manufactured for the

Roman market. It brings to our special stage of "collector's taste" that is so more representative of Roman painting art which than the Alexander mosaic. No wonder, moreover, whether wanting to ornament an already visited in Classical Athens art. Was it perhaps a "memento" (memento) meant to come to the taste of a certain group of Roman connoisseurs?

The earliest phase of Roman wall-painting known from a few examples of the second century B.C., shows that a clear connection with the Hellenistic world, since it has also been found in the eastern Mediterranean. Unfortunately, it is not very informative for us, as it contains mostly of the influence of ancient marble painting. About 100 B.C., the so-called First Style began to be displaced by a far more continuous and elaborate style that sought to push back or open up the far surface of the wall by means of illusory architectural perspective and "window effects," including landscapes and figures. These phases of the third Chalcidian style have been designated, various as the Second, Third, and Fourth Styles, but the differences between them are not always clear, and there seems to have been considerable overlapping in their sequence, so that we can hardly sharpen this classification here. The Fourth Style, which prevailed at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., is the most intricate of all, for example, a scene of the lower Roman in the House of the "Villa at Pompeii" (fig. 12a), contains intricate marble painting, completely framed mythological scenes intended to give the effect of panel pictures set into the wall, and fantastic architectural values seen through rooms before windows. The architecture has a strongly surreal and phantasmagoric quality that is believed to reflect the architectural fads (drop of the theater of the time) in which antiquarian effects such as that of the Masked Stage of Wilhelms (fig. 12b). The architectural scene of the Second Style, as represented by our figure 14a, was a good deal more



substantial and thus provide a better means of the illusionistic device by which the Roman painter achieved these breakthroughs. He is clearly a master of modeling and surface textures; the forms flanking the vista—the famous, richly decorated columns, the moldings, the stucco at the top—have an extraordinary degree of three-dimensional reality. They effectively cut off the distant eye of buildings, which is flooded with light to convey a sense of deep, unbroken space. But as soon as we try to penetrate this architectural screen, we find ourselves lost; the individual structures cannot be distinguished from each other, their size and relationship are obscure. And we quickly realize that the Roman painter has no systematic grasp of spatial depth, that his perspective is haphazard and inconsistent within itself. Apparently the device intended to be used to open the space he has created, like a painted field, is instead forever barred to us.

When landscapes take the place of architectural vistas,

even landscape becomes less important, and the screen of the Roman painter's approach outweighs his intentions. This is strikingly demonstrated by the famous Olympe Landscapes, a continuous stretch of landscape subdivided into eight compartments by a framework of pilasters. Each section illustrates an episode of the adventures of Odysseus (Ulysses). One of the adventures with the Laestrygonians is reproduced (figure 20). It has recently been cleaned, so that its colors stand out in all their original brilliance. The air, though somewhat a wonderful feeling of atmosphere, light-filled space that weaves and binds together all the scenes within this vast Mediterranean landscape, where the human figures seem to play no more than an incidental role. Only upon further reflection do we realize how that the illusion of coherence is made here: if we were to try mapping the landscape, we would find it just as ambiguous as the architectural perspective above. Its only level structural fact points, like that of the stucco landscape in figure 19.

The Olympe Landscapes have an instructive contrast with another approach to nature, which we know from the mosaic in a room of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (fig. 21). Here the architectural framework has been dispensed with altogether; the entire wall is given over to a view of a delightful garden full of flowers, fruit trees, and birds. These charming details have the same tangible quality, the same concreteness of color and texture as the architectural framework of figure 19, and their apparent distance from the beholder is also about the same—they seem to be within arm's reach. In the mosaic, there is a low wall, beyond it a narrow strip of lawn with a row in the center, then a low wall, and immediately after that the garden proper begins. Oddly enough, however, we cannot enter it; behind the first row of trees and flowers lies an opaque mass of greenery that shuts off our view as effectively as a dense hedge. This garden, then, is neither promised land made only for looking. The wall has not really been opened up but merely pushed back a few

above 199. A detail from Aeneas  
The Elusive Sea Pilgrims  
on journey 10.  
Mosaic panel, 40" x 42".  
National Museum, Naples

above 200. The Great Room, House of  
the Pallas, Prima Porta 19. The wall.





Fig. 1. Architectural View, wall painting from a villa at Boscoreale near Pompeii, ca. 60 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Roger Ford, 1972)

flat and lighted by a wall of portholes. It is this very limitation of optical depth that endows our mural with its essential degree of coherence. On a large scale, such restraint does not mean either its Roman moral dimension. We do find it, though, in the stiff lines that sometimes under their appearance within the intimate architectural schemes. These usually take the form of double-belted niches or apothecae, so that the objects, which are often displayed on two levels, remain close to the beholder. Our example (Fig. 1) is quite starkly expressive of the rendering of the translucent glass jar half-filled with water. The reflections are so carefully observed that we feel the painter must have copied them from an actual jar illuminated in just this way. But if we try to determine the source and direction of the light in the picture, we find that this cannot be done, because the shadows cast by the various objects are not consistent with each other. Nor do we have the impression that the jar stands in a stream of light, normal for light seems to be represented within the jar. Clearly, the Roman artist, despite his striving for Hellenistic effects, is so much preoccupied by apprehending the behavior of light in terms of handling of perspective. However consciously and the details, his work rarely always lacks a basic underlying element in its overall structure. In the three examples, this lack is simply compensated for by other qualities, so that our observation must not be regarded as condemning him to an inferior status. The absence of a consistent view of the visible world should be thought of, rather, as a funda-

mental barrier which differentiates Roman painting from that of the Hellenism of its antecedent times.

The Hellenistic tendencies that gained the upper hand in Roman murals during the first century B.C., may have been perceived in some extent by Hellenistic painters, but in the forms in which we know them there seems to be a specifically Roman development, as against the reproductive or imitative works we find elsewhere before. Echoes of the latter period in the mythological panels that occur like islands within an otherwise architectural framework can be seen (Fig. 1). While these scenes hardly ever give the impression of straightforward scenes after Hellenistic originals, they often have the somewhat disjointed character of compositions of motifs from various sources. A characteristic example is the picture of Hercules discovering the stolen apples in a thicket, from the *Metamorphoses* of Apollonius (Fig. 1). What emerges is as the handiwork of a Roman painter in its subtly unstable style. Almost everything here has the look of a "translation," so that not only the forms, but even the framework varies from one figure to the next. Thus the personification of Arete, seated in the center, seems so odd, immobile, and lightly included as a witness, whereas Hercules, although his pose is equally stereotyped, exhibits a forward and more human technique. He contrasts the front, pointing in directly, against others, with the precise and graceful motions of the doe. The sparkling highlights on the basket of fruit are derived from yet another source; they reflect and tell us, as they in figure 1. And the motherly figure sitting away from the upper left-hand corner is out of place if quick, healthy, broad strokes that have dominated all their work.

However, however, our treatment of the sweeping gradient of design and coherence of style are unique in Roman painting. The great focus in one of the rooms of the Villa of the Mysteries just outside Pompeii (underground no. 16) (Fig. 2), like the garden view from the Villa of Livia, dates from the latter part of the first century B.C., when the classical style was at its height. In the treatment of the wall space in connection, the two works have more in common with each other than with the typical products of Hellenistic mural decoration, the best of them are conceived in terms of rhythmic continuity and one-length depth. The artist who painted the fresco in the Villa of the Mysteries has placed his figures on a narrow ledge of glass against a regular pattern of red panels separated by strips of black, a kind of nesting cage in which they wear their strange and various masks. What are they, and what is the meaning of the gods? Many scholars remain puzzled. For the system as a whole represents various aspects of the Eleusinian Mysteries, a religious cult of very ancient origin that had been brought to Italy from Greece. The several rites are performed in the presence of Demeter and Persephone, with their train of nymphs and other, so that human and mythical reality tend to merge into one. We sense the meaning of the two options in the qualities of the figures



top. *Harbes and his family*, wall painting from the Tomb of Nebamun, c. 1350 B.C., National Museum, Naples.

how to connect—their dignity, suffering and expression, the wonderful firmness of body and drapery, the tight economy with which they participate in the drama of the scene. Many of the poses and postures are taken from the repertoire of Classical Greek art, yet they lack the studied and self-conscious quality we call classicism. An air of exceptional presence of mind has filled these forms with new life. Whatever his relation to the famous masters of Greek painting whose works are lost to us forever, he was their legitimate heir in the same sense that the finest Latin poets of the Augustan age were the legitimate heirs to the Greek poetic tradition.

Portrait painting, according to Flin, was an established custom in Republican Rome, serving the common cult as did the portrait from classical earlier times (p. 247). None of these points has survived, and the few portraits found on the walls of Roman houses in Pompeii may well derive from a different, a different, tradition. The only coherent group of painted portraits at our dis-

posal, strangely enough, comes from the Ptolemaic dynasty in Lower Egypt. The survival of them owed as far more to luck than to the second century B.C. We owe them to the survival—or revival—of an ancient Egyptian custom, that of attaching a portrait of the deceased to his wrappings, mummyed body. Originally, these portraits had been sculptured (compare *schekel* 12), but in Roman times they came to be replaced by painted ones such as the very fine and well-preserved *Neubum* panel reproduced in *schekel* 11. The striking freshness of the faces is due to the fact that it was found in a tomb of great freshness (called *schekel*), which means that the pigments are unspoiled in hot sun. The mixture can be opaque and creamy, like oil paint, or thin and translucent, as that here, where portraits have an immediacy and variety of touch that have rarely been surpassed; our dark-haired boy is a vivid, sparkling, admirable piece of reality in anyone might wish. The style of the picture—and it does have style, otherwise we could not tell it from a tapestry—becomes apparent only if we compare it with other Ptolemaic portraits. Since they were produced quickly and in large numbers, they tend to have many elements in common, such as the emphasis on the eyes, the placing of the highlights and shadows, the angle from which the face is seen. In the later examples, these conventional elements differ more and more from a fixed type, while it was their merely formal, a flexible mold within which to cast the individual likeness. Whether to call this style Roman or Hellenistic is an idle question. We do know, however, that it was not confined to Egypt, since it can be linked with some portrait miniatures on glass apparently done in Italy during the third century B.C. The finest of these is the medallion above dignity, compare it *schekel* 13. Its power of characterization, superior to that of any Hellenistic portrait, represents the main climax of Roman portraiture that produced the middle face of Philippos the Arabian (p. 248).

left. *View of a Garden*, wall painting from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, c. 30 B.C., Museo delle Terme, Rome.





in discussing the origin of the Roman world in the third century A.D. (see page 144), we mentioned as characteristic of the period of the time, the spread of Oriental religions. They were of various origin—Egyptian, Persian, Semitic—and their early development naturally centered in their home territory, the southeastern provinces and border regions of the Roman Empire. Although based on traditions in effect long before the conquest of these ancient lands by Alexander the Great, the cults had been strongly influenced by Greek ideas during the Hellenistic period; in way, in fact, to this fusion of Oriental and Greek elements that they owed their vitality and appeal. The nature of most of these cults, and their practices, are today remembered only by fragments, even though they were powerful kinds of Christianity during the early centuries of our era. In those days, the Near East was a vast religious and cultural melting pot where all the competing faiths, including Judaism, Christianity, Mithraism, Manichaeism, Gnosticism, and many others, tended to influence each other, so that they had an extraordinary number of things in common, whatever their differences of origin, ritual, or cosmology. Most of them shared such features as an emphasis on revealed truth, the hope of salvation, a belief in prophet or messiah, the dichotomy of good and evil, a ritual of purification or initiation, and the duty to seek converts among the "infidels." The last and, in Near Eastern terms, the most successful product of this evolutionary process was Islam, which still dominates the scene even in this day (see page 156).

The growth of the Greco-Roman religions under Roman rule is as yet very incompletely understood, since much of it was part of an underground movement which hardly left tangible traces. Besides, the very whole Greek place has been a theater of rapid destruction many times that important documents, such as the *Trilogia* (see below) of poetic memory, are now events indeed. There is mounting evidence, however, that the new faiths brought with them a new style in art, and that this style, too, resulted from a fusion of Greco-Roman and Oriental elements. The artists who struggled with the task of giving images to express the content of these faiths were not among the more gifted of their time; they were provincial craftsmen of modest abilities who drew upon whatever ideas seemed suggested to be profitable to them, adapting, combining, and enlarging them as best they could. Their efforts are often clumsy, yet it is here that we find the beginning of a tradition which was to become of basic importance for the development of Medieval art. The most telling examples of this are composed style have been found in the area of East-European or the upper Euphrates, a Roman frontier station that was representing the emerging Persian under (Sassanid) about 225 A.D. and abandoned by its population soon after. Its ruins have yielded the remains of sculptures of several religions, decorated with motifs which all show essentially the same Greco-Roman character. The best-



Fig. 149. Sassanid and foreign sculpture from Sassanid era (c. 225 A.D.). National Museum, Naples.

preserved portions from the assembly hall of a synagogue, painted about 325 A.D., of their numerous contemporary scenes, are likewise the one representing the conversation of the Samaritan (see page 152). It is characteristic of the painting conditions described before that

Fig. 150. Wall Painting from a synagogal site of the Samaritan, Fresco (about 325 A.D.).





146. *Portrait of a Man*  
ca. 1494-95  
Globe, Florence, U.S.  
Renaissance Museum,  
Adams

even Judaism should have been affected by them. Moreover, as far as the apostolical injunction against images was relaxed so that the walls of the assembly hall could be covered with a richly detailed visual account of the history of the Chosen People and their Covenant with the Lord, the new attitude seems to have been linked with a tendency to change Judaism from a national to a universal faith by increasing activity among the non-Jewish populations, interestingly enough, the inscriptions on the marble tomb in the same Basilica to commemorate a) are equally in Greek. In any event, we may assume that the artists who designed these glories had an unconscious task, just as did the painters who worked for the earliest Christian communities: they had to cast into visible form what had hitherto been expressed only in words. How did they go about it? Let us take a closer look at our illustration: we can read the details—animals, human beings, buildings, etc.—without trouble, but their relationship eludes us. There is no action, no story, only an assembly of forms and figures conforming as in the expectation that we will be able to establish the proper links between them. The focus in the Villa of the Medici presents a similar difficulty—there, too, the beholder is supposed to know—yet it strikes us as very much less puzzling, for the figures have an arrangement of gesture and expression that make them meaningful even though we have not understood the content of the scenes. If the tapestry painter fails to be equally successful, must we conclude that he has lack of competence, or are there other reasons as well? The question is rather like the one we faced when discussing the Constantinian relief of Agnes 22, which resembles the Euro-Asiatic motif in a number of ways. The tapestry painter exhibits the same sense of official formality, of conservatism for the sake of competence, but his subject is far more demanding: he had to represent a historical event of non-religious importance (the consummation of the tabernacle and its growth, which began the reconciliation of man and God) as described in detail in the Bible, Scripture, and he had to represent it in such a way as to suggest that it was also a timeless, untranscendent. Thus his picture is burdened with a wealth

of significance far greater and more rigidly defined than that of the Constantinian fresco or the Constantinian relief. How did he have a well-established tradition of Jewish religious painting at his disposal to help him visualize the tabernacle and the consummation ceremony. No wonder he has fallen back on a sort of symbolically disorganized composed of images borrowed from other, other traditions. The tabernacle itself, for instance, is shown as a Classical temple, simply because our artist could not imagine it, in accordance with the biblical description, as a mobile structure of poles and goat's hair curtains. The attendance and the leader in the lower left-hand corner are derived from Roman scenes of animal sacrifice, hence they show elements of front-facingness not found among the other figures. Other scenes of Roman painting appear in the perspective view of the altar table next to the figure of Agnes, in the preliminary modeling here and there, and in the rudimentary cast shadows attached to some of the figures. Did the painter still understand the purpose of these shadows? They seem to be mere empty gestures, since the rest of the picture belongs to a system of other light or space in the Roman sense. Even the occasional overlapping of forms appears largely accidental. The sequence of things in space is covered by other means: the screen-framed windows, the receding houses, the altar, and stairs are to be understood as behind, rather than on top of, the central wall that blocks the presence of the tabernacle. Their use, however, is governed by their importance, not by their position in space. Agnes, as the principal figure, is not only larger than the attendance but also more rigid and abstract. Her contours, because of its visual significance, is disposed in detail, as the rest of attending to the body underneath. The attendance, on the other hand, will show a mixture of modeling and three-dimensionalness. These gestures, surprisingly enough, are Persian, an indication not only of the old manner of civilization in this border area but of possible artistic influences from Persia.

The tapestry artist, then, combines—by conventional fashion—a considerable variety of formal elements whose only common denominator is the religious doctrine of the whole. In the hands of a great artist, this mixture might have been a stronger working force, but even then the design and colors would have been no more than a humble, ineffectual cloak of the spiritual truth they were meant to serve. Thus, surely, was the outlook of the authorities who supervised the execution of the mural cycle and commissioning program. The material quality of these pictures can no longer be understood in the framework of ancient art; they represent animals that seem far closer to the Middle Ages. If we were to run up their purpose it is a single phrase, we could hardly do better than to quote a famous dictum, justifying the personal representation of God before human: *Quod superius corpus, hoc inferiora portat*—to translate freely (painting) carries the Word of God to the profane.

## PART ONE / THE ANCIENT WORLD

### 8. Early Christian and Byzantine Art

In 325 A.D. Constantine the Great made a fateful decision, the consequences of which are still felt today—he ordered to move the capital of the Roman Empire to the Greek town of Byzantium, which thereafter was to be known as Constantinople. Six years later, after an energetic building campaign, the transfer was officially completed. In taking this step, the Emperor acknowledged the growing religious and economic importance of the eastern provinces (a development that had been going on for some time). The new capital also consolidated the new Christian basis of the Roman state, since it was in fact the site of the most thoroughly Christianized region of an Empire. Constantine could hardly ignore the challenge the seat of imperial power would create in uniting religious, yet religiously dissatisfied, parts of the Empire that became an accomplished fact, even though the emperor at Constantinople did not subordinate them close to the western provinces. The latter, ruled by western Roman emperors, were left free to invade Germanic tribes—Visigoths, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Lombards. By the end of the sixth century, the last vestige of centralized authority had disappeared. The eastern, or Byzantine, Empire, in contrast, continued to strengthen, and under Justinian (527) still reached new power and stability. With the rise of Islam's hundred-year rule, the African and Near Eastern parts of the Empire were overrun by conquering Arab armies; in the eleventh century, the Turks conquered a large part of Asia Minor, while the last Byzantine possessions in the West (its southern Italy) fell to the Normans. Finally, the Empire, with its borders reduced to the Balkans and Greece, held on until 1453, when the Turks finally conquered Constantinople itself.

The division of the Roman Empire soon led to a religious split as well. At the time of Constantine, the bishop of Rome, deriving his authority from St. Peter, was the acknowledged head, the pope, of the Christian Church. His claim to preeminence, however, soon came to be disputed by the patriarchs of Constantinople, differences in doctrine began to develop, and eventually the division of Christianity into a Western, or Catholic, and an Eastern, or Orthodox, Church, became all but final. The difference between these two religions, Roman Catholicism maintained its independence from imperial or any other state authority and became an international institution reflecting its character as the Universal Church, while the Orthodox Church was based on the union of spiritual and secular authority in the person of the emperor, who appointed the patriarchs. It thus remained dependent on the power of the state, creating a double allegiance from the faithful and sharing the responsibility of political power. We will recognize the pattern in the Christian adaptation of a very ancient heritage, the divine kingdom of Egypt and the Near East, if the Byzantine emperors, unlike their pagan predecessors, could no longer claim the status of gods, they retained an equally unique and exalted role by placing themselves at the head of the Church as well as of the state. This did the tradition do with the fall of Constantinople. The town of Rome claimed the mantle of the Byzantine emperor, through heretics "the third Rome," and the Russian Orthodox Church eventually led to the East or was the Byzantine parent body.

It is the religious state matter that the political separation of East and West that makes it impossible to discuss



100. Mosaic Ceiling, Early 6th century A.D., Basilica of St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

the development of Christian art in the Roman Empire under a single heading, "Early Christian" does not, strictly speaking, designate a style; it refers, rather, to any work of art produced by or for Christians during the time prior to the splitting off of the Orthodox Church—concretely, the first five centuries of history. "Byzantine art," on the other hand, designates not only the art of the Eastern Roman Empire but specific qualities of style as well. Since this style grew out of certain tendencies that can be traced back to the time of Constantine or even earlier, there is no sharp dividing line between Early Christian and Byzantine art. Thus the reign of Justinian has been termed the First Golden Age of Byzantine art, yet Justinian himself was a man of strongly western, Latin orientation who almost succeeded in reuniting the Constantinian domain; and the monuments he sponsored, especially those in Sicily and Rome, are in several respects Early Christian or Byzantine, depending on which frame of reference we utilize. Even after it is true, the political and religious cleavage between East and West became so acute (changes as well in Western Europe, Celtic and Germanic peoples fell heir to the tradition of late antiquity, of which Early Christianity had been a part), and transformed it into that of the Middle Ages. The East, in contrast, experienced no such break; in the Byzantine Empire, late antiquity lived on, although the Greek and Oriental elements came increasingly to the fore as the impact of the Roman heritage, as a consequence, Byzantine civilization more became wholly medieval. "The Byzantines may have been weak," one historian has observed, "but they remained Greek to the end." The same sense of tradition, of continuity with the past, determines the development of Byzantine

art. We can understand it best, therefore, if we see it in the context of the final, Christian phase of antiquity rather than in the context of the Middle Ages.

## EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

When and where the first Christian works of art were produced remains a matter of conjecture. Of the surviving monuments, none can be dated earlier than about 300 A.D.; therefore, we lack all direct knowledge of art in the service of Christianity before that time. In fact, there is little we know for certain about Christian art until we reach the reign of Constantine the Great, because the third century, too, is poorly represented. The painted decorations of the Roman catacombs, the underground burial places of the Christians, are the only available and coherent body of material, but these constitute merely one among various possible kinds of Christian art. Before Constantine, Rome was not yet the center of the faith; older outworn Christian communities existed in the great cities of North Africa and the Near East, such as Alexandria and Antioch. They had probably developed separate artistic traditions of their own. The extraordinary murals of the synagogues at Dura-Europos (see *colorplate 1*) suggest that paintings of a similarly international character may have decorated the walls of Christian places of worship in Syria and Palestine, since the earliest Christian congregations were formed by dissident members of the Jewish community. Alexandria, the home of a large and thoroughly Hellenized Jewish center, during the first or the second century A.D. may have produced illustrations of the Old Testament in a

193. Interior of Basilica of the Walls, Rome, begun 380 A.D., looking to S. E. Forum, 1740



194. Plan of Old St. Peter's, Rome, begun c. 120 A.D.



style closer to that of Pompeian murals. We must achieve of such spaces in Christian art here on, but no matter to how often or where they originated, early altar paintings entered the Christian tradition.

If the wealth of material from the eastern provinces of the Empire makes it difficult to judge the position of the mosaic paintings within the early development of Christian art, they nevertheless tell us a great deal about the spirit of the communities that sponsored them. The burial site and the refiguring of the tomb were of great concern to the early Christian, whose faith rested on the hope of eternal life in paradise. The imagery of the mosaics, as can be seen in the painted ceiling in figure 12, clearly expresses this otherworldly outlook, although the forms are in essence still those of pre-Christian sacred decoration. Thus we recognize the distance of the visiting one (comparable as a late and highly simplified echo of the Hellenistic architectural solution in Pompeian painting), and the modeling of the figure, as well as the archaic or settings, forming their distance from the same human forms, which here, in the hands of an artist of very modest ability, has become defined by careless repetition. But the mosaicist painter has used this traditional vocabulary to convey a new, symbolic content, and the original meaning of the form is of little concern to him. Even the geometric framework chosen in this work, for the glass circle suggests the House of Heaven, identified with the cross, the basic symbol of the faith. In the central medallion we see a pointed obelisk, with a change on the obelisk, in a point that can be traced back as far as Greek Archaic art (compare fig. 13b) to denote for Christ the heaven, the Good Shepherd who gives life to the sheep. The mosaicist communicates with the story of Joseph: on the left he is not from the ship, on the right he emerges from the tomb, and at the bottom he is safe again on dry land, returning upon the mercy of the Lord. This Old Testament mosaic, often compared with New Testament murals, expressed intense faith in Early Christian art as proof of the Lord's power to rescue the faithful from the jaws of death. The standing figures represent members of the Church, with their hands raised in prayer, pleading for divine help. The entire scheme, though small in size and unpretentious in execution, has a coherence and clarity that set it apart from its pagan ancestors as well as from the unorganized mosaic of third-century late antiquity (fig. 13). It contains, if not the reality, at least the promise of a truly monumental new form (compare fig. 12a).

Constantine's decision to make Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire had a profound impact on Christian art. Until that time, congregations had been unable to meet for worship in public; services were held underground in the houses of the wealthy (catacombs). Now, almost overnight, an impressive architectural setting had to be created for the new official faith, so that the Church might be visible to all. Constantine himself



Fig. 1. Apollinaris in Rome, Rome, 312-324 A.D.

devoted the full resources of his office to this task, and within a few years an astonishing number of large, especially sponsored churches arose, not only in Rome but also in Constantinople, in the Holy Land, and in other important sites. These structures were a new type, now called the Early Christian basilica, that provided the basic model for the development of church architecture in western Europe. Unfortunately, none of them has survived in its original form, but the plan of the greatest Constantinian church, St. Peter's in Rome, is known with considerable accuracy (fig. 14). To gain an impression of the interior, we must turn upon the slightly later basilica of St. Basil in the Walls, built on the same pattern, which remained essentially intact until it was struck by fire in 1873 (fig. 15). The Early Christian basilica, as exemplified in these two structures, is a synthesis of assembly hall, temple, and palace house. It also has the qualities of an original creation that cannot be wholly explained in terms of its sources. What is more, in the imperial basilica of pagan times business affairs often were transacted in the place of St. Peter's with that of the basilica at Lyons (figs. 16 and 17), a basilica built just earlier (fig. 16); the long nave flanked by aisles and lofty clerestory windows, the apse, the wooden roof, are familiar features of the earlier structure. The pagan basilica was indeed a uniquely suitable model for Constantinian churches, since it contained the spacious interior demanded by Christian ritual with imperial associations that provided the privileged status of Christianity as the new state religion. But it should not be too soon that an assembly hall in addition to serving the community of the faithful, it was the sacred House of God, the Christian response to the temples of old. In order to express this function, the design of the pagan basilica had to be given a new focus, the altar, which was placed in front of the apse at the eastern end of the nave, and the entrance, which in pagan basilicas had usually been on the flanks, was shifted to the western end.



191. Interior, the Constantin, Rome (c. 320-330)

The Christian basilica was thus oriented along a single, longitudinal axis that is variously reminiscent of the layout of Egyptian temples (compare fig. 16). Before entering the church proper, we observed an *atrium* (compare, the *atrium* (see page 125), the far side of which forms an entrance hall, the *narthex*, into which we step through the nave portal as we gain the view presented in figure 191. The steady rhythm of the nave arcade pulls us toward the great arch at the eastern end (called the *triumphal arch*), which frames the altar and the raised apse beyond. As we come closer, we realize that the altar actually marks the extreme compartment of space placed at right angles to the nave axis; in the basic arrangement for the basic basilican church, this feature is frequently omitted.

One essential aspect of Early Christian religious architecture has not yet emerged from our discussion: the contrast between exterior and interior. It is strikingly demonstrated in the sixth-century church of S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, which still retains its original appearance for the most part. The plain brick exterior (fig. 192) has been left conspicuously unadorned; it is merely a shell whose shape reflects the interior space it contains—the great apse at the Christian temple, other nave, taken from the west, shows the northern bay was the *atrium*, which was built down a long time ago; the round bell tower, or *campanile*, is a medieval addition.) This austere, antimonumental treatment of the exterior gives way to the almost richly as we enter the church (compare fig. 193), having left the everyday world behind us, we find ourselves in a shimmering realm of light and color where precious marble surfaces and the brilliant glaze of mosaic evoke the spiritual splendor of the Kingdom of God.

Before dealing with these mosaic decorations in greater length, we must take note of another type of structure that entered the tradition of Christian architecture in Constantinian times: round or polygonal buildings crowned with a dome. They had been developed, as will result, as part of the elaborate Roman bath; the design of the Pantheon was derived from that source (see page 122). Similar structures had been built in series in monumental centers, or *metropolises*, by the pagan emperors. In the fourth century, this type of building is given a Christian meaning in the baptistery, where the bath becomes a sacred site and baptismal shrines linked with baptismal churches. The finest surviving example is the Constantinian (figs. 194-195), the mausoleum of Constantine's daughter Constantia, originally attached to the now ruined Roman church of St. Agnes Outside the Walls. In contrast to its pagan predecessors, it shows a clear articulation of the interior space into a domed cylindrical core (in its eastern window—the counterpart of the nave of a basilican church—and a triangular "apse" or ambulatory around by a barrel vault. Here



192. Plan of the Constantin, Rome





Colophon to *Manuscript*. The illustration showing birds at the base of the column, and passing from a house into the landscape. (See also pages 4-5). Manuscript: The Column, Rome.



*Colonnade in House, Wall Painting from House no. 4-5  
Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum*



272. Pompeii, Roman (detail).  
Late 1st century A.D.  
In Giorgio, Salerno



again the mosaic decoration plays an essential part in setting the mood of the interior.

The rapid growth of Christian architecture in a brief span must have had a noticeable revolutionary effect on the development of Early Christian painting. All of a sudden, large wall surfaces had to be covered with images worthy of their monumental framework. Wherever used in this challenge? Certainly not the humble artist who had discovered the mosaics with their limited stock of types and subjects. They were superseded by masters of greater ability, innovation, we may suppose, under imperial auspices, as were the architects of domed basilicas. Unfortunately, so little has survived of the decoration of fourth-century churches that its history cannot be traced in detail. Apparently, great pictorial cycles were spread out the nave walls, the triumphal apse, and the apse from the very start. These cycles must have shown upon a great variety of marble scenes, reflecting the whole range of Greco-Roman painting. The heritage of the past, however, was not only absorbed but transformed so as to make it fit its new environment, physical and spiritual. Out of this process, there emerged a great new art form, the Early Christian wall mosaic, which in a large sense replaced the older and cheaper technique of mural painting. Mosaic—designs composed of small pieces of colored material set in plaster—had been used by the Romans as early as the third millennium B.C. in colorful architectural surfaces. The Hellenistic Greeks and

the Romans, employing small cubes of marble called tesserae, had refined the technique to the point that it could reproduce paintings, as in the *Baths of Aphrodisias* (fig. 262). Icons were almost always floor mosaics, however, and the water stain, although not in gridded form, was inevitable since it was limited to the waterproofed or colored marble found in nature. The Romans would also produce wall mosaics occasionally, but only for special purposes and on a limited scale. The vast wall mosaic wall mosaic of Early Christian art thus was essentially without precedent. The same is true of their mosaics for they consist of mosaics made of colored glass. These, too, were not entirely unknown to the Romans, for their apseal mosaic had never been explained before, they also consisted of large glass chips and mosaic tiles made of marble mosaic, including gold, but lacked the fine gradation in color necessary for imitating painted pictures. Moreover, the shiny and slightly irregular face of glass mosaic set as they reflected, so that the overall effect is that of a gleaming, immaterial screen rather than of a solid, continuous surface. All these qualities, with glass mosaic, the ideal complement of the new architectural aesthetic that confronted us in Early Christian basilicas. The guiding principle of Greco-Roman architecture, we recall, had been to express a balance of opposing forms, rather like the balance within the composition of a Classical statue—a muscular, physical display of effort and power, supporting and supported members, whether



is what happened in Genesis 3? You are expected to know that already, but "Behold the working of the Lord's will." Hence the artist must not clutter the scene with the concrete details of historic narrative: glances and postures are becoming more important to him than dramatic movement or three-dimensional form. The conventional composition, with its cleavage in the center, makes clear the symbolic significance of the setting: the way of Abraham, which is that of righteousness and the Cross, as against the way of Lot, destined for divine vengeance. And the contrasting fate of the two groups is further emphasized by the juxtaposition of Isaac and the daughters of Lot, whose future roles are thus called to mind.

From what source did the designers of narrative scenes such as that of the Maria Maggiori derive their compositions? Were they the first to illustrate scenes from the Bible in extensive relief? For certain reasons, they could have found models among the earlier cycle murals, but their most important principles may have come from illustrated manuscripts, especially of the Old Testament. As a spiritual religion, founded on the Word of God as revealed in Holy Writ, the early Christian Church must have represented the depicting of the sacred text as a real goal; and every sign of it was handled with a reverence quite unlike the treatment of any book in Chinese-Burmese traditions. But when did these copies become models of personal art as well? And when did the earliest Bible illustrations look like *Books*, unfortunately, are final things: thus, their history in the ancient world is known far so largely from indirect evidence. It begins in Egypt—can the evidence exactly what

—with the discovery of a valuable material, paper-like but rather more brittle, made from the papyrus plant. Books of papyrus were in circulation already; they remained in use throughout antiquity. But until late Hellenistic times a better substance became available: parchment or vellum, skin, stretched animal skin. For some time the papyrus scrolls were strong enough to be unrolled without breaking, and this made possible the kind of bookwork we know today, technically called a *codex*. Between the first and the fourth century A.D., the vellum codex gradually replaced the roll, whether written or painted. This technological change must have had an important effect on the growth of book illustration. As long as the roll form prevailed, illustrations were not free to occupy the drawings, since leaves of papyrus would soon have cracked and come off in the process of rolling and unrolling; only the vellum codex permitted the use of rich colors, including gold, that was to make book illustration—*as we usually say, illustration*—the small-scale counterpart of murals, mosaics, and panel paintings. When, where, and at what pace the development of pictorial book illustration took place, whether biblical or classical subjects were primarily depicted, how much of a carry-over there might have been from roll to codex—all these are still unsettled problems. There can be little question, however, that the earliest illustrations, whether Chinese, Jewish, or pagan, were done in a style strongly influenced by the illustrations of Hellenistic-Roman painting of the sort we meet at Pompeii. One of the oldest illustrated manuscripts preserved, the *Apocalypse* of the eighth century, probably executed in Italy about the time of the St. Maria Maggiori mosaics, reflects strongly

212 Jacob Wrestling with the Angel; Scouting Moses' Graves. Early 16th century A.D. Frieze of Ghibori, Yemen



upper: fig. 104. *Manuscript of Justin Martyr*,  
ca. 300 A.D., Marburg, D 100/2 v. 1.  
Vatican Museums, Rome



lower: fig. 105. *Justin Martyr's*  
illustration of fig. 104

alone, although the quality of the miniature is far from inspired (fig. 104), the picture, separated from the rest of the page by a heavy frame, has the effect of a window, and in the landscape we find remnants of deep space, perspective, and the play of light and shade.

The oldest illustrated Bible manuscripts so far discovered apparently belong to the early sixth century (except for one fragment of five leaves that were related to the Vatican Fragment), that is, contain scenes of the Byzantine-Roman style, in various stages of elaboration in religious narrative, often with a Near Eastern flavor that does resemble the Greek-European mosaic paragon (fig. 105). The most important example, the *Vindobonensis*, is a fair manuscript work (but the rather late 1492 Vatican version is also quite turned back) in purple ink and adorned with brilliantly colored miniatures. It achieves a sumptuous effect not unlike that of the mosaics we have examined. Figure 105 shows a part of the story of Jacob, in the foreground, we see him wrestling with the angel and receiving the angel's benediction. The picture, then, does not show a single scene but a whole sequence, moving not along a single diagonal path, as that progression in space becomes progression in time. This method, known as continuous narration, has a religious—and much debated—history going back as far as ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia; its appearance in manuscripts can be seen to reflect earlier illustrations made for books in old times. (Our picture certainly looks like a scene turned back upon itself.) The manuscript illustration, the continuous method offers the advantage of spatial economy; it permits the painter to pack a maximum of narrative content into the area at his disposal. Our artist apparently thought of his picture as a running account to be read like so many lines of text, rather than as a window illuminating a scene. The painted scenes are placed directly on the purple background that holds the letters, emphasizing the primary importance of the page as a unified field.



Compared to painting and architecture, sculpture played a secondary role in Early Christianity. The biblical prohibition of graven images was thought to apply with particular force to large cult statues, the idols worshiped in pagan temples, so that religious sculpture, in order to avoid the risk of idolatry, had to achieve life-size representations of Christ and saints by means developed from the very start in an unromanticized fashion: away from the spatial depth and massive scale of Greco-Roman sculpture toward shallow, small-scale forms with limited surface decoration. The earliest works of Christian sculpture are marble sarcophagi, which were produced from the middle of the third century on for the more important members of the Church. Before the time

of Constantine, their decoration remained mostly of the same limited repertoire of themes familiar from antique motifs—the Good Shepherd, Jonah and the Whale, and so forth—but within a framework borrowed from pagan iconography. Not until a century later do we find a significantly broader range of subject matter and form, as my examples for these years richly testify (see especially pages 40 and 41). One of these themes, a portrait of Jesus, who died in the 30s, 40s, 450s. Its conventional form, divided into two square compartments, shows a mixture of Old and New Testament scenes: in the upper one (left to right, the further to the left, in Peter's Roman version, Christ's resurrection between St. Peter and Paul; Christ before Pontius Pilate (two compartments); in the lower, the Mass of John the Evangelist, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, Daniel in the Lion's Den, and the Resurrection of the Maries. This device, somewhat strange to the modern beholder, is highly characteristic of the early Christian way of thinking. It looks towards the divine rather than the human nature of Christ. Hence His suffering and death are merely tacked on. He appears before Pilate as a peaceful, long-haired philosopher expounding the true wisdom (cosmic world), and the martyrdom of the two apostles is represented in the same manner, non-violent fashion. The two central scenes are devoted to Christ the King as Ruler of the Universe. He is enthroned above the present, cosmic order of the firmaments, and as so nobly overrules His more transient incarnation, Adam and Eve, the original sinners, above the burden of guilt inherited by Christ, the Sonship of Jesus in the Old Testament prefiguration of His Father's sacrificial death, while John and Daniel carry the same message as Jonah—they foreshadow the hope of salvation.

When measured against the anti-classical style of the Hellenes on the north of Constantinople, carved about half a century before just by now, the iconography of these Roman carvings decidedly declines. The figures in their deeply rounded robes have a conscious attempt to recapture the antique dignity of the Greek tradition. Yet beneath this superficially pleasing we sense a basic kinship to the Constantinian style in the full hair beards, the large heads, the bulky kneed, positive air of serene smiling for dramatic action. The names and percentages concerning us are no longer intended to tell their own story, physically or emotionally, but to call to our mind a higher, symbolic meaning that binds them together. Characteristic instances of this can be seen to have been a recurrent phenomenon in Early Christian sculpture from the mid-fourth to the early sixth century. Their carvers have been explained in various ways. On the one hand, during this period paganism still had many important adherents who may have fostered such revivals as a kind of neo-pagan art; more extreme but no fewer Roman artists who were baptized shortly before or shortly after retained a strong allegiance to the values of the past, artistic and otherwise; there were also important leaders of the Church who favored a recombination of



The Portico of Neroes  
that is depicted  
in the relief is  
likely to be the  
Neroes of Nero  
Emperor, founder  
of the Constantinian  
dynasty.

Classicism with the heritage of Classical antiquity, and the Imperial events, too, both East and West, always remained aware of their institutional links with pre-Christian times, and could thus become centers for integrated sculpture. Whatever its links, in any given instance, Christianity had its roots in the age of Hellenism, for it grew out of the Jewish faith, and thus helped to transform it into the future—a history of forms and an ideal of beauty that might have been irretrievably lost without it. All this holds true particularly for a class of objects whose artistic importance for the events that physically are the early periods and other small-scale objects in precious materials. Trapped for private veneration and meant to be enjoyed in close range, they often served as collector's items, a refined aesthetic sensibility was fostered among the large official commissions sponsored by Church or State. Such a place in the ivory world (fig. 45) (Christ's thought half of a kneeling apostle) that was carved about 350-400, probably on the occasion of a wedding among the "Nicomedi and the



186. The Archangel Michael (half of a diptych, early 4th century A.D., ivory, 17 1/2 x 7 1/2). Berlin Museum, London.

marks two extremely Roman families. Their common first surname is reflected not only in the pagan subject (a prisoner of Baudion and her cousins before an altar of Jupiter) but also in the design, which harks back to the art of Augustus (compare fig. 185). In this picture, we might well mistake it for a much earlier work, until we realize how well spatial integration works in the prisoner's right foot overlapping the frame, that these figures are operations, reproduced with loving care but no longer



187. Augustus of Augustus, 120 B.C. - 14 B.C., height 10 1/2. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

fully understood. Significantly enough, the pages theme did not prevent our panel from being incorporated into the choice of a saint many centuries later; its cool perfection had an appeal for the Middle Ages as well. Our second ivory (fig. 186) does seem after you in the Eastern Roman Empire, where a diptych that has become an eloquent vehicle of Christian content. The majestic archangel is clearly a descendant of the winged Victories of Graeco-Roman art, down to the richly articulated drapery. Yet the power he breathes is not of this world; nor does he inhabit an earthly space. The architectural niche against which he appears has lost all three-dimensional reality; its relationship to him is purely symbolic and emotional, so that he remains here rather than beyond (note the position of the feet on the steps). It is this disembodied quality, conveyed through classically baroque forms, that gives him a compelling a presence.

Disembodied reality was discovered by the Church, it retained, for a while at least, the poignancy of the human. Emperors, consuls, and high officials continued the old custom of wearing portrait statues of themselves in public places as late as the reign of Justinian, and sometimes later than that (the last recorded instance is in the late eighth century). Here, too, we find retrospective headiness during the latter half of the fourth century and the

early years of the fifth, with survival of pre-Constantinian types and a renewed interest in individual characteristics. From about 450 on, however, the constant tension goes way to the image of a spiritual man, sometimes consciously expressive but increasingly implicit; there came not to be any more portraits, in the Greek-Roman sense of the term, for almost a thousand years to come. The process is strikingly exemplified by the bust of Justinian from Ephesus (fig. 28), one of the most remarkable of its kind. It makes us think of the strangely successful features of the "Platonist" (fig. 25) and of the middle eastern head of Constantine's age, but both of these have a physical concreteness that seems almost gross compared to the extreme abstraction of Justinian. The face is framed in visionary ecstasy, as if the man were a human value in itself, in fact, more like that of a spirit than of a being of flesh and blood. The evidence of real existence has been carried to the limit the features are 5% the most pure indicated only by thin ridges or hair-like engraved lines. Their remote ironic emphasis the elongated oval of the face and the reliance on abstract, colorlessly elements. Not only the individual person but the human body itself has ceased to be a tangible reality here; and with that the Greek tradition of sculpture in the natural has reached the end of the road.

## BYZANTINE ART

There is no clear-cut line of demarcation between Early Christian and Byzantine art. It could be argued that a Byzantine style filled in a style inconsistent with the important work of Constantinople became identifiable within Early Christian art as early as the beginning of the fifth century, even after the official closure of the Empire. The line provided making this distinction, for East Roman and West Roman—no, no solid scholars prefer to call

them, East and West Christian—characteristics are often difficult to express before the sixth century. Until that time, both were contributed to the development of Early Christian art, although the leadership tended to shift more and more to the East as the province of the West declined. During the reign of Justinian (527-565) this shift was completed. Constantinople not only inherited its political dominance over the West but became the undisputed artistic capital as well. Justinian himself was an art patron on a scale unmatched since Constantine's day; the works he sponsored or patronized have an important grandeur that fully justify the actions of those who have termed him as a golden age. They also display an acute coherence of style which binds them more strongly with the future development of Byzantine art than with the art of the preceding centuries.

Ironically enough, the richest array of monuments of the first Christian Age survives today not in Constantinople where much has been destroyed but in Istanbul and, in Ravenna. That town, originally a rural station on the Adriatic, had become the capital of the Western Roman emperor in 402 and, at the end of the century, of Theodosius, king of the Romans, whose reign were patronized afterwards at Constantinople. Under Justinian, Ravenna was the main stronghold of Byzantine rule in Italy. The most important church of that time, S. Vitale, built 526-547, represents a type derived mainly from Constantinople. Its sculpture is unoriginal; with the almost total loss (figs. 266-270) as a development of the mosaics of the Constantinian Roman (figs. 271-275), but the interesting development seems to have taken place in the East, where domestic churches of various kinds had been built during the previous century. Compared to the Constantinian, S. Vitale is both larger in scale and very much richer in its spatial effect. Before the doorway the nave wall turns into a series of semicircular niches that penetrate into the aisle wall; then back in to the nave in a



above: 28. Plan of S. Vitale, Ravenna

right: 29. S. Vitale, Ravenna. 527-547. A.D.



126. Interior view from the apse, S. Vitale, Ravenna

toward the apse way. The side wall has been given a new identity: the galleries are reserved for women. A new economy in the construction of the building permits large windows on every level, which flood the interior with light. We find only the narrow remnants of the longitudinal axis of the Early Christian basilica: a narrow-rected compartment for the altar, flanked by an apse, toward the east, and a narthex on the other side (in old, non-optimal plan) has never been fully completed. First, remembering S. Apollinare in Classe, built at the same time on a straightforward basilican plan, we are

particularly struck by the alien character of S. Vitale. How can it happen that this has become a type of church building so distinct from basilicas and monasteries as radically different from the basilica and—from the Monastery point of view—as it adapted to Christian thought? After all, had not the design of the basilica been fixed by the authority of Constantine himself? Many different reasons have been suggested—practical, religious, political: all of them may be relevant, yet, if the truth be told, they fall short of a really persuasive explanation. In any event, from the time of Justinian onward, central-plan churches were to dominate the world of Orthodox Christianity as thoroughly as the basilican plan dominated the architecture of the medieval West. As for S. Vitale, its tale with the Byzantine court is evidenced by the two famous mosaics flanking the altar (fig. 127) and (especially fig. 128), whose design must have come directly from the imperial workshop. Here Justinian and his Empress, Theodora, accompanied by officials, the hierarchy, and before in reality, attend the services at this very apsidal chapel. In these panels, executed shortly before the consecration of the church, we find an ideal of human beauty quite distinct from the squat, large-headed figures we had encountered in the art of the fourth and fifth centuries, approximately (see figs. 129, 130, 131). Here we had caught a glimpse of this emerging new ideal, but only now do we see its complete, extraordinarily tall, slim figure, with tiny feet, small, almond-shaped faces dominated by the large, staring eyes, and bodies that seem to be capable only of slow ceremonial gestures and the display of magnificently patterned garments. Every hint of movement or things is carefully excluded—the dimensions of forward and side space have given way to an eternal present amid the golden immensity of Heaven, and the various frontal images seem to present a celestial rather than a secular court. This sense of political and spiritual authority accurately reflects the "divine kingdom" of the Byzantine Emperor. Hence, in fact, instead of a basilican



127. Justinian and empress  
Theodora  
c. 527-530, S. Vitale, Ravenna



and Theodore as analogous to Christ and the Virgin: the form of Theodore's cruciform feet denotes a cross (the cross) inconspicuously subordinated within this Magnifying state gifts to Mary and the newborn King, and features a flanked by twelve companions—the imperial approval of the twelve apostles (six of them are authors, linked a double with the stigmatism of Christ). If we turn these three elements to the interior space of the church, we discover that it, too, shares the quality of demarcationism, creating a chamber that endows the figures with their air of noble exaltation. In sum, Theodore, and their immediate neighbors were rapidly intended to be individual characters, and their features are indeed differentiated to a degree (those of the Archdeacon, Maximian, seem to share the traits but the ideal type has molded the faces as well as the bodies, so that they all have a certain family resemblance). We shall note the same large dark eyes under curved brows, the same small mouths and long narrow, slightly upturned nose (perhaps some faces were seen in Byzantine art).

Among the surviving monuments of Byzantine art in Constantinople, the most important by far is Hagia Sophia (the Church of Holy Wisdom), the architectural masterpiece of the age and one of the great creative monuments of any age (figs. 272-275). Built 532-537, it achieved such fame that the names of the architects, too, were remembered—Anthemios of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletos. After the Turkish conquest, it became mosque and the four minarets were added at that time and the mosaic decoration was largely hidden under whitewash. None of the mosaics were uncovered in recent years but mosaics 152 after the building was turned into a museum. The design of Hagia Sophia presents a unique combination of elements: it has the longitudinal plan of an Early Christian basilica, but the central feature of the nave is a square compartment entered by a huge dome and oblique access and by half-domes, so that the nave becomes a great oval. Attached to these half-domes are semi-

circular apses with open arcades, similar to those in S. Vitale, one might say, that the dome of Hagia Sophia has been inserted between the two halves of a central-plan church. The dome rests on four arches that carry its weight to the great piers at the corners of the square, so that the walls below the arches have no supporting function at all. The transition from the square formed by these arches to the circular rim of the dome is achieved by spherical triangles called pendentives; hence we speak of the nave wall as a dome on pendentives. This device permits the construction of taller, lighter, and more spacious domes than the older methods (as seen in the Pantheon, the Crosses, and S. Vitale) of placing the dome on a round or polygonal base. Where so often the dome on pendentives was inserted we do not



fig. 272. Exterior of Hagia Sophia (after Gyllen)

above 273. Plan of Hagia Sophia (after Gyllen)

fig. 274. Arrangement of Theodore and Maximian in the Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. 152-153 A.D.



Left: 279. Capital, Hagia Sophia

Below: 291. Interior, Hagia Sophia



know, Hagia Sophia is the earliest example we have of its use as a monumental scale, and it must have been an example of space-making importance, for from now on the dome no longer became a basic feature of Byzantine architecture and, somewhat later, of Western architecture as well. There is, however, still another element that entered into the design of Hagia Sophia. The plan, the hemming of the main piers, and the east wall of the whole recall the Basilica of Constantine (fig. 272, 273). The great ambulatory (a remnant of imperial Roman architecture) that led into the greatest monuments associated with a ruler for whom Justinian had particular admiration, Hagia Sophia, thus united East and West, past and future, in a single overpowering synthesis. Its massive exterior, firmly planted upon the earth like a great mountain, reaching up to a height of 150 feet—given higher than the Pantheon, and therefore the dome, although somewhat smaller in diameter (112 feet), stands out far more boldly than we can within, all sense of weight disappears, as if the material, solid aspects of the structure had been founded in the invisible, nothing remains but an expanding space that inflates, like an empty sail, the spatial masses, the piers, and the dome itself. Thus the architectural analysis concerning chapter 10 (fig. 282) by later architects (see page 283) has achieved a new, magnificent dimension. I can move from previously, light plays a key role: the dome seems to float—"like the radiant heavens," according to a contemporary description of the building—because it rests upon a closely spaced ring of windows, and the nave walls are pierced by windows so large that they have the transparency of fine curtains. The golden glow of the mosaics must have completed the "illusion of aeriality." But we sense the new synthesis even in structural details such as moldings and capitals (fig. 277). The scrolls—acanthus foliage and such—all derive from Classical architecture, but their effect is radically different: instead of actively reinforcing the impact of heavy weight upon the shell of the column, the capital has become a sort of open-work bar-

rier whose delicate surface pattern counters the strength and solidity of the stone.

Byzantine architecture never produced another structure to match Hagia Sophia. The churches of the Second Golden Age (from the late sixth to the eleventh century) and after were smaller in scale, and somewhat taller than imperial in spirit. Their usual plan is that of a Greek cross that is, across with arms of equal length) contained in a square, with a narthex added on one side and an apse (sometimes with flanking chapels) on the other. The central dome has dome on a square base; it often rests on a cylindrical drum with tall windows, which raises it high above the rest of the building, as in the two churches of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Greece (fig. 277). These also illustrate two other characteristics of late Byzantine architecture: a tendency toward more severe exterior, in contrast to the exterior beauty we observed earlier (compare fig. 283), and a preference for elongated proportions. The full impact of this tendency, however, comes to only when we enter the church (fig. 278) above the interior of the Katholikon, which appears on the left in fig. 277; there the tall, narrow space compartments produce a sense of verticality, almost of compression, which is dramatically relieved as we raise our gaze to-



Left: 1751 Church of the Monastery of Saint Luke (St. Luke of Syria, Phoca, Greece, Early 18th century)

Below: 1911, Interior, Katholikon, Saint Luke



ward the luminous point of space towards the dome. Figure 1.7b shows this view as it presented itself to some of the Greek missionary priests of England, where the potential decoration of the dome is better preserved than in the Katholikon of Saint Luke. Facing domes from the center of the dome is an evanescent dream image of Christ the Pantocrator like Ruler of the universe against a gold background, its face was emphasized by the mesh window figures of the crosses. Old Testament prophets between the windows. In the corners, we see four scenes illustrating the divine and human nature of Christ—the

Annunciation, the Virgin Mary's dormition, and the Transfiguration. The mosaic cycle represents a theological program as perfectly in harmony with the geometric relationship of the image that we cannot say whether the architecture has been shaped by the pictorial scheme or vice versa. A similar effect under governs the distribution of sculpture throughout the rest of the interior.

The largest and most lavishly decorated church of the Second Golden Age survives today in St. Mark's in Venice, begun in 1063. The Venetians had long been under Byzantine sovereignty and remained ethnically dependent on the East long after they had become a political and commercial power in their own right. St. Mark's, too, illustrates Greek cross plan combined with a square, but here each side of the cross is emphasized by a tower of its own type (fig. 1.8). These towers are not round and octagonal; instead, they have been raised in belfries, wooden bell-towers covered by gilt copper cladding and supported by ornate brackets, so that they appear taller and more conspicuous as a distance. They make a splendid backdrop for the windows. The spacious interior, famous for its mosaics, shows that it was intended to receive the relics of a large metropolitan, and that just a small mosaic community—not a hospital as Venice's Lazzaretto. During the Second Golden Age, Byzantine architecture also spread to Russia, along with the Orthodox faith. There the basic type of the Byzantine church underwent an amazing transformation through the use of wood as a structural material. The most famous product of this native trend is the Cathedral of St. Basil adjoining the Kremlin in Moscow (fig. 1.9). Built during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, it seems so extraordinarily Russian as that contemporary order. The domes, growing in endless profusions, have become fantastic tower-like structures whose wildly patterned belcoths may resemble anything from mushrooms and berries to forestal surfaces. These huge towers crown cross have the gay sexuality of a fairy tale, yet their total effect is subtly impressive. Keep in mind that the imagination of simple peasant folk often must have



11th Century Mosaic, 11th century, Monastery Church, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople

placed at them in approximately wonder on their rare visits to the capital, they nevertheless carry a sense of the immensity derived from the more constant minutes of Byzantine architecture.

The development of Byzantine painting and sculpture after the age of Justinian was dominated by the Iconoclastic Controversy, which began with an imperial edict of 726 prohibiting religious images. It raged for more than a hundred years, dividing the population into two hostile groups. The image destruction Iconoclasts, led by the emperor and supported mainly by the eastern provinces of the empire, insisted on a literal interpretation of the biblical ban against graven images as conduits to deity; they wanted to restrict religious art to abstract symbols and plans in animal form. Their opponents, the iconophiles, were led by the monks and centered in the western provinces, where the imperial edicts remained in-

effective for the most part. The roots of the conflict were very deep: on the plane of theology they involved the basic issue of the relationship of the human and divine in the person of Christ, while essentially and potentially they reflected a power struggle between them and Church. The Controversy also marked the final break between Catholicism and the Orthodox East.

Had the entire Iconoclastic throughout the Empire, it might well have made Byzantine religious art a local phenomenon. In fact iconoclasm reducing the production of sacred images very greatly, but failed to wipe it out altogether, so that there was a fairly rapid recovery after the victory of the iconophiles in 843. While we know little for certain about how the Byzantine artistic tradition managed to survive from the early eighth to the mid-ninth century,



after: after the 11th century, Monastery Church, Hagia Sophia



11th century, Monastery Church, Hagia Sophia

landscape seems to have brought about a renewed interest in secular art, which was so alienated by the two. This may help explain the surprising reappearance of Late Classical motifs in the art of the second Golden Age, as in the scene of David comparing the Psalms from the so-called *Psalm Psalter* (fig. 28). It was probably illustrated about 1500, although the composition post-dates a second illumination. Not only do we find a landscape here that recalls Pomphilius' models, the figures, too, obviously derive from Classical models. David himself could well be mistaken for Orpheus charming the beasts with his music, and his companions prove even more surprising, since they are allegorical figures that have nothing to do with the Bible at all: the young woman next to David is Metis, the wise-eyed looking behind a pillar is Euterpe, and the male figure with a lion's mane personifies the constellation of Boötes. The two sides of the picture remind only those artists' questions of style such as the church's sipping pattern of the highly-coveted Medici's copy, another fascinating reflection of an early source in the imagery of scenes from Genesis among the masters of St. Mark's in Venice (fig. 29), which must have been adapted from an early Christian illuminated manuscript. Through large-headed figures receding into the fourth century, as does the classical young philosopher type representing the Lord (compare fig. 28), which had been frequently replaced in general usage by the more familiar bearded type (see fig. 20), of particular interest is the scene in the upper right-hand corner. Ancient art had visualized the human soul as a tiny male figure with two-

terry wings; here this image reappears—in another, rather—under Christian auspices in the spirit of life that the Lord breathes into Adam.

The *Psalm Psalter* and the Genesis scenes in St. Mark's belong to almost antiquarian enthusiasm for the traditions of Classical art. Such does not mean, however, an exclusive taste. The best works of the second Golden Age show a conviction that the two fundamentally merged with the spiritualized ideal of human beauty so incorporated in the art of Italianate Europe. Among these, the Cyprian scene of England (fig. 28) represents special fame. Its Classical questions are more fundamental, and more deeply felt, than those of the *Psalm Psalter*: it is also completely Christian: there is no attempt to recreate a realistic spatial setting, for the composition has a balance and clarity that is truly monumental as against the shattered Pomphilius landscape of the third century. Classical, too, is the statuesque dignity of the figures, which seem exceptionally robust and graceful compared to those of the last time (see at St. Mark (fig. 27)). The most important aspect of these Classical borrowings, however, is structural rather than physical: it is the gentle posture conveyed by their gestures and facial expressions, a treatment and subtle softening of the lines so few men in Greek art of this century too (see pages 105-106). Early Christian art had been deprived of this quality. Its very stiffness caused the Eastern's direct violence and power, rather than his spiritual death, which the Greek there was depicted only rarely and in a notably upper status type. The image of the Pantocrator is evident in the acrologies of Justinian and above the apex of St. Apollinare in Classe (fig. 29) and elsewhere: a reminder of its importance throughout the second Golden Age—



fig. 28. Colonnade of St. Basil, Moscow: 1326-48

Anders: 187, Basil's Cathedral in the Psalms, illustration from the *Psalm Psalter*, c. 1500-1510. Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome



the emperor alone is made of Egyptian stone from the tradition—but alongside it we now find a new emphasis on the Christ of the Passion. When and where this Syrian interpretation of the Saviour made its first appearance, we cannot say for sure; it seems to have developed in the wake of the Iconoclastic Controversy. There are few examples of it earlier than the Hagia Sophia fresco, and some of them have as powerful an appeal to the emotions of the beholder. To have introduced this compassionate quality into sacred art was perhaps the greatest achievement



above: 104. The Crucifixion (mosaic, 11th century, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople)

right: 105. Jesus from Gennesa (mosaic, 11th cent., St. Basil's, Vienna)



even of the second Golden Age, even though its full possibilities were to be exploited not by Byzantine but by the medieval West (see fig. 101). Yet Byzantine art, too, preserved and developed the human view of Christ in the centuries to come. The wonderful mosaic (figured here) Hagia Sophia (see figure 102), probably a work of the thirteenth century, no longer has the forbidding severity of the Hagia Sophia "mosaic"; instead, we find an expression of gentle melancholy, along with a subtlety of modeling and color that perpetuates the best Classical traditions of the second Golden Age.

In 1204 Byzantium sustained an almost fatal blow when the armies of the Fourth Crusade, instead of warring against the Turks, assaulted and took the city of Constantinople. For over half a century, the core of the Empire remained in Latin hands. Byzantium, however, survived even this catastrophe. In 1261, it once more regained its sovereignty, and the fourteenth century was a last efflorescence of Byzantine painting, with a distinct and original flavor of its own, before the Turkish conquest in 1453. Because of the impoverished state of the greatly shrunken Empire, mural painting often took the place of icons, as in the recently uncovered wall decorations of a monastery chapel attached to the Kariye Camii (the former Church of the Saviour in Constantinople). From this impressive cycle of pictures, done about 1390 or so, we reproduce the dramatic (Greek for *drammatismos*) *descent into hell* (fig. 103). The scene actually depicts the event just before the Resurrection—Christ's descent into Limbo, accompanied by saints (angelic and heroic) who vanquished Satan and turned down the gates of Hell (where the bound figures of the dead, in the world of an incredible profundity of darkness) and in raising Adam and Eve from the dead. What scenes as about the central group is its dramatic focus, a quality we would hardly expect to find on the basis of what we have seen of Byzantine art up to now. Christ here appears with extraordinary



Left: (85) Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *The Virgin in Chains* (London, Church of the Servite in Chelsea, England)



Right: (86) Francesco Bissara, *The Virgin in Chains* (Rome, St. Francesco Saverio, Rome)

physical images, treating Adam and Eve from their graves, as they they appear to be through time—a magnificently expressive image of divine triumph. Such devotion had been unknown in the earlier Byzantine tradition. Coming in the fourteenth century, it shows that two years after Iconoclasm, Byzantine art still had its creative powers.

During the Renaissance, however, one of the chief arguments in favor of sacred images was the claim that Christ himself had permitted his Leda to paint his portrait, and that other portraits of Christ or of the Virgin had miraculously appeared accurately by divine fiat. These original "true" sacred images were supposedly the source of all later, man-made ones. Such pictures, or icons, had developed in subject to some time called Greek-Roman portrait periods such as archaism or 1. Little is known about these origins, but examples antedating the Renaissance to Constantine are extremely scarce. Of the few discovered so far, perhaps the most important is the Madonna from St. Francesco, Saverio in Rome, brought to light some seventy-five years ago by the much-maligned panel. Only the Virgin's face still shows the original surface in fair condition (fig. 86). Its link with Greek-Roman portraiture is evident not only from the painting method, which is essentially the same (p. 124), a technique that went out of use after the Iconoclastic Controversy, but also from the face proportions—of light and dark. The form themselves, however—the heart-shaped outline of the face, the low cheeks, the long, narrow nose, the high nose under strongly arched brows—offer an ideal of human beauty as spiritualized as that of the 5. While serene, while assuming a far higher degree of three-dimensional solidity. What makes this image so deeply impressive is the geometric solidity of the shape, which endows the features with a monumental grandeur nowhere more intensely expressed in early Christian or Byzantine art. What and what was it produced? In the sixth or

seventh century, no man knows, but whether in Italy or the East we cannot say, for lack of comparable material. Be that as it may, it is a work of extraordinary power which makes us understand how men came to believe in the supernatural origin of sacred pictures.

Because of the conviction in which they were held, icons had to conform to strict formal rules, with fixed



280. Anonymous, *The Descent from the Cross*, c. 14th cent., in Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria della Vittoria. (Temporary Galleries, Moscow)

patterns repeated over and over again. As a consequence, the majority of them are more conspicuous for creating a disconcerting than for an artistic composition. The Master, an Armenian (by origin) is a work of this kind, although painted in the thirteenth century. It reflects a type several hundred years earlier. Editors of the *Chronicon* of the Second Crusade, age about the peaceful years, the role played by Gregory, the under the leadership of the Virgin's face, the delicate, architectural perspective of the throne (which looks rather like a miniature replica of the Colosseum), but all these elements have become widely known. The throne, despite its fourfoldness, is a single function as a three-dimensional object, and the highlights on the drapery resemble anatomical contours, in strong contrast to the soft shading of hands and faces. The total effect is neither flat nor spatial but transparent, somewhat like that of a stained-glass window; the shapes look as if they would float behind. And this is almost literally true, for they are painted in a thin film on a highly reflecting gold surface that forms the highlights, the faces, and the background, so that even the shadows seem more wholly opaque. This all-pervading ethereal radiance, we will recall, is a quality we first encountered in Early Christian mosaics. Paints such as ours, therefore, should be viewed as the authentic equivalent of mosaic on a smaller scale and not simply as the descendants of the ancient panel painting tradition. In fact, the most precious Byzantine icons are miniature mosaics done on panels, rather than paintings.

Along with the Orthodox faith, icon painting spread throughout the Balkans and Russia, where it combined



281. Madonna Lactans (13th century), fresco, in Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria della Vittoria. (British Collection)

in Russia even after the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire. The stifling of the creative impulse within this tradition (or the molding away of the Orthodox world) is signified by the work of Andrei Rublev, the finest Russian icon painter and a great artist by any standard. Figure 281 shows his famous panel, the *Madonna Lactans*, from about 1408-10. (The difference in the three angels who visit Abraham in Moscov's although parts of it are poorly preserved—some of the background has disappeared—the picture reveals a harmonious beauty of design and a depth of spiritual feeling that we with the most classical products of the Second Crusade Age. Rather than have been thoroughly acquainted with the best Byzantine artistic craft, either through contact with Greek painters in Russia or through a exposure to Constantinian motifs. The most individual element—and also the most distinctly Russian—in the entire scene, perhaps, must be the complex, and different in key from that of any Byzantine work. In the hands of a more master, such combinations of image, symbolism, and technique might easily have created a painterly garbure of the sort we often encounter in folk art (here, the controlled intensity of these tones becomes an essential part of the composition).





FIGURE 10. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Portrait of a Boy*, from the *Portrait of a Boy*, and *Portrait of a Boy*, 1750-1755. Oil on canvas, 10 x 14 in.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1920



Exemplaire 12. *Benois, The Presentation of the Madonna to the People, from the tapestry of Chagall (1912-1913) (Museum of Modern Art, New York)*



Colonna 11. Basilica di Santa Maria della Vittoria. Vista verso l'abside.  
Foto: A. B. - Roma, 1950.



Cotton MS. A.9.2, fol. 10v. The Coronation of the Virgin Mary. (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

100. The *Marcellus* Tapestry  
Late sixth century, ivory  
97½ x 17". The Louvre, Paris



Monumental sculpture, as we saw earlier, tended to disappear completely from the fifth century on. In the century left, large-scale sculpture did not with the last imperial portraits, and stone carving was confined almost entirely to architectural ornament (see fig. 101), while small-scale reliefs, especially in ivory and metal, continued to be produced throughout the second Christian age and beyond. Their extraordinary variety of content, style, and purpose is suggested by the two samples shown here, both of them dating from the sixth century. One is a tapestry—a small portable altar cloth with two tapered wings—of the sort a high dignitary might carry for his private devotion while traveling the empire. The upper half of the central panel (as was Christ himself, flanked by St. John the Baptist and the Virgin) ordered that during every act of worship—until his species before. The exquisite refinement of this work is

entirely outside the style of the Eastern Christian. The second panel, representing the Sacrifice of Abraham (fig. 102), belongs to an ivory casket meant for reading gospels and, rather surprisingly, is decorated with scenes of Greek mythology. Even more than the miniatures of the *Book of Psalms*, it illustrates the antiquarian aspects of Hellenistic classical culture to the knowledge of Byzantium, for the subject is that of a famous drama by Euripides, and the composition reflects its various details, despite the deep understanding of the relief's probably derived from an illustrated Euripides manuscript, rather than from a sculptural source. Though deprived of all large sculpture and reduced to a kind of ornamental plasticity, these twelfth-century tapestries and ivory carvings reveal the persistence of Hellenistic tradition.

101. The Sacrifice of Abraham (detail of ivory casket), sixth century.  
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (reproduction copyright Museum)



## THE MIDDLE AGES

When we think of the great civilisations of our past, we tend to see us in terms of visible monuments that have come to symbolise the distinctive character of each: the pyramids of Egypt, the obelisks of Babylon, the Parthenon of Athens, the Colosseum, Hagia Sophia. The Middle Ages, in such a review of classical civilisations, would be represented by a Gothic cathedral—Notre Dame in Paris, perhaps, or Reims, or Canterbury. We have many to choose from, but whichever one we pick, it will be well south of the Alps, although its territory that formerly belonged to the Roman Empire. And if we were to split a bucket of water in front of the cathedral of our choice, this water would eventually make its way to the English Channel, rather than to the Mediterranean. Here, then, we have the most important single fact about the Middle Ages: the extent of gravity of European civilisation has shifted to what had been the northern boundaries of the Roman world. The Mediterranean, for so many centuries the great highway of commercial and cultural exchange linking together all the lands along its shores, has become a barrier, a border zone.

We have already observed some of the causes that paved the way for this shift—the removal of the imperial capital to Constantinople, the growing split between the Catholic and Orthodox faiths, the decay of the western half of the Roman Empire under the impact of invasions by Germanic tribes. For these tribes, once they had settled down in their new surroundings, accepted the fundamentals of late Roman, Christian civilisation, became imperially minded, the local kingdoms they founded—the Visigoths in North Africa, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy—were Mediterranean-oriented, provincial states on the periphery of the Byzantine Empire, subject to the pull of its military, commercial, and cultural power. As late as 529, when the Byzantine emperor closed the law schools of Rome, Egypt, and Syria to the Germanic peoples, the conquest of the last western provinces remained a remote possibility. Ten years later, the chance had ceased to exist, for meanwhile a tremendous and completely unforeseen new force had made itself felt in the East: the Arabs, under the banner of Islam, were conquering the Near East and African provinces of Byzantium. By 711, within a century after the death of Mohammed, they had conquered all of North Africa as well as Spain, and threatened to add southwestern France to their conquest.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the impact of the

lightning-like advance of Islam upon the Christian world. The Byzantine Empire, deprived of its eastern Mediterranean bases, had no compensation in its efforts to keep its hold on Italy in the East, its importance in the West (where it retained only a primitive foothold) on Italian soil left the European shore of the western Mediterranean open, from the Pyrenees to Naples, exposed to Arab raiders from North Africa or Spain. Western Europe was thus forced to develop its own resources, political, economic, and spiritual. The Church in Rome broke its last ties with the East and turned for support to the Germanic north, where the Frankish kingdom, under the energetic leadership of the Carolingian dynasty, rose to the status of imperial power during the eighth century. When the Pope, in the year 800, bestowed the title of emperor upon Charlemagne, he witnessed the new order of things by placing himself and all of Western Christianity under the protection of the king of the Franks and Lombards. He did not, however, subordinate himself to the newly created Catholic emperor, whose legitimacy depended on the pope, whose influence it had been the other way around: the emperor in Constantinople had ruled the newly elected pope. This interdependence of spiritual and political authority, of Church and State, was to distinguish the West from both the Orthodox East and the Islamic South. Its outward symbol was the fact that though the emperor had to be crowned in Rome, he did not reside there; Charlemagne built his capital at the centre of his effective power, in Aachen, where France, Germany, and the Netherlands meet on the present-day map of Europe.

Meanwhile, Islam had created a new civilisation stretching from Spain in the west to the Indian Valley in the east, a civilisation that reached its highest point for more rapidly than did that of themselves. First, Baghdad on the Tigris, the capital city of Charlemagne's great contemporary, Harun al-Rashid, started the splendour of Byzantium. Islamic art, learning, and craftsmanship were to have a far-reaching influence on the European Middle Ages. From arabesque ornaments, the manufacture of paper, and Arabic numerals to the transmission of Greek philosophy and science through the writings of Arabic scholars, (Our language borrows this field in such words of Arabic origin as algebra and alcohol.) It is well, therefore, that we associate ourselves with some of the artistic achievements of Islam before we turn to medieval art in Western Europe.

## 1. Islamic Art

The incredible speed with which Islam spread throughout the Near Eastern North African continents is one of the most astounding phenomena in world history. In two generations, the new faith conquered a larger territory and greater numbers of believers than Christianity had in those centuries. How was it possible for a group of semi-civilized desert tribes suddenly to burst forth from the Arab peninsula and to impose their political and religious institutions on populations far superior to them in numbers, wealth, and cultural heritage? That they had the advantage of superior gene fighting skills, and a fervent will to win, that fast Byzantine and Persian military power was at a low ebb, has been pointed out often enough; these favorable circumstances may help to account for the initial rapid expansion but not for the enduring nature of their conquests. What had begun as a triumph of force soon turned into a spiritual triumph as Islam gained the allegiance of millions of converts. Clearly, the new faith must have satisfied the needs of our millennium of people more fully than any of the older religions of the Hellenized Orient.

Islamism is one of its essential elements in the Islamic-Islamism tradition. The word Islam means "submission"; Muslims are those who submit to the will of Allah, the one and all-powerful God, as revealed to Muhammad in the Koran, the sacred scriptures of Islam. The Koran often draws upon the contents of the Bible and events of the Old Testament (perhaps as well as laws among the predecessors of Muhammad). Its teachings include the concepts of the Last Judgment, of Heaven and Hell, of angels and devils. The ethical commands of Islam, too, are basically similar to those of Judaism and Christianity. On the other hand, there is no ritual demanding prayer, fast, or every Muslim has equal access to Allah, and the observance required of him are simple (prayer at stated times of day, fasting or in a mosque, abstaining, fasting, and a pilgrimage to Mecca). All true believers, according to Muhammad, are brothers, members of one great community. During his lifetime, he was their leader not only in the religious sense but in all temporal affairs as well, so that he succeeded to power as a faith which was also a new pattern of society. The tradition of placing both religious and political leadership in the hands of a single man persisted after the Prophet's death; his successors were the caliphs, the deputies of Muhammad, whose claim to authority rested on their descent from the family of the Prophet or the early successors.

The unique quality of Islam—and the core of its tremendous appeal—in the blending of faith and temporal elements. Like Christianity, it opened its ranks to everyone, removing the feudalism of the faithful believers' faith, regardless of race or culture. Yet, like Judaism, it was also a national religion, firmly centered in Arabia. The

Arab warriors under the early caliphs who set out to conquer the world for Allah did not expect to convert the captives to Islam; their aim was simply to rule, to achieve obedience to themselves as the servants of the true God. Those who wanted to share this privileged status by joining Islam had to become Arabs by adopting; they not only had to learn Arabic in order to read the Koran (since Allah had chosen to speak in that language), his words must not be translated into lesser tongues; but also to adopt the racial, legal, and political traditions of the Muslim community. As a result, the Arabs, though few in numbers, were faced in danger of being absorbed by the inhabitants of the regions they ruled instead, they absorbed the conquered populations, along with their cultural heritage, which they authority adapted to the requirements of Islam.

In art, this heritage embraced the Early Christian-Byzantine style, with its ideas of Hellenistic and Roman forms, as well as the artistic traditions of Persia (see page 55). Pre-Islamic Arabia contributed nothing except the beautifully ornamented Arabic script; populated largely by nomadic tribes, it had no monumental architecture; and its sculptured images of local deities fell under Muhammad's ban against idolatry. Originally, Islam, like early Christianity, made no demands as to upon the visual arts. During the first fifty years after the death of the Prophet, the Muslim place of prayer could be a church taken over for the purpose, a Persian cell, a small hall, or even a courtyard first surrounded by a fence or a ditch. The one element these ungracious mosques had in common was the matching of the place and structure in which Muslims take its prayers: the site

222. Luxor, Egypt. 19th cent.  
The Great Mosque, Luxor





191. Portion of the *Palais de la Paix* at Madinet Medinet, a 725 A.D. (height of niches 97). From Museum, Berlin

Facing toward Mecca had to be emphasized by a column made, or merely by placing the entrance on the opposite side. In the sixth century, however, the Muslims rulers, now firmly established in the conquered domains, began to erect mosques and palaces in a large scale as visible symbols of their power, intended to make all pre-Islamic structures in size and splendor. These early monuments of Muslim architecture do not, for the most part, survive in their original form. What we know of their design and decoration shows that they were produced by craftsmen gathered from Egypt, Syria, Persia, and even Byzantium, who continued to practice the styles in which they had been trained. A distinctive Islamic tradition crystallized only in the course of the eighth century.

Thus the Great Mosque at Damascus, built 706-712 within the enclosure of a Roman sanctuary, but in well-covered stone and brilliant glass mosaics of Byzantine origin. The surviving remains, such as the apse reproduced in figure 192, consist entirely of stucco of landscape and architecture framed by richly ornamented borders against a gold background. Nothing quite like this is known in Byzantine art, but their style obviously reflects

an Hellenistic familiarity as in from Pompeian painting. Apparently, ancient traditions persisted more strongly in the Near Eastern provinces of Byzantine than in Europe. Coptic al-Walid, who built the mosque, must have welcomed these Hellenistic-Roman motifs, no different from the symbolic and narrative content of Christian mosaics. A somewhat later Arabic author records that the country contained many churches "wonderfully fair and spacious for their splendor," and that the Great Mosque at Damascus was meant to keep the Muslims from being dazzled by them. The date of the huge domes palace at Madinet for the present-day Kingdom of Jordan has been much disputed; we just well understand why, for the style of the facade decoration (fig. 193) harks back to various pre-Islamic sources. According to the best available evidence, the palace was erected by one of al-Walid's successors, probably about 725. The facade carrying the character of the plant much are striking reminiscences of Byzantine architectural ornament (compare fig. 190), and variations within the work indicate that it was done by craftsmen transported from several provinces of the former Byzantine domains in the Near East. There is also, however, a notable Persian element, evidenced by winged lions and similar mythical animals familiar from Sassanian reliefs or metalwork (see fig. 194). On the other hand, the geometric framework of niches and rosettes, uniformly repeated over the entire width of the facade, suggests a taste for symmetrical abstract patterns characteristic of Muslim art.

A striking example of the architectural conception of the early mosque, which were built on an immense scale at incredible speed, is the Great Mosque at Kairouan in the Egypt, southwest of Baghdad, built under al-Mahdi (786-803). Only a small remnant (fig. 195) can suggest its vast dimensions, which make it the largest mosque in the world. The basic features of the plan (fig. 196) are typical of the mosque architectural archetype, with a main axis pointing south to Mecca, entrance a court surrounded by colonnades that run toward the qibla, the center of which is marked by a small niche, the mihrab; an

192. Mosque of Madinet Medinet from the north (Damascus, Iraq, 706-712) x 2.



194. Plan of the Mosque of Madinet Medinet (after C. Norani)









198. Capilla de Villavieja, Burgos, Germany. 198. 199. 1. 2.

Alfonso's Palace in Granada, the last Islamic stronghold on the Iberian peninsula during the late Middle Ages. Its subterranean, the Court of the Lions and the rooms around it, was built 1334-42 (fig. 199). The columns now have become slender arched piers (they support arched surfaces of extravagantly complex shape, not only with their own constant twisting but a generous-like web of ornament. On the interior surface (fig. 200) we find the same language of arabesque decoration, carried out in delicately etched stone or tile—a limitless variety of designs, including bands of inscriptions, yet disciplined by symmetry and rhythmic order. The effect is infinitely richer than that of the Mudejar facade, but is interpreted the two movements, supported by its center—architectural language of the Mediterranean, appear clearly linked by the same basic sense of form. Islamic vaulting has gone through a similar process of evolution: the ribs of the Capilla de Villavieja have disappeared behind a forestwork of ever-twisting ribs framed by key arches that bring the exterior from the ceiling. Little wonder that the Alhambra is considered in the romantic imagination of the West as the visible centerpiece of all the wonders of the Thousand and One Nights.

From the tenth century onward, the Seljuk Turks gradually advanced into the Near East, where they adopted Islam, seized control of most of Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Holy Land, and advanced against the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. They were followed in the thirteenth century by the Mongols of Genghis Khan—whose armies included the Manchus (a people

related to the Turkic)—and by the Ottoman Turks. The latter not only put an end to the Byzantine Empire by their capture of Constantinople in 1453, but occupied the entire Near East and Egypt as well, thus becoming the most important power in the Muslim world. The growing weight of the Turkish element in Islamic civilization is reflected by the continued spread of a new type of mosque, the madrasah, which had been created in Persia under Seljuk domination in the eleventh century. One of the most imposing examples is the Madrasah of Sultan Hasan in Cairo, contemporary with the Alhambra but very different in spirit. Its main feature is a square court (fig. 201) with a fountain in the center. Opposing each other side of this court is a rectangular vaulted hall; that on the right side, larger than the others, serves as the sanctuary. The monumental scale of these halls seems to echo the palace architecture of Sassanian Persia (see fig. 195), while the geometric clarity of the whole design, emphasized by the arched wall surfaces, is a Turkish contribution that we shall meet again later. It represents an attitude toward architectural space completely opposed to that of the manuscript Arabic mosque. Attached to the right side of the Madrasah of Sultan Hasan is the Sultan's mausoleum, a large cubic structure surrounded by a dome (fig. 202). Such funerary monuments had been unknown in early Islam; they were borrowed from the Near East (see page 186) in the sixth century and became especially popular among the Mamluk rulers of Egypt. The dome is not unlike Islamic domes derived from Byzantine domes. The most famous masterpiece of Islamic architecture is the Taj Mahal at Agra

199. Court of the Lions, The Alhambra, Granada 1334-42





190. Tug Mubal, Cairo, built after the Tug Mubal, The Tug Mubal, Cairo

the 1900s built these structures later by one of the Muslim rulers of Egypt, Shah Ismail, as a memorial to his wife. He belonged to the Mamluk dynasty, which had come from Persia, so that the basic similarity of the Tug Mubal and the minarets of Sultan Hassan is not surprising. There is a great deal of similarity in the design of the Tug Mubal and the minarets of Sultan Hassan. In the same way, such a comparison emphasizes the special qualities that make the Tug Mubal a masterpiece of its kind. The minarets of the Cairo minarets, with its projecting pinnacles and finely sculptured dome, has given way to a weightless elegance far unlike that of the Tug Mubal. The white marble walls, broken by deep shadowy recesses, with paper-like, almost translucent, and the entire building gives the impression of barely touching the ground, as if it were suspended from the hollow-like dome. The result of poetic beauty is greatly enhanced by the setting, the long reflecting pool lined with dark green shrubs and off the coast whitewash of the great pyramids to truly magnificent feature.

The Ottoman Turks, when they were united in Asia Minor, developed a third type of mosque by incorporating, as it were, the triple minarets and the domed by central dome. The result was the domed minaret, with domes over the square tower and four half-domes opening out to a pattern sometimes called minarets of St. Mark's in Venice. The Turks, therefore, were well prepared to appreciate the beauty of Hagia Sophia when they entered Constantinople. Consequently, there is nothing but the values of it appear in numerous mosques built in



191. Court from inside the Tug Mubal, The Tug Mubal, Cairo, c. 1900-15

that city and elsewhere after 1453. One of the most important, that of Sultan Hassan's, came from the city of the Tug Mubal. Its plan, elevation and especially the design of Hagia Sophia into a square, with the main dome created by four half-domes instead of two, and four smaller domes and so the minarets at the corners. The resulting sequence of these domes has been handled with marvellous light and geometric precision, so that the interior is far more harmonious than that of Hagia Sophia. Thus, the first half of the sixteenth century, which produced both the Tug Mubal and the Mosque of Ahmed I, marks the final flowering of Muslim architectural genius.

Before entering into a discussion of Islamic painting and sculpture, we must understand the Muslim attitude toward representation. It has often been claimed that of the Byzantine iconoclasm, but there are significant differences. The iconoclasm, as we know, was opposed to sacred images (that is, images of religious personages) rather than to representation as such. Muhammad, too, condemned depictions, one of his first acts after his return from Mecca in 610 was to take with the Kaaba, an agreed Arabic sanctuary, and to remove all the idols he found there. There were always understood to have been statues, and the Koran expressly places statues among the handicrafts of Islam, while painting and representation in general are not mentioned. Muhammad's attitude toward painting seems to have been ambiguous. As early as the first century before he died in 632 the Kaaba



also contained models of religiously insignificant individuals; the Prophet ordered them all to be destroyed, except the pictures of Mary with the infant Jesus, which he presented with his own hands. This incident, as well as the lack of any discussion of the subject in early Muslim literature, suggests that painted images never posed a serious problem to Muhammad and his immediate community, since there was no pictorial tradition among the Arabs. Islamic religious painting could have been created only by borrowing from outside sources; and such a development was more unlikely as long as the authorities did not encourage it. They could afford to display indifference or even at times a certain tolerance toward the sacred pictures of other faiths. (Muhammad may have viewed the Virgin and Child from destruction in order not to hurt the feelings of former Christians among his followers.) This positive attitude did not prevent the Arabs from occupying the iconographic representation as they found it in the newly conquered territories. Images of any sort they rarely abandoned, but Hellenistic landscapes could be introduced into mosaics (see fig. 29) and frescoes animals welcomed among the brief decoration of the Umayyad facade (see fig. 30). The ruins of another palace, contemporary with Umayyad, have even yielded fresco fragments with human figures. Only from about 1000 do we find evidence against representation as such in Muslim religious literature, perhaps under the influence of prominent Jewish converts. The dated arguments are in fact the danger of idolatry (not of human personification) in making images of living things; the artist accepts a creative art that imitates in God alone, since only his gas-breathes and life-giving energies.

Consequently, therefore, human or animal figures of any kind were forbidden by Islamic law. Yet in actual

fig. 29. Mosaic from Kairouan in the Mosque of Umayyad Mosque

fig. 30. Taj Mahal, Agra, India. (fig. 31)



practice the ban was fully effective only against large-scale representations art for public display. There seems to have been a widespread conviction, especially at the luxury-loving courts of the caliphs and other Muslim princes, that images of living things were harmless if they did not cast a shadow. If they were on a small scale, or applied to objects of daily use, such as tape, fabric, jewelry. As a result, human and animal figures did survive in Islamic art, but they tended to become reduced to decorative motifs, technically no more important than geometrical or plant ornaments. We must remember, too, that this tendency was an age-old tradition; among the peoples who shaped Muslim civilization, Arabs, Persians, Indians, and Mongols all shared a love of portable, easily decorated objects as the common heritage of their nomadic-pastoral paganism. Islam, then, merely reinforced a taste that was natural to them. When the techniques of the nomadic arts—engraving, metalwork, and leatherwork—merged with the vast heritage of forms and materials accumulated by the craftsmen of Egypt, the Near East, and the Greco-Roman world, the decorative arts of Islam reached a level of sophistication never equaled before or since. The few samples illustrated here can give only the faintest suggestion of their endless variety. Characteristically enough, a great many of the finest specimens are to be found in the churches and palaces of western Europe, whether acquired by trade, the gift, or as crusader booty; they were treasured throughout the Middle Ages as marks of imaginative craftsmanship, and often imitated. Such a place in the cultural



Left: 1606, Mosque of Ahmed I, Istanbul (Fig. 14)

Below: 1606, Plan of the Mosque of Ahmed I (after Özgenç)



consecutive shock of the German conquest (Fig. 14b), made for Islamic artifice in Palermo for Roger II of Sicily in 1132-34, half a century after the Normans had captured that city from the Muslims who had held it for 147 years. The symmetrical group of two domes, attacking centrally on either side of a symbolic tree of life is a motif whose secondary genealogy thousands of years is the ancient Near East (compare Fig. 8B); here, inserted into its square niches and filled with various kinds of ornament, the animals have yielded their original function to a spiritual sense of patterns. It is this latter element that links them with the Islamic creation made fully present in a very different part of the Muslim world, southeast Persia (Fig. 15). The site certainly casts a shadow, and a ready eye at first, since it is almost there too; still, it is, in fact, one of the largest pieces of free-standing sculpture in all of Islamic art. Yet to call it the statue of an animal hardly does justice to its peculiar character. It is primarily a vessel, a perforated incense burner whose

shape approaches that of an animal, the representational aspect of the form (more secondary, certainly). We cannot tell what kind of beast this is meant to be; if only a part still had survived, we might wonder whether it represented anything as odd, as abstract and monumental in the handling of the body. The object becomes a "living creature" only while it is serving its proper function; that with burning incense, breathing the air



Left: Detail, Mosque of Ahmed I

uscles, our animal rights will have seemed worthily paid to a saint's belabored. The latest prices also point to substantially enjoyed the performance of this half-civilized, half-demoniac guardian monster, while he himself could "bring in his" whatever he wished.

The idea of painting in the Muslim world between the eighth and thirteenth centuries remains almost entirely unknown to us. In fact we survived from the five hundred years following the Damascus massacre that we should be surprised to encounter the complete disappearance of pictorial expression under Islam if literary sources did not contain evidence to the contrary. Moreover, it seems clear that the tradition of painting was kept alive, not by Muslims but by artists of other faiths. Numerous masters were imported continuously to work for Arab rulers, and the Oriental Christian churches that survived within the Islamic empire must have included many painters who were available to Muslims as painters. But what kind of pictures could the Muslims have wanted? We may assume there was a store or two of manuscripts furnished for the illustration of scientific texts. The Arabs had inherited such manuscripts from the Byzantines in the Near East, and, being heavily interested in Greek science, they reproduced them in their own language. This means that the illustrations had to be copied as well, since they formed an essential part of the content, whether they were diagram diagrams or representational images (as in zoological, medical, or historical treatises). Works of this sort are among the earliest Islamic illustrated manuscripts known to the anthropologist; of them we do date earlier than a date. Our examples (fig. 10) are from an Arabic translation, signed and dated 1102, of *Diocorides' De Materia Medica*. It shows the Greek physician Dioscorides reclining on a couch and conversing with an assistant. Both are equipped with tubes, to indicate their conversation; remarkably enough, the writer in this instance also did the illustration, so, rather, he copied it along with the text. The ultimate source of the picture



101. Basmala figure, from Morocco, iron, 14th-15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Hagen-Pond, 1921)

must have been a late antique miniature with three-dimensional figures in a spatial setting, but it takes a real effort of the imagination to reconstruct of these qualities in the present version, in which everything is flattened out and conventionalized. The forms seem to lie on the surface of the page, like the script itself, and our artist's pen lines have a rhythmic movement akin to that of the lettering. It is tempting to think that manuscript illustrations found its way into Islamic art through writers working in Damascus, for to a Muslim the writing of matter was an ancient and honorable one; a skilled calligrapher might do pictures if the text demanded them, without having to feel that this incidentally stamped him as a painter (and an abomination in the sight of

102. Coronation Cloth of the Chinese Emperor, 1121-30. Red silk and gold embroidery, 11 1/2". Kunshuwan-shan Museum, Yunnan



Again, be that as it may, the calligrapher's style of graceful illustrations, with or without the addition of color, contributes its appearance to another Arabic literature such as the *Maqamat* of Hariri. These delightful stories, composed about 1100, were probably illustrated within a hundred years after they were written, since we have illuminated Hariri manuscripts from the thirteenth century on. The drawing in figure 310, from a copy dated 1295, is clearly a descendant of the style we saw in the thirteenth-century illustration of a century before. The lines have the same quick, rhythmic quality, but they are bolder, and very much more freely used, and without any artificially expressive pattern. Chastener's group of human characters go to bed showing the tenderness of the classical style in the pose of the stone beds carved in the interior. It is elegant and simple that we must appreciate as far more than a mere copyist.

Arab manuscripts had been in touch with the Far East even before the advent of Islam, and increasing intercourse of Chinese painters by early Muslim authors indicates that these contacts had brought about some ac-

quaintance with the art of China. It was only after the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, however, that Chinese influence became an important factor in Islamic art. It can be felt most strongly in Persian illuminated manuscripts done under Mongol rule, from about 1290 on. The extent to which it enriched and transformed the tradition of Islamic miniature painting is well demonstrated by the scene of two women lighting a landscape (fig. 311); this is not a subject showing that its author had achieved personal competence that like the scene page. The narrative introduction that has served mostly as a point of departure for our artist, most of his effort is devoted to the setting, rather than to the action described by the text. He must have been a great admirer of Chinese landscapes, for the graceful and delicately shaded rocks, trees, and flowers of vegetation clearly reflect those Far Eastern sources. At the same time, the design has a distinctive quality that is characteristically Islamic. In this respect, it seems more akin to the poems of a Chinese origin than to the art's specialization of Chinese landscape painting.

Another important result of Far Eastern influence, it would seem, was the emergence of religious themes in Persian miniatures. The Mongol rule, familiar with the rich traditions of Buddhist religious art in India and China, did not share that profoundest horror of the very idea of pictures of Mohammed. In any event, scenes from the life of the Prophet became in Persian illuminated manuscripts, from the early fourteenth century on, since they had been represented before, the circle who created them had as only in both Christian and Buddhist art as their source of inspiration. The result was a variety of scenes, often far from well imagined. Only one scene concerns direct Islamic religious painting, and in it (at least) has been comparison with the art of other faiths. Such a picture is the wonderful miniature in figure 312 showing Mohammed's ascension to paradise. In the Quran, we read that the Lord "raised His servant to make a journey by night . . . to the remote place of rest



about 1295, *Maqamat* and an *Arabic*, from an Arabic translation of *Maqamat* by Hariri, Madras 1295, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

about 1295, *Maqamat* in *Arabic*, from a *Arabic* manuscript, Madras 1295, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.





above: 101r. Four Warriors Plying in a Landscape, from a Persian manuscript, 15th, British Museum, London

right: 102r. The Descent of Mohammed from a Persian manuscript, 1520-30, British Museum, London



ship which "We have created with blessings, that We might show him of Our signs." Later Muslim authors added shahman details to this first account—the ascent was made from Jerusalem, under the guidance of the angel Gabriel; Mohammed rose through the seven heavens, where he met his predecessors, including Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, before he was brought into the presence of Allah. The entire journey apparently was thought of as analogous to that of Elijah, who ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot. Mohammed, however, was said to have ridden a mysterious mount named Buraq, "white, smaller than a mule and larger than an ass," and having a flesh—in a face—like that of a human being; some authors also gave it wings. We will recognize the ancestry of this beast—indeed, from the winged human-headed guardian monsters of ancient Mesopotamia (see fig. 5) and their kin, the sphinxes and griffins, all of which had survived as ornamental motifs in the great making pot of Islamic decorative art, where they lay dormant, as it were, until Muslim writers identified them with shahman. In real miniature, the wings are reduced to a ring of feathers around the neck, so as not to interfere with the saddle. The central figure of Allah wears a deep blue, star-studded sky; below, among scattered clouds, there is a luminous celestial body, probably the moon. The four Eastern domains in this poster view are striking. We find them in the flame-like golden fates be-

hind Gabriel and Mohammed, a familiar feature of Baghdad art; in the early, "integrated" replication of the clouds, in the crescent and fixed types of the angels. Yet the composition as a whole—the agitated movement of the angelic servants converging from all sides upon the Prophet—strongly evokes Christian art. Our miniature thus represents a view, and singularly Islamic, merging of East and West.

Scenes such as this are rare in manuscripts of historical or literary works but not in the Koran. Even the Persians apparently did not dare to illustrate the Sacred Book directly, although—except Baghdad—illustrated copies of the Bible were not altogether unknown in the Muslim world. The Koran remained the calligrapher's domain, as it had been from the very beginning of Islam. In their hands, Arabic lettering became an amazingly flexible set of shapes, capable of an infinite variety of decorative elaborations, both geometric and curvilinear. At their best, these designs are masterpieces of the disciplined imagination that seeks to anticipate, in a strange way, the abstract art of our own time. The page shown in *introduction* is, probably done by a Turkish calligrapher of the fifteenth century, renders the single word *Allah*. It is indeed a marvel of literary wit: a representation of formal rules, sharing the position's name, of strong pattern, and characteristically paintings. More than any other single object, it sums up the essence of Islamic art.



## PART TWO / THE MIDDLE AGES

### 2. Early Medieval Art

#### THE DARK AGES

The whole way for historical periods tend to be like the customs of people: once established, they are almost impossible to change, even though they may no longer be suitable. Those who coined the term "Middle Ages" thought of the entire thousand years from the fall to the fifteenth century as an age of darkness, an empty interval between classical antiquity and its rebirth, the Renaissance in Italy. Since then, our view of the Middle Ages has changed completely: we no longer think of the period as "darkened" but as the "Age of Faith." With the eyes of the new, postwar generation, studies of art, even the hazy medieval story and more to the early part of the Middle Ages. A hundred years ago, the "Dark Ages" were generally thought to extend as far as the twelfth century; they have been shrinking steadily ever since, as knowledge has been pouring in more than the 100-year interval between the death of Justinian and the rise of Charlemagne. Perhaps we ought to postpone the Dark Ages until further on in the course of the century before, i.e., as we have pointed out earlier, the center of gravity of European civilization shifted westward from the Mediterranean, and the economic, political, and spiritual framework of the Middle Ages began to take shape. We shall now see that the same period also gave rise to some important artistic achievements.

The Germans believe that had entered western Europe from the east during the declining years of the Roman Empire, carried with them, in the form of animals' gear, an ancient and widespread artistic tradition, the so-called animal style. We have encountered early examples of this the Lausannan brooches of iron and the Saxon gold ornaments from southern Russia (see pages 40-41 and figs. 41, 42). This style, with its combination of abstract and organic shapes, of formal discipline and imaginative freedom, became an important element in the Celtic-Germanic art of the Dark Ages, such as the gold-brooch

shown here (see fig. 101) from the grave at Sutton Hoo, off the East Angleshore of the River Eeg. Five pairs of motifs are symmetrically distributed on its surface, each has its own distinctive character, an indication that the motifs have been assembled from four different sources. One motif, the standing eagle with a crowned animal, has a very long history indeed — we find one in Etruscan art more than three thousand years before. The eagle grasping its beak brings to mind similar paintings of caracaras and vultures in Etruscan tombs. The design above them, on the other hand, is of more recent origin. It consists of fighting animals whose tails, legs, and jaws are clasped into knots forming a complex interlocking pattern. Interlocking knots as ornamental device occur in Roman and Early Christian art, especially along the western coast of the Mediterranean, but their combination with the animal style, as shown here, seems to be an invention of the Dark Ages, not much before the date of our piece (see).

Metalswork, in a variety of materials and techniques and often of exquisitely refined craftsmanship, had been the principal medium of the ancient world. Gold, silver, wood, ivory, and especially wrought iron, account for the splendidness of its repertory of forms. During the Dark Ages, however, these forms tapered not only in the geographic area but also technically and artistically into wood, stone, and some manuscript illumination. Wooden equipment, as we might expect, however survived in large numbers; most of them come from Scandinavia, where the animal style flourished longer than anywhere else. The spintholmen head in figure 102, of the early sixth century, is the terminal of a post that was found, along with much other equipment, in a buried Viking ship at Oseberg in western Norway. Like the motifs on the Sutton Hoo piece (see), it shows a peculiarly composite quality: the basic shape of the head is surprisingly realistic, as are certain details (mouth, gaze, nostrils), but the surface has been spun out with interlocking and sym-



101 Gold-brooched from Sutton Hoo, the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, before 625 A.D. British Museum, London

metric patterns that bring their derivation from metal-work. Shouting monasteries made use of the lion from the paws of Viking ships, combining them with the character of medieval sea dragons.

This paper examines various of the animal style as reflected in the various Christian works of art made in the Alps as well. In order to understand how they came to be produced, however, we must first acquaint ourselves with the important role played by the Irish, who, during the Dark Ages, assumed the spiritual and cultural leadership of western Europe. The period from the 5th century, in fact, is to be called the Irish Age of Ireland. Unlike their English neighbors, the Irish had never been part of the Roman Empire; thus the missionaries who carried the Gospel to them from England in the 5th century found a Christianity entirely barbarian by Roman standards. The Irish readily accepted Christianity, which brought them into contact with Mediterranean civilization, but without becoming Romanized. Rather, they adapted what they had received in spirit of vigorous local independence. The institutional framework of the Roman Church, being essentially urban, was ill-suited to the most character of Irish life. Irish Christians preferred to follow the example of the desert monks of Egypt and the Near East who had left the temptations of the city to seek spiritual perfection in the solitude of the wilderness.



fig. 12. Animal Head from the Oseberg Ship Burial c. 1000 A.D. Wood, height 1.7'. University Museum of Antiquities, Oslo

Groups of such hermits, sharing common ideal of ascetic discipline, had founded the earliest monasteries. By the 6th century, monasteries had spread in the northern-western Britain, but only in Ireland did monasteries take over the leadership of the Church from the bishops. Irish monasteries, unlike their Egyptian prototypes, were ho-



fig. 13. Cross Page from the Lindisfarne Gospels c. 1000 A.D. British Museum, London

below: fig. 14 Detail of figure 13, upper right corner



years' work of learning and the arts; they also developed a necessary sense that new Irish models to present to themselves and to found manuscripts in northern Britain as well as on the European mainland, from Poitiers to Trier. These Irishmen not only spread the conversion to Christianity of Scotland, northern France, the Netherlands, and Germany; they also established the monastery as a cultural center throughout the European countryside. Although their Continental foundations were taken over before long by the monks of the Benedictine order, who were advancing north from Italy during the seventh and eighth centuries, Irish influence was to be felt within western civilization for several hundred years to come.

In order to spread the Gospel, the Irish missionaries had to produce copies of the Bible and other Christian texts in large numbers. Their writing workshops (scriptoria) also became centers of artistic endeavor, for a manuscript containing the Word of God was treasured as a sacred object whose visual beauty should reflect the importance of its contents. Irish monks described known Early Christian illuminated manuscripts, but here again, as in so many other respects, they developed an independent tradition instead of simply copying their models. While pictures illustrating biblical events held little interest for them, they devoted great effort to decorative embellishment. The finest of these manuscripts belong to the Hiberno-Saxon style, combining Celtic and Germanic elements, which flourished in the monasteries founded by Irishmen in eastern England. The Cross Page in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fig. 32) is an imaginative expression of itself—of complexity, the miniature, working with a jeweler's precision, has created into the compositions of his geometric forms an entire universe of form and yet so full of contradiction (fig. 32) that the lighting beams on the bottom blue dove could easily be taken to be serpents. It is as if the world of suggestion, confined to close fitting and twisting motions, had suddenly been subdued by the superior authority of the Cross. In order to achieve this effect, our artist has had to impose an extremely severe discipline upon himself: the "rules of the game" demand, for instance, that organic and geometric shapes must be kept separate (that within the actual compositions every line must have some fragment of an animal's body, if we take the trouble to trace it back to its point of origin). There are also rules, too complex to go into here, concerning symmetry, mirror-image effects, and repetition of shapes and colors. Only by working these out for oneself by intense observation can we begin to enter into the spirit of this strange, magical world.

Of the representational images they found in Early Christian manuscripts, the Hiberno-Saxon artists have generally retained only the symbols of the four evangelists, since these could be modified into their own mental ideas without much difficulty. The lion of St. Mark in the Hiberno-Saxon Gospels (miniature 13, mentioned and pictured like the seated image of the bottom blue

pages above), is infused by the same conviction sense of movement we see in the animal symbolism of the previous illustrations. This again we marvel at the mastery between the shape of the animal and the geometric framework in which it has been superimposed (and which, in this instance, includes the inscription, image center). The human figure, on the other hand, remained beyond the Celtic or Germanic artist's reach for a long time. The famous plaque of the Crucifixion (fig. 32), probably made for a book cover, shows how helpful for us when faced with the image of man, in his attempt to represent an Early Christian composition, he suffers from an inner inability to consider of the human form as an organic unit, so that the figure of Christ becomes disembodied in the most elementary sense: head, arms, and feet are separate elements attached to a central pattern of wheels, rings, and intersecting bands. Clearly, there is a wide gap between the Celtic-Germanic and the Mediterranean traditions, a gap that the Irish artist who modeled the Crucifixion did not know how to bridge. Much the same situation prevailed elsewhere in Europe during the Dark Ages; we even find it among the Lombards in northern Italy. The Germanic stone carver who did the marble balustrade relief in the Cathedral of Reims in the twelfth century (fig. 33) was just as perplexed in his first conversations by the problem of representation. His sculptor's ques-

32. The Crucifixion from a book cover, 8th century A.D. Britain. National Institute of Ireland, Dublin.



918. *Salvatore's Relief*  
 Imported by the Patriarch of Aquileia  
 (1025–1030 or so) and probably carried  
 to 710–730 or so. Munich, about 117'.  
 Cathedral of Speyer, Christ, with  
 the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Spirit.



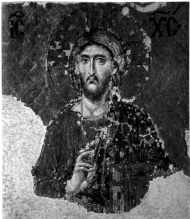
both are strange creatures! Indeed, all four of them have the same uncanny front legs, and their bodies consist of nothing but head, wings, and (except for the angel) a single spiral tail. Apparently he did not feel he was violating their dignity by forcing them into their circular frames in this Pre-Roman fashion. On the other hand, he had a well-developed sense of ornament: the panel as a whole, with its flat, symmetrical pattern, is as effective a piece of decoration, rather like an interlaced knot, as it may, in fact, have derived his design in part from Oriental sources (compare fig. 915).

## CAROLINGIAN ART

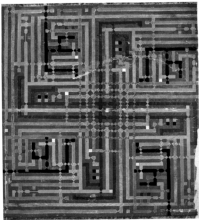
The simpler built by Charlemagne did not contain the long, *diagrammatic* divided lines from parts, and proved incapable of efficient rule even in those, not that political power resided in the local nobility. The cultural values of his reign, in contrast, have proved far more lasting; this way they would look different without them, for it is proved in letters whose shape derives from the script in Carolingian manuscripts. The fact that these letters are known today as Roman rather than Carolingian reveals another aspect of the cultural reform sponsored by Charlemagne: the collecting and copying of ancient Roman literature. The oldest surviving parts of a great many classical Latin authors are to be found in Carolingian manuscripts, which, until not very long ago, were mistakenly regarded as Roman, hence their lasting, too, was called Roman. This interest in preserving the classics was part of an ambitious attempt to restore ancient Roman civilization, along with the imperial rule. Charlemagne himself took an active hand in this work, through which he expected to impart the cultural traditions of a glorious past to the minds of the southwestern people of his realm. To an astonishing extent, he succeeded. Thus the "Carolingian revival" may

be termed the first—and in some ways the most important—phase of a general fusion of the Celtic-Germanic spirit with that of the Mediterranean world.

The first art phenomenon important to Charlemagne's cultural program from the very start, the two-volume *Book of Psalms*, he had become familiar with the architectural monuments of the Constantinian era in Rome and with those of the reign of Justinian in Ravenna, his ancestral seat. As a ruler, he felt, most powerfully the mastery of complex through buildings of an equally impressive kind, the famous Palace Chapel (fig. 919, left), in fact, directly inspired the St. Vitale (compare fig. 918–19). The great work is a structure on Ravenna soil was still understood as a common and known groups had to be imposed from Italy, and expert masons must have been brought back. The design, by Otto of Metz (probably the earliest architect north of the Alps known to us by name), is by no means a mere echo of St. Vitale but a vigorous reinterpretation, with pure and results of Roman masterpieces and a geometric clarity of the spatial units very different from the fluid space of the earlier structure. Equally significant is Otto's reform for the western provinces (now largely obscured by later additions and rebuilding): at St. Vitale, the exterior consists of a broad, unembellished surface with two main levels, at an odd angle to the main axis of the church, while at Aachen these elements have been melted into a full, compact unit, in line with the main axis and closely attached to the chapel proper. This monumental entrance structure, or westwork (from the German *Westwerk*), which makes use of its best recorded appearance here, contains the germ of the two-story facade feature found in many later medieval churches. Its even more elaborate work, formed part of the greatest basilican church of Carolingian times, that of the monastery of St. Riquier (also called Corbeil), near Amiens in northeastern France. It has been completely destroyed, but its design is known in detail from drawings and descriptions. The plan (fig. 921) shows several innovations that were to be-



Colophon by Basilios, Christ Pantocrator of a Deesis panel.  
14th century. Hagia Sophia, Istanbul



room of basic importance for the future: the westwork built into a medieval structure which is in effect a western narthex; the crossing (the area where the transepts intersect the nave) was converted to a tower, and the entire feature centered above the crossing of the eastern narthex, again with two round stair towers like those of the westwork. The apex, unlike that of Early Christian basilicas (see footnote 19, p. 142), is separated from the eastern narthex by a square compartment, called the choir. St. Apollinare was widely imitated in other Carolingian monastic churches, but these, too, have been destroyed or rebuilt in later times. A partial exception is the westwork of Corvey in northeastern Germany (fig. 102), which still conveys some impression of the St. Apollinare west-



101. Plan of the Abbey Church of St. Apollinare, Ravenna. Enlargement 195 x 105 after Hoffmann, 1920

work, although the tower has six square (the upper stories were added in the twelfth century).

The importance of monasteries, and their close link with the imperial court, are vividly suggested by a unique document of the period, the large drawing of a plan for a monastery presented in the Chapter Library at St. Gall in Switzerland (fig. 103). Its basic features seem to have been laid out upon its council held near Aachen in 816, and then this copy presented to the abbot of St. Gall for his guidance in rebuilding the monastery. We may regard it, therefore, as a standard plan, to be modified according to local needs. (Our reproduction renders the exact form of the original but omits the explanatory inscriptions.) The monastery is a complex, self-contained unit, complete



102. Interior of the Palace-Chapel of Charlemagne, Aachen. 195 x 105 x 105

103. Westwork of the Abbey Church of Corvey, Germany. 195 x 105 x 105



104. Reconstructed Plan of the Palace Chapel of Charlemagne

ing a message is not for you first. The main entrance way, from the west, passes between walls and a boundary around a gate which admits the visitor to a colonnaded semicircular passage flanked by two round towers, a sort of strong-walled courtyard that must have loomed impressively above the low walled buildings. In emphasizing the church as the center of the monastic community, the church is a feature, with a message and altar in the east but an apse and altar at either end. The nave and aisles, containing numerous other altars, do not form a single continuous space but are subdivided into compartments by aisles. There are numerous entrances, two beside the western apse, others on the north and south flanks. This entire arrangement reflects the functions of a monastic church, designed for the liturgical needs of the monks rather than for a lay congregation. Adjoining the church on the south is an enclosed cloister, around which are grouped the monks' dormitory (on the east side), a refectory and kitchen (on the south side), and a cellar. The three large buildings north of the church are a guest-house, a school, and the abbot's house. In the east are the infirmary, a chapelized quarters for services, the cemetery (marked by a large cross), a garden, and ranges for chickens and geese. The south side is occupied by workshops, farms, and other service buildings. There is, next to nothing, to immediately identify the three apses—west

in St. Gall the plan was not carried out as drawn—not its general layout conveyed an essential notion of the character of such establishments throughout the Middle Ages.

We know from literary sources that Carolingian churches contained monks, novices, and infirmarians, but these have disappeared almost entirely. Illuminated manuscripts, notes, and gentlemen's work, on the other hand, have survived in considerable numbers. They demonstrate the impact of the Carolingian revival more strongly than the architectural remains of the period. The famous Imperial Treasury in Vienna contains a gospel book said to have been found in the tomb of Charlemagne and, in any event, closely linked with his court at Aachen. As we look at the picture of St. Markers from that manuscript (fig. 202), we find it hard to believe that such a work could have been executed in northern Europe about the year 800: if it was not for the large golden halo, the Evangelist might almost be mistaken for a classical author's portrait like those of Minerva (fig. 203), painted at Pompeii almost eight centuries earlier. Whoever the artist was—Byzantine, Italian, or Frank—he chose himself fully conversant with the Roman tradition of painting, down to the sensitive treatment of the wide frame, which emphasizes the "window" aspect of the picture. The St. Markers represents the most colorful

202. Plan of a Monastery, Fragment of a Chapter Library, St. Gall, Switzerland







above: fol. 22a, St. Matthew from the *Gospel Book of Charlemagne*.  
c. 800–810, v.l. Reims; Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, France



above right: fol. 29v, *Annunciation* (miniature painting).  
c. 800–810; France; St. Matthew, Reims

right: fol. 10r, Mark from the *Gospel Book of Charlemagne* (fol. 10r).  
c. 800–810; France; St. Mark, Reims; Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, France



pages of the Carolingian revival, it is the visual content: part of copying the text of a classical work of literature, the text illuminates, distils two or three decades' work for the *Gospel Book of Charlemagne* (fol. 10r) of Reims (fig. 10r), shows the classical model translated into a Carolingian idiom. It must have been based on an evangelist's portrait of the same style as the St. Matthew, but here the entire picture is filled with a dense, almost abstract, swirling interpenetration: the drapery swirls about the figure, the hills leave upward, the vegetation seems to be torn apart by a whirlwind, and even the quill pen on the floor assumes a strange, bewilderment character. The Evangelist himself has been transformed from a Roman author writing down his own thoughts into a man seized with the frenzy of divine inspiration, an instrument for recording the Word of God. His gaze is fixed, not upon his book but upon the symbol (the winged lion with a scroll, which acts as the transmitter of the sacred Text). This dependence upon the Will of the Lord, so powerfully expressed here, marks the contrast between classical text and the medieval image of man: but the source of expression—the dynamism of him that distinguishes our literature from its predecessor—remains the persistent movement we found in the illumination of Irish manuscripts of the Dark Ages.

The Reims School also produced the most extant-

oldest of all Carolingian manuscripts, the *Ordo Prelii* (fig. 10r). It displays the style of the *Book of Reims* in an even more energetic form, since the entire book is illustrated with pen drawings. Here again the artist has followed a much older model, as indicated by the symbol-





348 The Gero Crucifix, a pine-wood car. Wood, height 11' 2". Cathedral, Cologne

ing Kings of England while other Norman nobles expelled the Saxons from Italy and the Byzantines from South Italy. In Germany, meanwhile, after the death of the last Carolingian monarch in 911, the center of political power had shifted north to Saxony. The Saxon king-empire-idea re-established an effective central government, and the greatest of them, *Otto*, showed real leadership in subduing the Chudomagan. After marrying the widow of Lothar II king, he extended his rule over most of Italy and led himself crowned emperor by the pope in 962. From then on the Holy Roman Empire was to be a German creation. Or perhaps we ought to call it a German dream, for Otto's successors were managed to consolidate their claims as sovereigns north of the Alps. Yet this dream had momentous consequences, since it led the German emperors into centuries of conflict with the pope and local Italian rulers, leading finally and finally to a fortunate relationship whose nature can be felt in the present day.

During the Ottonian period, from the mid-tenth century to the beginning of the eleventh, Germany was the leading nation of Europe, politically as well as artistically. German architecture is both more eager to re-visit of Carolingian traditions but more determined to re-visit original motifs. These are impressively brought home

to us if we compare the Christ on the cross of the Gero Crucifix with the more dynamic fig. 348 in the cathedral at Cologne. The two works are separated by little more than a hundred years' interval, but the contrast between them suggests a far greater span. In the Gero Crucifix we meet an image of the crucified Christ now in Western art: monumental in scale, carved in powerfully rounded forms, and filled with a deep concern for the sufferings of the Lord. Particularly striking is the forward lunge of the heavy body, which makes the physical strain of pain and devotion seem almost unbearably real. The face, with its deeply carved, angular features, fractured into a mask of agony, from which all life has fled. How did the Ottonian sculptor arrive at this startlingly bold conception? Was he not before his gesture by realising that the compassionate view of Christ in the Cross had been created in Byzantine art of the Second Golden Age (see fig. 282) and that the Gero Crucifix clearly derives from that source. Nor need we suppose that Byzantine influence should have been strong in Germany at that time, for Otto II had married a Byzantine princess, establishing a direct link between the two

349 Worms, St. Peter's, Cologne. Completed 1011-12.





190. Reconstructed Plan of St. Michael's in Antwerp, 1500-22 (after Baert)



191. Interior view toward the east, before World War II, St. Michael's, Antwerp

imperial courts. It remained for the Christian artist to translate the Byzantine image into large-scale sculptural terms and to replace its gaudy pattern with an expressive realism that has been the main strength of German art ever since.

Coligny was closely connected with the imperial house through St. Adolphus, Bishop, the brother of Otto I, who left a strong mark on the city through the numerous churches he built or rebuilt. His favorite among them, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Paulinus, became his burial place as well as that of the wife of Otto II. Only the monumental westwork (fig. 192) has retained its original shape essentially unchanged until modern times; we recognize it as a massive and well-proportioned monument to Carolingian westwork, with the characteristic tower over the crossing of the western

nave and a deep porch flanked by tall stair towers. The most ambitious pattern of architectural art in the Ottonian age, however, judged in terms of surviving works, was Bernward, who after having been one of the tutors of Otto III became Bishop of Hildesheim; the chief monument there is another Benedictine abbey church, St. Michael's. The plan (fig. 193), with its two aisles and lateral entrances, recalls the monastic church of the 10th cent. plan (fig. 191). But in St. Michael's the symmetry is carried much further: not only are there two identical transepts, with crossing towers and tall lantern-towers (St. Raphael, fig. 194), but the supported arcades, instead of being uniform, consist of pairs of columns separated by square piers. This alternating system divides the arcade into three equal units of three openings each; the four and eight units are correlated with the columns, thus achieving the aim of the transepts. Since, moreover, piers and nave are unusually wide in relation to their length, Bernward's intention must have been to achieve a harmonious balance between the longitudinal and transverse axis throughout the structure. The exterior, as well as the interior, of Bernward's church have been distinguished by the best sculpting, the execution of the working 192) with its great expense of wall space between arcade and lantern, represents the highest spatial feeling of the original design until the Second World War destroyed it in ruins. (The capitals of the columns date from the twelfth century, the painted wooden ceiling from the thirteenth.) The Bernwardian western choir, as reconstructed in our plan on the basis of recent studies, is particularly interesting. Its floor was calculated on the level of the rest of the church, so as to accommodate a half-subterranean baptismal chapel, or crypt, apparently a special sanctuary of St. Michael, which could be entered both from the transept and from the west. The crypt was reached by ground-level vestigial two rows of columns, and its walls were pierced by arched openings that linked it with the U-shaped corridor, or ambulatory, wrapped around it. This ambulatory must have been visible above ground, marking the exterior of the western choir, since there were windows in its outer wall. Each crypt with ambulatory, usually forming the western ends of a nave, had been introduced into the territory of western church architecture during Carolingian times; the Bernwardian design made use for its large scale and its carefully planned integration with the rest of the building.

How much importance Bernward himself attached to the crypt at St. Michael's can be gathered from the fact that he commissioned a pair of finely sculptured bronze doors which were probably meant for the two entrances leading from the transept to the ambulatory (they were finished in 1023, the year the crypt was constructed). The date may have come to him as a result of his visit to Rome, where he could see ancient Roman—and perhaps Byzantine—bronze doors. The Bernwardian doors, however, differ from their predecessors; they are divided into broad horizontal fields rather than vertical panels, and



Fig. 12. Adam and Eve  
Surrender to the Lord,  
from the Bruges Chapter  
of the Book of Hours for  
St. Margaret's, early 15th cent.,  
Brussels, Belgium

each field contains a biblical scene in high relief. One level (Fig. 12) shows Adam and Eve after the Fall; below it, in raised letters remarkably for their classical Roman character, is part of the didacticary inscription, with the date and Bernard's name. In these figures we find nothing of the monumental spirit of the *Bevo-Curja*—they were the smaller than they actually are, nor that one might easily mistake them for a pair of golden-cow workers like the *Udder-Speghel* cow (compare plate 10). The entire composition must have been derived from an illuminated manuscript, the subtly textured two-stipitation having a good deal of the feeling, having movement so small from both miniatures. Yet the story is conveyed with splendid dramatic and expressive force. The swirling finger of the Lord, seen against a great wall of black surface, is the focal point of the drama. It points to a living Adam, who poses the theme in his mass, while she, in turn, poses it in the response of her face.

The same intensity of gesture and gesture characterizes Christian manuscript painting, which made Carolingian and Byzantine elements into a new style of extraordinary scope and power. The most important center of manuscript illumination within time was the *Udder-Speghel* monastery, as an island in the lake of Canaan. Perhaps its finest achievement—and one of the great manuscripts of medieval art—is the *Book of Hours* (Fig. 13), from which we reproduce two full-page miniatures (compare pgs. 14-15). The scene of Christ teaching the feet of St. Peter contains brilliant values of ancient painting, transmitted through Byzantine art; the soft pastel tones of the background recall the discussion of Chinese-Roman landscapes, and the architectural forms around Christ is a late demonstration of such architectural perspective as the mural from Bruges (see Fig. 12). These three elements have been transformed by the Christian artistic vision through

but he has also put them in a new one, so that what was once an architectural vista now becomes the Heavenly City, the House of the Lord filled with golden idealized space as against the atmospheric earthly space without.

The figures have undergone a similar transformation: in actual art, this composition had been used to represent a doctor treating a patient. Now St. Peter takes the place of the sufferer, and Christ that of the physician (note that He is still the bearded young philosopher type here). As a consequence, the emphasis has shifted from physical to spiritual action, and this new kind of action is scarcely conveyed through gesture and posture, it also governs the make of things: Christ and St. Peter, the most active figures, are larger than the rest; Christ's "active" arm is longer than the "passive" one; and the eight disciples who merely watch have been compressed into a tiny space, so that we can take more than their eyes and hands. The other ministers, the pointing of St. Luke, is a symbolic image of overreaching gesture. Unlike his Carolingian predecessor, the Evangelist is no longer shown writing; his Gospel has completed on his top, transferred to two tablets, he holds aloft a huge cluster of clouds from which tongues of light radiate in every direction. Within it we see his symbol, the ox, surrounded by five Old Testament prophets and an entire circle of angels. At the bottom, two hands hold the life-giving waters that spring from beneath the Evangelist's feet. The key to the entire design is the inscription: Peter passes down his apostolic order—"From the source of the fountains the we bring forth a flow of water for the lands"—that is, St. Luke makes the prophet's message of salvation explicit for the faithful. The Christian artist has truly "transmuted" the meaning of this rare and elegant phrase by translating it into such compelling visual terms.

### 3. Romanesque Art

Looking back over the ground we have covered in this book so far, a thoughtful reader will be struck by the fact that almost all of our chapter headings and subheadings might serve equally well for a general history of civilization. Some are based on technology (i.e., the Stone Age), others on geography, ethnicity, religion (whatever the source, they have been borrowed from other fields, even though in our context they also designate artistic styles). There are only two important exceptions to this rule: Ancient and Classical are primarily terms of style. They refer to questions of form rather than to the settings in which those forms were created. Why don't we have more terms of this sort? We do, as we shall see—but only for the art of the past 100 years. The men who first conceived the idea of viewing the history of art as an evolution of styles, started out with the conviction that art in the ancient world developed toward a single climax: Greek art from the age of Pericles to that of Alexander the Great. This style they called *Classical* (or *ancient*, *perfect*). Everything that came before was labeled *barbaric*, to indicate that it was wild, old-fashioned and tradition-bound, non-post-Classical but striving in the right direction, while the style of post-Classical times did not deserve a special term since it had no positive qualities of its own, being merely an echo or a decadence of Classical art. The early formation of medieval art followed a similar pattern; to them, the great climax was the Gothic style, from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth. For whatever was non-post-Gothic they adopted the label Romanesque. In doing so, they were thinking mainly of architecture: post-Gothic churches, they noted, were round-arched, solid, and heavy; in contrast the pointed arches and the soaring lightness of Gothic structures, rather like the ancient Roman style of building, and the term Romanesque was meant to convey just that. In this sense, all of medieval art before 1200, insofar as it shows any link with the Mediterranean tradition, could be called Romanesque. Some scholars speak of medieval art before Charlemagne as pre-Romanesque, and of Carolingian and Ottonian art proper as early Romanesque, and they are right in the sense that Romanesque art proper (that is, medieval art between c. 1100 and 1200) could be unthinkable without the contributions of those earlier styles. On the other hand, if we follow this practice we are likely to be less than justice to those qualities that make the art of the Dark Ages and of Carolingian and Ottonian times different from the Romanesque.

Carolingian art, as we will see, was thought of as being by Charlemagne and his circle, as part of a conscious

revival policy; even after his death, it remained strongly linked with the court. Ottonian art, too, had this imperial sponsorship, and a correspondingly narrow base. The Romanesque, in contrast, spanning all over western Europe at about the same time, is made of a large variety of regional styles, almost just closely related in many ways, and without a central source. In this respect, it resembles the art of the Dark Ages rather than the court styles that had preceded it, although it includes the Carolingian-Ottonian tradition along with a great many other, less clearly traceable ones, such as Late Classical, Early Christian, and Byzantine elements, some Islamic influences, and the Late-Romanic heritage. What welded all these different components into a coherent style during the second half of the eleventh century was not any single force from a variety of factors that made for a new beginning of unity throughout the West. Christianity had triumphed everywhere in Europe; the Vikings, still largely pagan in the ninth and tenth centuries when their raids ravaged the British Isles and the Continent, had entered the Catholic fold, not only in Normandy but in Scandinavia as well; the Caliphs of Cordova had disintegrated in 1031 into many small Muslim states, opening the way for the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula; and the Magyars had settled down in Hungary. There was a growing spirit of religious enthusiasm, reflected in the greatly increased pilgrimage traffic to sacred sites and veneration, from that on, in the practice of liberate the Holy Land from Muslim rule. Equally important was the reopening of Mediterranean trade routes by the mariners of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa; the revival of commerce and manufacturing; and the corresponding growth of city life. During the second of the early Middle Ages, the ruins of the Western Roman Empire had shrunk greatly in size (the population of Rome, about one million in 500 A.D., fell to less than 100,000 at one point); some were deserted altogether. From the eleventh century on, they began to regain their former importance. New towns sprang up everywhere, and an urban middle class of craftsmen and merchants established itself between the peasantry and the landed nobility as an important factor in medieval society. In many respects, then, western Europe between 1100 and 1200 became a great deal more "Romanesque" than it had been since the sixth century, incorporating some of the international trade patterns, the urban quality, and the military strength of ancient imperial times. The central political authority was lacking, to be sure (even the Empire of the East did not extend much farther west than medi-

and Germany should feel the central spiritual authority of the pope took its place in command as a world power. The international army that responded to Urban II's call for the First Crusade was more powerful than anything a secular ruler could have raised for the purpose.

## ARCHITECTURE

The most conspicuous difference between Romanesque architecture and that of the preceding centuries is the amazing increase in building activity. An eleventh-century monk, Raoul Glaber, summed it up well when he triumphantly declared that the world was passing on to "white months of churches." These churches were not only more numerous than those of the early Middle Ages, they were also generally larger, more richly equipped, and more "Roman-looking," for their roofs were laid with masonry instead of wooden rafters, and their windows, unlike those of Early Christian, Byzantine, Carolingian, and Ottonian churches, were decorated with both architectural ornament and sculpture. Conceptually, Romanesque monuments of the first importance are distributed over an area that might well have represented the whole—the Catholic world, that is—in Raoul Glaber's time: northern Spain to the Rhineland, from the Scottish-English border to central Italy. The richest area, the greatest variety of regional types, and the most abundant sites are to be found in France. If we add to this group those destroyed or damaged buildings whose original design is known to us through archaeological research, we have a wealth of architectural evidence unparalleled by any previous era. Let us begin our sampling—it cannot be more than that—with St. Sernin, in the southern French town of Toulouse (figs. 222-223), one of a group of great churches of the "pilgrimage type,"<sup>1</sup> so called because they were built along the route leading to the pilgrimage center of Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain. The plan immediately strikes us as very much more complex and carefully integrated than those of earlier structures such as St. Raphael, or St. Michael's at Hildesheim (figs. 120, 121). Still, it is an emphatic Latin cross, with the extent of spicing at the eastern end. Clearly, this church was not designed to serve a monastic community only but filled St. Sernin's in France to accommodate large numbers of lay worshippers in its long nave and transept. The nave is flanked by two sides on either side, the inner side continuing around the arms of the transept and the outer and thus forming a complete ambulatory circuit throughout the two corners of the west façade. The ambulatory, we will recall, had developed as a feature of the circle of monastic churches (as at St. Michael's); now it has emerged completely above ground, linked with the sides of nave and transept, and punctuated with apical chapels that seem to radiate from the apse and continue along the eastern face of the transept. (Apse, ambulatory, and

radiating chapels form a unit known as the pilgrimage choir.) The plan also shows that the sides of St. Sernin are groin-vaulted throughout. This, in conjunction with the features already noted, imparts a high degree of regularity upon the entire design: the sides are made up of square bays, which serve as a basic unit, or module, for the other dimensions, so that the nave and transept have equal two each corner, the crossing and the chapels between front units (to the exterior, the left ambulatory is further enhanced by the different roof levels that set off the nave and transept against the nave and outer sides, the apse, the ambulatory, and the radiating chapels); by the buttresses reinforcing the walls between the windows, so as to contain the outward thrust of the

222. Plan of St. Sernin, Toulouse, a little over a mile from Cahors.



223. St. Sernin, Toulouse (interior view).





194. Nave and Choir, St. Jean, Toulouse

results by the decorative framing of windows and portals, and by the great crossing tower/complex in earlier times and later than originally intended. The nave bays, even, unfortunately, have remained simple. As we enter the nave, we get impressed with its tall proportions, the architectural elaboration of the nave walls, and the dim, indirect lighting, all of which create a sensitive, very different from the simple and more interior of St. Michael's, with its simple and clearly repeated "blocks" of space (see fig. 193). The contrast between the two structures is such as to make the nave walls of St. Michael's look like Christ's (see fig. 192), while those of St. Jean's seem more able to attract such as the Colosseum (see fig. 195). The system of ancient Roman architecture—walls, arches, engaged columns, and piers—has been brought together into a coherent order—but indeed has reappeared here to a remarkable degree, yet the focus, whose intention is expressed in the nave of St. Jean, are no longer the physical, "monumental" forms of Roman-Roman architecture but spiritual forces—spiritual forms of the kind we have seen governing the Roman body in Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures. The half-columns running the entire length of the nave wall would appear just as unostentatiously downcast as an ancient Roman pediment on the nave of Christ in coronation 19. They seem to be almost spread by

some tremendous, unseen pressure, tending to meet the transverse arches that subdivide the barrel vault of the nave. Their intensely repeated rhythm graphs us toward the center end of the church, with its light-filled apse and ambulatory (now obscured by a huge altar of later date). In thus describing our experience we do not, of course, mean to suggest that the architect consciously set out to achieve this effect. His line, beauty and engineering were inseparable. Vaulting the nave so as to obscure the flat barrel of a wooden roof was not only a practical aim; it also challenged him to make the thrust of the Lomb' greater and more impressive. And since a vault becomes the more difficult to contain the further it is from the ground, he strained every resource to make the nave as tall as he dared. He had, however, to sacrifice the choirstory for safety's sake. Instead, he built galleries over the inner aisles, so that the lateral pressure of the nave vault, hoping that enough light would filter through them into the central space, St. Jean's nave is owed to the architect, like politics, is "the art of the possible," and that its success, both in structure, is measured by the degree to which the architect has explored the limits of what was possible to him under those particular circumstances, structurally and aesthetically.

The builders of St. Jean's would have been the first to admit that their attempt to the problem of the nave vault was not a final one, impressive though it is in its own terms. The architect of Hirsau's arrived at a more elegant solution, as evidenced by the Cathedral of Hirsau (fig. 196), where the galleries are replaced by a blind arcade (blind = without a window, since it often has three openings per bay) and a choirstory. What made this three-story elevation possible was the use of the pointed arch for the nave vault, which produced a thrust more easily downward than outward. For reasons of harmony, the pointed arch also appears in the nave arcade (it had probably reached France from Islamic architecture, where it had been employed for some time). Again, too, seems close to stretching the limits of the possible. For the upper part of the nave wall shows a slight but perceptible outward lean under the pressure of the vault, a warning against any further attempts to increase the height of the choirstory or to reduce the aisles.

A third alternative, with almost all its own, appears in the west of France, in such churches as that of St. Sernin-in-Chateaup (fig. 197). The nave vault here holds the relieving arches, since it was meant to offer a continuous surface for mosaic (see page 198 for this topic, the limit of its limit). Its great weight rests directly on the nave arcade, which is supported by a regular set of columns. Yet the nave is fairly well lit, for the two sides are vaulted almost to the same height, and their outer walls have generously sized windows. At the eastern end of the nave, there is a pilgrimage shrine—happily constructed in this case—beyond the crossing tower.

The nave and sides of "half churches" are covered by





a single row, as at St-Savin. The nave bays, too, tend to be low and wide, and may become a richly sculptured screen. That of Santa Maria la Grande in Florence (1180, the west front St-Savin), is particularly noteworthy in this respect, with its elaborately bearded scrolls forming large seated or standing figures. A wide band of relief carvings across the bays on either side of the doorway, which is deeply recessed and framed by a series of arches resting on sturdy columns. Tall bunches of columns between the bays, whose central belfries match the height of the gables in the apse (which rises above the actual height of the roof behind it). The sculptural program spread out over this entire area is a visual expression of Christian doctrine that is as huge (as the apse) as well as the mind.

Further north, in Normandy, the west facade evolved in an entirely different direction. That of the abbey church of St-Etienne at Caen (fig. 126), founded by William the Conqueror a year or two after his invasion of England, offers a striking contrast with Notre-Dame-la-Grande. Decoration here is minimalist, four huge buttresses divide the front of the church into three central sections, and the vertical impact continues triumphantly in the two splendid towers, whose height would be impressive enough even without the tall Early Gothic belfries. The interior is equally remarkable, but in order to understand its importance we must first turn to the extraordinary develop-

Figure 125. Choir (in color) and West front, 1180-1190, St. Stephen's Cathedral



ment of Anglo-Norman architecture in Britain during the last quarter of the eleventh century. The most ambitious product is the Cathedral of Durham (fig. 126, 127's last words of the French text), begun in 1093. Though somewhat more eastern in plan, it has a nave one third wider than St-Savin, and a greater overall length (240 feet), which places it among the largest churches of medieval Europe. The nave may have been designed to be visited from the east, and the west end is modern and had been completed by 1377. The rest of the nave, following the same pattern, is 1377. The result is of great interest, for it represents the earliest systematic use of a central ground vault over a three-story nave, and this marks a basic advance beyond the solution we saw at Caen. Looking at the plan, we see that the side aisle consists of the usual groin-vaulted compartments, clearly supporting a square, while the base of the nave, separated by strong transverse arches, are decidedly strong and groin-vaulted in such a way that the side form a double-arch design, dividing the nave into seven sections rather than the conventional four. Since the nave bays are twice

as long as the side bays, the transverse arches occur only at the odd-numbered piers of the nave arcade, and the piers themselves alternate in size, the larger ones being of composite design (that is, bundles of columns and pilasters shafts attached to a square or oblong core), the others cylindrical. Perhaps the easier way to visualize the origin of this peculiar system is to imagine that the architect wanted not to design a barrel-vaulted nave, with galleries over the sides, and without a clerestory, as at St.-Léonard, but with the transverse reinforcing arches spaced more widely. As he was designing, he realized that he could have a clerestory when all of the barrel vaults of each nave bay were intersected by two transverse barrel vaults of oval shape; the result would be a pair of "barrel-plus-transverse" vaults, and the ends of the transverse barrel vaults could become the clerestory, since the outward thrust and the weight of the whole vault would be concentrated at six securely anchored points on the gallery level. The ribs, of course, were necessary to provide a stable skeleton for the glassed vault, so that the curved surfaces between them could be filled in with masonry of minimum thickness, thus reducing both weight and thrust. We do not know whether this ingenious scheme was actually implemented at Durham, but it could not have been created much earlier, for it is still in an experimental stage, while the transverse arches of the crossing are

Fig. 120 West Front, Notre-Dame de Grande-Porte, Poitiers. Early 12th century.



Fig. 121 West Front, St.-Etienne, Caen. Begun c. 1150.

round, those to the west of it are slightly pointed, indicating a continuous search for improvements in detail. Architecturally, the nave at Durham is among the finest in all European architecture: the vaulted-bay structure of the alternating piers makes a splendid contrast with the dramatically lighted, vaulted surfaces of the vault.

Little now remains in the interior of St.-Etienne of the 12th century. The nave, it seems, had originally been planned with galleries and clerestory, and a wooden ceiling. After the experience of Durham, it became possible, in the early twelfth century, to build a pointed nave vault in stone, with only slight modifications of the wall design, but the bays of the nave here are approximately square, so that the pointed rib piers could be replaced by a single *fl* with an additional transverse rib (Fig. 122), producing a pointed vault of six sections instead of seven. That square vaults are no longer supported by heavy transverse arches but by single ribs—another saving in

design which, besides, gives a stronger sense of continuity to the nave vault as a whole and makes for a less emphatic alternating system of piers. Compared to Chartres, the nave of St-Etienne strikes an impression of grandeur, any lightness directly akin to the quality of the Gothic choir that was added in the thirteenth century. And structurally, too, we have here reached the point where Romanesque merges into Early Gothic.

In the time when the Norman and Anglo-Norman constructed their earliest ribbed groined nave vaults, the same problem was being explored in Lombardy, where ecclesiastical life had once again grown large and prosperous. Lombard Romanesque architecture was both modified and inspired by a continuous building tradition reaching back to Roman and Early Christian times and including

the monuments of Ravenna. We meet this as we approach one of its most venerable and important structures, S. Ambrogio in Milan (fig. 342, 343), in a site that had been occupied by a church since the fourth century. The present building was begun in the late eleventh century, except for the apse and southern tower, which date from the twelfth. The basic exterior, though more ornate and far more monumental, recalls the proportions and the geometric simplicity of the Ravennate churches (compare figs. 275, 282). Upon entering the atrium, we are welcomed by the severely handsome loggia, with its deeply recessed arcades. Just beyond it are two bell towers, separate structures just touching the outer walls of the church. We find here a novel touch of this kind—probably the earliest surviving example of the south or north transept—as the north side of S. Ambrogio in Milan (fig. 342), most of its monuments are square, but the traditions of the free-standing belltower, or campanile, remained so strong in Italy that they hardly ever became an integral part of the church proper. The nave of S. Ambrogio, like most found in some two feet wider than that at Chartres, consists of four square bays separated by strong transverse walls. There is no transept, but the monument must lay out as a rectangular domed crossing tower or lantern. This was an afterthought, and we can easily see why, for the nave has no sanctuary and the windows of the lantern provide badly needed illumination.

342. Plan of Chartres Cathedral, 1194-1195 (after Cousens)



343. Nave (looking east), Chartres Cathedral



342. Nave (looking east), St. Ambrogio, Milan



As in Durham or Caen, there is an alternating series of nave piers, most the length of each nave bay except that of (two side bays); the latter are groin-vaulted, like the first floor of the nave bays, and support galleries. The nave vaults, however, differ significantly from their north-



ern counterparts. Constructed of brick and rubble, in a technique reminiscent of Roman grained masonry such as those in the Basilica of Constantine, they are a good deal heavier; the diagonal ribs, moreover, form true light-screens (as Durham and Caen, they are buttresses), so that the vaults due to a groin considerably above the transept were unified. This provides a domed effect and gives each bay the appearance of a separate entity, apart from further increasing the weight of the walls. In a smaller scale, the Wittensau archway might have attempted a choir-vault instead of galleries, but the span of the nave was determined by the width of the tenth-century apse, and he shared with his patrons a taste for ample interior proportions like those of Early-Christian basilicas (compare octagonal crypt instead of an irregular height and light as his Norman contemporaries did). Under these circumstances, he saw no reason to take risks by experimenting with non-conventional shapes and lighter construction, so that described grained vault in Lombardy remained conservative and more approached the proto-Gothic stage.

German Romanesque architecture, centered in the Rhineland, was equally conservative, although its conservation reflects the persistence of Carolingian-Christian rather than earlier traditions. Its finest achievement, the Imperial Cathedral of Speyer, began about 1030, but not completed until more than a hundred years later, has a framework (here identified by a modern reconstruction) and an equally monumental grouping of arched barrel and panted slab towers at the eastern end (fig. 245). The architectural detail derives from Lombardy, using a heavy

above: 242. St. Ambrogio, Milan.  
Lower north and south aisles.

opposite: 245. Interior,  
St. Ambrogio, Milan.





121. Speyer Cathedral  
Given the north (beginning)

of German imperial cathedrals (except St. Ambrogio), but the tall proportions are northern, and the scale is no less so. In dwarf every other church of the period. The nave, one-third taller and wider than that of Toulous, has a generous diameter, since it was planned for a wooden roof. In the early twelfth century, it was divided into square bays and covered with heavy, vaulted gothic cathedrals in the Lombard rather than the Norman type.

The impressive eastern end of Speyer Cathedral is added to a number of churches of the Rhine Valley and the Low Countries in the Cathedral of Toulous (fig. 122). It covers three, at other end of the temple—the most remarkable example of a Romanesque cathedral in Romanesque architecture. Originally, there were to have been three more: two at the west facade (later reduced to one) and two flanking the eastern apse (replaced by a large Gothic choir). Each multiple tower had been firmly established in medieval church design north of the Alps since the time of Charlemagne (see fig. 120), although few examples were ever finished and even fewer have survived. Whatever their practical functions (as stair towers, bell towers, or watchtowers), their popularity was hardly to be accounted for on this basis. In a way not easily explained today, they expressed medieval man's relation to the supernatural, as the pinnacles had done for the ancient Mesopotamians (the story of the Tower of Babel always fascinated the Middle Ages). Perhaps their symbolic meaning is best illustrated by a "rose tower." A century even had a square with the people of



122. Toulous Cathedral, West 1100-11, through mid-twelfth c. (1174-1182)



109. (a) Pisa Cathedral with Baptistry and Campanile, 1093-1118

above: (a) Interior, Pisa Cathedral

109. (b) Baptistry, Florence c.1050-1070

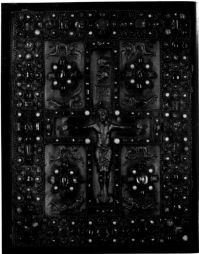
a nearby town, led by their bishop. He finally fell siege to the town, captured it, and, to express his triumph and humiliate his enemies, he topped the top off their cathedral tower. Eventually, loss of tower meant loss of face, towers being architectural symbols of strength, power, and authority.

The most famous tower of all, however, owes its success to an accident. It is the Leaning Tower of Pisa (or, more precisely, the campanile of Pisa Cathedral, which began to construct its present angle, because of poor foundations, years before it was finished (fig. 109) more than 50 years in slightly lean). The tower forms part of a magnificent ensemble on an open site north of the city that includes the Cathedral and the crypted, ground Baptistry to the west of it. They represent the most ambitious monuments of the Tuscan Romanesque, reflecting the wealth and pride of the city republic of Pisa. For more than Lombardy, with its strong northward connections, Tuscany retained an awareness of its classical heritage throughout the Middle Ages. This plan of Pisa Cathedral is essentially that of an Early Christian basilica, substituted into a Latin cross by the addition of two transept arms that resemble smaller basilicas in themselves, with apses of their own; the crossing is marked by a dome but the rest of the church is wooden-roofed except for the sides (east in the nave, two in the transept arms), which have groined vaults. The interior (fig. 109) has somewhat taller proportions than an Early Christian





Exemplos 25. Apocryphal: Herald of St. Mark, from the *Schwarzwald Tapisserie*.  
About 1000 A.D. (Schwarzwald Tapisserie, Rega)



*Excerpt 46. Embellishment, Upper Cover of the Binding of the Lindisfarne Gospels. About 1000 A.D.  
Gold and jewels. (10 1/2" x 10 1/2") The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*





90. *Agatha, c. 1100.*  
St. Francis, Florence



91. *South Portal figures, St. Peter's,*  
Rome, Early 14th century

basilica, because there are galleries over the aisles, as well as a transept, yet the splendid line of classical columns supporting the nave and side aisles inevitably recall early Roman structures as St. Paul Outside the Walls (see fig. 184). Pisa Cathedral and its companion are classified entirely as white marble (aided with horizontal stripes and occasional panels of dark green marble). This practice, familiar from Imperial Roman times, survived for many centuries only in central Italy during the Middle Ages. On the exterior, it is combined with blind arcades and galleries, producing a basilica rich with texture and color very different from the austere simple Early Christian structures. But then the time had long passed when it might be thought inadequate for a church to complete without the splendid splendor of classical temples.

In Florence, which was to outstrip Pisa commercially and artistically, the greatest achievement of the Tuscan Romanesque is the Baptistry (fig. 142) opposite the west

façade of the Cathedral, a domed octagonal structure of impressive size. Here the marble painting follows more geometric lines, and the blind arcades are extraordinarily classical in proportion and detail. The entire building, in fact, reads as classical as air that the Florentines themselves came to believe, a few hundred years later, that it had originally been a temple of Mars. And even before the postwar years its date has not yet been called to everyone's satisfaction. We shall have to return to this Baptistry a number of times, since it was destined to play an important role in the Renaissance.

## SCULPTURE

The arrival of monumental stone sculpture is even more astonishing than the architectural achievement of the Romanesque era, since neither Carolingian nor Ottonian

architectural sculpture is distinctive in this direction. Free-standing statues, as well as wall, all but disappeared from Western art after the fifth century; almost total survival only in the form of architectural ornament or surface decoration, even the depths of the carving indicating a minimum. Thus the only continuous sculptural tradition in early medieval art was that of sculpture-in-recesses: small niches, and occasional statues, in metal or ivory. Otherwise art, in works such as the bronze doors of Bishop Bernward (see fig. 324), had enlarged the scale of this tradition before its split; and its truly large-scale sculptural efforts, represented by the impressive Gero Crucifix (fig. 328) were limited almost entirely to wood. What little stone carving there was in western Europe before the mid-thirteenth century hardly went beyond the artistic and technical level of the Sigmund relief (fig. 325).

Fifty years later, the situation had changed dramati-

cally. Just when and where the revival of stone sculpture began we cannot say with accuracy, but if any one area has a claim to priority it is southwestern France and northern Spain, along the pilgrimage route leading to Santiago de Compostela. The link with the pilgrimage traffic seems logical enough, for architectural sculpture, especially when applied to the exterior of a church, is meant to appeal to the lay wanderer rather than to the members of a closed monastic community. Like Romanesque architecture, the rapid development of stone sculpture between 1100 and 1200 reflects the growth of religious fervor among the lay population in the decades before the First Crusade. St.-Bernard or Fontevraud remains several important examples probably carved about 1160, including the apse in figure 326. This panel is now in the ambulatory; its original location remains uncertain—perhaps it decorated the front of an altar. Be that as it may, the figure (which is somewhat more than half life-size) was not intended for viewpoint close range only. Its impressive bulk and weight “vary” over a considerable distance. The emphasis on massive sculptural form at what may well have been the main impulse behind the revival of large-scale sculpture: a stone-carved image, being weighty and thus dimensional, is far more “real” than a painted one. To the mind’s eye alone, cramped by the obstructions of things, this might seem irrelevant, or even dangerous. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, writing in 1145, denounced the sculptured decoration of churches as a vain folly and diversion that tempt us “to look at the marble rather than to our books.” He was a voice not very much heeded, however, for the unsophisticated



about 1100. East Portal, South Portal. St.-Paderborn, Germany (the right of the doorways, bottom left, is modern)

1140-1150. East Judgment (detail, west tympanum, Assisi Cathedral) c. 1190-1200





120. *The Mission of the apostles*, tympanum of the eastern portal of the cathedral, the Madeleine, Vézelay, 1120-30

system, one large piece of sculpture inevitably had something of the quality of an idol, and it was this very fact that gave it such great appeal. But let us return to the apostles from St. Germain. Where have we seen its like before? The vitality of the forms has a strongly classical air, indicating that our artist must have had a close look at late Roman sculpture (of which there are considerable remains in southern France). The design as a whole, on the other hand—the intense dynamism of the figures, its placement in the architectural frame—derives from a Byzantine source, in all likelihood an ivory panel descended from the *Archangel Michael* in figure 106. Yet in adopting such a composition, the carver of our relief has also confined it to the niche in a real cavity, the face a round, three-fingered cap, the body arched and blanketed. Our apostle has, in fact, much the same dignity and stiffness as the sculpture of Nicodemus Cooper.

Another important early center of Romanesque sculpture was the abbey at Moissac, some distance north of Toulouse. The eastern portal of its church, carved a generation later than the apostles from St. Germain, displays a richness of invention that would have made St. Bernard wince. In figure 121 we see the magnificent tympanum (the eastern part supporting the roof) and the western jamb. Both have a sculpted profile—apparently a lot of Moslem influence (see fig. 101)—and the shafts of the bell-turrets applied to piers and columns below (the sculpted piers as if they had been squared from a giant tree-trunk). Human and animal forms are treated with

121. *The-tympanum* (detail of fig. 120)





fig. 120. North facade, Portal, St. Albans Abbey, Second quarter of 12th century



fig. 121. West facade, Abbey, West (David) c. 1140-50, West facade, Abbey of Clairvaux

the same inevitable flexibility, so that the upright Prophet on the right of the eastern corner perfectly adapted to his prescribed position (as he, too, has been fitted into the wall-space outlined). He even remains free to cross his legs in a familiar movement and converse his head toward the interior of the church as he unfolds his word. But what of the crossed legs that form a symmetrical shape on the face of the mosaic—do they have a meaning? So far as we know, they simply “animate” the study as the intersecting fronts of two mountains (below demonstrates they are) and indicate the compartments assigned to them. In manuscript illumination, this quality had never died out; our sculpture has undoubtedly been influenced by it, just as the upright movement of the Prophet has its ultimate origin in miniature painting (see fig. 31c). The crossed legs, however, reflect another source as well: we find them in Persian miniatures (although not in this corner-like formation), whence they can be traced back to the crossed animals of ancient Near Eastern art (see figs.

79, 111). Yet we cannot fully account for their presence at Moissac in terms of their effectiveness as ornament. They belong to a variety of usage or numerous occasions in Romanesque art that retain their decorative vitality even though they are compelled—like our figure—to perform a supporting function. Christological images may be seen in figs. 154 and 158.) Their purpose is thus not merely decorative but expressive; they embody dark forces that have been domesticated into quietude by rest or fastened to a position that holds them fixed for all eternity, however much they may seek to improve.

The portal proper at Moissac is presided by a deep porch, with heavily arched ribs. On the east flank (fig. 152) we see, within the arches, the Annunciation and Visitation, as well as the Adoration of the Magi (other scenes from the early life of Christ are shown on the flanking arches). Here we find the same three books, the same elegant pattern we saw in the Prophet on the eastern corner (especially the wonderful play of hands in the Vir-

nature and dimensionally only the proportions of the bodies and the size of the figures vary with the architectural position. What matters is the violence of the movement, rather than consistency of movement.

The tympanum (the lunette above the door) of the main portal of Romanesque churches is usually given over to a composition centered on the Endowment's trial, most often the Agony in the Garden or the Last Judgment, the most awesome scene of Christian art. At Saint-Caprais, the latter subject has been combined with singular expressive force. The detail (fig. 10) shows part of the right half of the tympanum, with the weighing of the souls. At the bottom, the dead rise from their graves in fear and trembling; some are already torn by snakes or gripped by bugs, chaotic hordes. Above, their fate cruelly hangs in the balance, with devils yanking at one end of the scale and angels at the other. The saved clutching the children to the feet of the eagle's goddess for salvation, while the condemned are sent by grimacing devils into the mouth of Hell. These devils bring the same nightmarish imagination we encounter in the Romanesque animal world; they are composite creatures, human in general outline but with pellets, bird-like legs, hairy thighs, bats, goat-like ears, and monstrous, savage mouths. But their violence, unlike that of the animal monsters, is unbridled: they enjoy themselves in the fall to their grim conquest. No reason, having "read in the marble" how the apocalyptic beasts would feel to enter the church but a monstrous spirit.

Perhaps the most beautiful of all Romanesque tympanums is that of Vézelay, and for those Agony in the Garden (fig. 102). Its subject, the Mission of the Apostles, had a special meaning for this age of crosses, since it

proclaims the duty of every Christian to spread the Gospel to the ends of the earth. From the hands of the apostles ascending Christ we see the signs of the Holy Spirit pouring down upon the apostles, all of them equipped with signs of the kingdom in token of their mission. The feast and the temptations around the central group are filled with representations of the human world, a veritable encyclopedia of medieval anthropology which includes all sorts of superstitions (fig. 103). On the ar-



above: 101. Romanesque Lion Capital of Saint Mark, Venice  
 (see also Museum, Appendix)  
 In: Berlin, 1898

left: 102. Lion Capital of Saint Mark, Venice  
 (see also Museum, Appendix)  
 In: Berlin, 1898



(left) *Woman*, Milan, c. 1320, 10 1/2 inches (height 7 1/2). Giovanni Stanetti (right) *Woman*, London (from Copyright Rembrandt)

diverts the archaizing the symposium to recognize the signs of the artist and the fabric appropriate to every month of the year, to indicate that the preaching of the Faith is an individualized time as it is in space.

The portal sculpture of *Woman*, *Wings*, and *Wings*, although varied in style, has many qualities in common: intense expression, unbridled features, and a nervous agility of form that contributes to manuscript illumination and manuscript than to the sculptural tradition of antiquity. The figure from St. Martin, in contrast, had inspired us with its sturdy "Woman" figure. The influence of classical movements is particularly strong in the Provençal, the central region of southwestern France (which had been part of the Franco-Roman world for longer than the rest of the country and in fact of spiritual Roman remains as well as in Italy. Perhaps for this reason, the Romanesque style persisted longer in these areas than elsewhere. Looking at the corner portal of the church at St.-Clément-de-la-Rive (fig. 10), one of the great masterpieces of Romanesque art, we are struck immediately by the classical flavor of the architectural framework, with its fine-standing columns, consistent patterns, and body surface treatment. The two large windows, carved almost in the round, have a sense of weight and volume akin to that of the figure from St. Martin, although, being half a century later in date, they also display the richness of detail we have observed in the intervening movements. They stand on brackets supported by crocheting bands of papyrus, and these, too, show

a Roman mandorla, while the small figures on the base of the arches recall the style of Mosaic. The two statues at St.-Clément are also in the splendid style of King David from the facade of Pistoia Cathedral in Lombardy (fig. 12), by Benedetto Antonicelli, the greatest sculptor of Italian Romanesque art. That we should know his name is not surprising in itself: artists' signatures are far less rare in Romanesque times; what makes Antonicelli exceptional is the fact that the work shows a considerable degree of individuality, so that, for the first time since the ancient Greeks, we can begin to speak through with some likelihood of a personal style. And the David too, approaches the ideal of the self-sufficient statue more closely than any medieval work we have seen so far. The figure from St. Martin is one of a series of figures, all of them immediately tied to their niche, while Antonicelli's David stands absolutely free and even shows an attempt to surpass the Classical antiquity. To be sure, he would look awkward if placed in a pedestal or niche; he demands the architectural framework for which he was made, but certainly as a far better system than do the two statues at St.-Clément. Not to be subject to the group discipline of a series, his only companion is a second statue on the other side of the portal. An extraordinary achievement, indeed, especially if we consider that not much more than a hundred years separated the beginnings of the medieval revival.

The emergence of statues outside personalities in the twelfth century is a phenomenon that is rarely acknowledged, perhaps because it contradicts the widespread assumption that all medieval art is anonymous. It does not happen very often, of course, but it is not too significant for all that. Antonicelli is not an isolated case; he cannot even claim to be the earliest. First is the revival of individuality reached in Italy. We described it in one particular region of the north, in the valley of the Moselle River, which runs from northwestern France into Belgium and Holland. This region had been the home of the "Roman style" in Carolingian times (figs. 104, 107) and continued it, and the same awareness of classical sources pervades its art during the Romanesque period. Here again, then, remarkably enough, the revival of individuality is linked with the influence of ancient art, although the influence did not produce works on a monumental scale. "Mosan" Romanesque sculpture reached its final work, such as the splendid baptismal font of a very small size (fig. 105, 106), which is also the masterpiece of the earliest among the individualistic figures of the region, Renée of Bay. The round font on twelve oval pedestals of the model appeared, the font's base is the Temple of Jerusalem as described in the Bible. The style makes an instructive contrast with those of Bernward's doors (see fig. 104), since they are almost the same height. Instead of the rough expressive power of the Ottonian period, we had here a harmonious balance of design, a subtle control of the sculptural surface, and an understanding of complex structure that is medieval





Fig. 3. The building of the Shrine of Babal (detail of painting on the stone walls)  
Early twentieth century. In *Armenian Churches*

also painting. This does not mean, however, that in the classical and mediaeval centuries painting was any less important than it had been during the earlier Middle Ages; it merely emphasizes the greater continuity of the pictorial tradition, especially in manuscript illumination. Nevertheless, even after the year zero we find the beginnings of a painting style which corresponds to—and then anticipates—the monumental qualities of Renaissance sculpture. The new attitude is clearly evident in the St. Mark (Fig. 316), from a Gospel Book, probably done toward the end of the thirteenth century in northern France. The twisting and turning movement of the lines, which previously not only the figure of the Virgin but the winged lion, the cross, and the crown, recalls Giotto's earlier miniatures of the Roman School such as the St. George (see Fig. 324), but this very movement helps to make us aware of the difference between the two works: in the Gothic manuscript, every trace of classical illusionism has disappeared; the fluid modeling of the Roman School, with its suggestion of light and space, has been replaced by clearly drawn contours filled in with bright, solid colors, so that the three-dimensional aspects of the picture are reduced to an overlapping of the planes. Even classical painting has disappeared; its scenes rarely illustrated in comparison. Yet by sacrificing the last remnants of modeling in terms of light and shade, the Renaissance artist has enriched his work with an almost clarity and precision that had not been possible in Giotto's or Cimabue's time; only now can we truly say that the representational, the symbolic, and the decorative elements of the image are knit together into a single, unified structure.

This style of rhythmic lines and planes reflects all effects that might be termed specifically pictorial—not only formal values but the modeling of textures and highlights such as we still find in Chinese painting, and because of this it gains a new universality of style. The examples of the *St. Mark* (Fig. 316), the drawings of the *Circle of Pisano*, the miniatures in the *Gospel Book of John* (Fig. 317) are made up of open, spontaneous folds and dashes of brush or pen that have an intense, hand-written flavor; they would look strange if copied on a larger scale or in another medium. The Gothic miniature, on the contrary, might be translated into a woodcut, a stained-glass window, a tapestry, or a relief panel without losing any of its essential qualities. We can see this if we compare it with the Vitruvian symposium (Fig. 324), where such the same plotted drapery patterns are reproduced sculpturally; or with the so-called Bayeux Tapestry, an embroidered linen tape that long illustrated William the Conqueror's invasion of England; or our detail (Fig. 316), which shows the folds of St. George, the kinship in the style of the Gothic manuscript even extends to the armorials of the filling horses, so strikingly like the pose of the lion in the miniature. Again we marvel at the ease with which the designer has integrated narrative and ornament: the main scene is enclosed by two border strips that perform their framing function equally well, although the upper one is purely decorative while the other consists of dead warriors and horses and other forms part of the story.

Form outlines and a arrangement of picture are equally characteristic of Renaissance wall painting. The building of the Power of Babal (Fig. 318) is a detail from the most



expressive swirling style, on the nave side of the church at St. Andrew-on-Exe (compare fig. 375). It is an intensely dramatic design, crowded with dramatic action: the Lord Himself, on the far left, points again directly to the narrative as He addresses the builders of the central structure. He is counterbalanced, on the right, by the giant himself, the leader of the giants, who theatrically brandishes blocks of stone to the massive step the tower, so that the entire scene becomes a great act of strength between Good and Evil. The heavy dark contours, the emphatic play of gestures, make the composition entirely readable from a distance, yet these same qualities occur in the illuminated manuscripts of the region, which can be equally monumental despite their small scale.

While Romanesque painting, like architecture and sculpture, developed a wide variety of regional styles throughout western Europe, its greatest achievements emerged from the monastic workshops of northern France, Belgium, and southern England. The works produced in this area are so closely related in style that it is so often impossible to be sure on which side of the English Channel a given manuscript belongs. Thus the style of the wonderful miniature of St. John the Evangelist (fig. 376) has been linked with both Cambrai and Caen. However, through linear thoroughness of the Celtic manuscript has been enriched by Byzantine influence in the copious loops of drapery, whose origin can be traced back to such works as fig. 383) but without losing its energetic rhythm. It is the precisely controlled dynamics of every contour, both in the main figure and in the frame, that unites the varied elements of the composition into a coherent whole. This quality of line still belongs to ultimate source, the Celtic-Carmanic heritage. If we compare our miniature with the Gislebertus Gospel (fig. 373) we realize how much the intensifying patterns of the Dark Ages have contributed to the design of the St. John page. The drapery folds, the chains of floral ornament have an impulsive yet disciplined character that unites the intensified meditative movement of the central style, even though the foliage is derived from the classical arabesque and the human figures are based on Carolingian and Byzantine models. The unity of the entire page, however, is controlled not only by the forms but by the content as well. The Evangelist "inscribes" the frame in such a way that we could not remove him from it without cutting off his own supply (symbolized by the dove of the manuscript, Albert Wolke), his source of inspiration (the dove of the Holy Spirit in the head of Christ, or his identifying symbol, the eagle). The entire miniature, less directly linked with the main figure, drew waters from the fountains of St. John.

Soon after the middle of the twelfth century, an important change of style begins to make itself felt in Romanesque painting on either side of the English Channel. The Portrait of a Physician (fig. 378), from a medieval manuscript of c. 1170, is surprisingly different from the St. John



378. Portrait of a Physician, from a medieval manuscript, c. 1170, British Museum, London



379. Miniature of Countess. The Countess of the Red Sea, c. 1170, Second stage, height 117, Klosterbuch, Abbey, Austria



Fig. 10. Spring landscape, from a manuscript of Carondelet, 15th-century Flemish from Library, Munich

miniatures, although it was produced in the same region. Instead of abstract patterns, we suddenly find lines that have regained the ability to describe three-dimensional shapes: the drooping folds no longer lead us to a renewed life of their own but suggest the rounded volume of the body underneath; there is even a curved incense in horizontalizing. There is, last, then, no more the potential counterpart of that dimension which we saw earlier in the Botanical Front of Rostor of May at Liège (see fig. 10). In fact, our miniature was probably done at Liège, too, and its sharp, deliberate lines look as if they had been engraved in metal, rather than drawn with pen or brush. Thus the new style should have had its origin in manuscript, perhaps less remote than it might seem at first glance, for its essential question was sculptural rather than pictorial, moreover, sculpture (which includes not only cast or enlaid sculpture but also engraving, modeling, and gilding) had been a highly developed art in the Meuse valley area since Carolingian times. Its greatest practitioner after Rostor of May was Nicholas of Verdun, in whose work the classicizing three-dimensional style of thoughtfulness reaches full maturity. The engraved and modeled

shapes of the Romanesque altar, which he completed in 1115 (fig. 11), show one of them. The Crossing of the Red Sea, clearly belong to the same tradition as the large miniature, but the figures, studied in modeling, "cast" shapes familiar to us from classical classical statues, have achieved to high a degree of organic body structure and freedom of movement that we find in that of them as forerunners of Michelangelo rather than as the final phase of the Romanesque. Whatever we choose to call it, the style of the Romanesque altar was to have a profound impact upon both painting and sculpture during the next fifty years (see fig. 12a, 12b).

The astounding beauty of Vermeer's art must be understood against the background of a general reawakening of interest in man and the natural world throughout northern Europe. This attitude could express itself in various ways: as a new regard for classical literature and mythology, an appreciation of the beauty of ancient works of art, or simply as a greater readiness to acknowledge the experience of sensory experience. The latter aspect is reflected particularly in such landscape poetry as the well-known Carondelet (see fig. 13a, 13b) composed during the last twelfth century and preserved in an illuminated manuscript of the early thirteenth. That a collection of new dreamt largely—and at times all too freely—to the delights of nature, love, and drinking should have been combined with illustrations is significant in itself. We are even more surprised, however, to find that one of the miniatures (fig. 13b), coupled with a poem in praise of spring, represents a landscape—the first, as far as we know, in Western art since late classical times. Echoes of ancient landscape painting, derived from Italy (Veronica and Theocritus) sources, can be found in Carondelet art (see fig. 14a, 14b), but only as a background subordinated to the human figure. Later on, these remnants had been reduced still further, even when the subject required a landscape setting: the Garden of Eden on Bernard's (see fig. 15a) consists of nothing but a few strongly evocative stems and bits of foliage. Thus the Carondelet (see fig. 16a), although to depict the life of nature in springtime, must have found his task a rather perplexing one. He has solved it in the only way possible for him—by filling his page with a sort of anthology of Romanesque plant remains, interspersed with birds and animals. The trees, vines, and flowers remain so abstract that we cannot identify a single species (the birds and animals, probably copied from a zoological treatise, are likewise realistic, yet they have an uneasy quality of their own that makes them seem to grope and squelch as if the growth of an entire season were compressed into a few static moments. These static settings convey the endurance of spring, of novel energy suddenly released, far more strongly than any normal vegetation could. Our artist has created a hybrid landscape, but this hybridized world nevertheless reveals essential aspects of reality.

## PART TWO / THE MIDDLE AGES

### 4. Gothic Art

Time and space, we have been taught, are interdependent. Yet we tend to think of history as the unfolding of events in time without sufficient awareness of their unfolding in space—we envision it as a stack of chronological layers, or periods, each layer having a specific depth that corresponds to its duration. For the more remote past, when our sources of information are scanty, this simple image works reasonably well. It becomes less and less adequate as we draw closer to the present and our knowledge grows more precise. Thus we cannot define the Gothic era in terms of time alone; we must consider the changing surface area of the layer as well as its depth.

At the start, when it is so, this area was small indeed. It extended only the province known as the Ile-de-France (that is, Paris and vicinity), the royal domain of the French king. A hundred years later, most of Europe had "gone Gothic," from Sicily to Iceland, with only a few Romanesque pockets left here and there; through the Crusades, the new style had even been introduced to the Near East. About 1250 the Gothic era had begun to shrink—at no longer included Italy—and about 1350 it had disappeared almost entirely. The Gothic layer then, has a rather complicated shape, its depth varying from about a quarter of a century to a maximum of 150 or 160 years. This shape, moreover, does not emerge with equal clarity in all the visual arts. The term Gothic was coined for architecture, and it is in architecture that the characteristics of the style are most easily recognized. Only during the past hundred years have we become accustomed to speak of Gothic sculpture and painting. There is, as we shall see, some uncertainty even today about the exact limits of the Gothic style in these fields. This evolution of our concept of Gothic art suggests the way the new style actually grew: it began with architecture, and for about a century—from 1150 to 1250, during the Age of the Great Cathedrals—architecture retained its dominant role. Gothic sculpture, as first severely restricted in spirit, tended to become less and less so after 1250; its greatest achievements are between the years 1250 and 1350. Painting, in turn, reached a climax of creative freedom between 1350 and 1450 in central Italy. North of the Alps, it became the leading art from about 1350 on. We thus find, in surveying the Gothic era as a whole, a gradual shift of emphasis from architecture to painting or, better perhaps, from architecture to pictorial space (chronologically enough, Early Gothic sculpture and painting both reflect the discipline of their monumental setting, while Late Gothic architecture and sculpture strive for "picturesque" effects

rather than clarity or formality). Overlaying the broad pattern, there is another one: international diffusion as against regional independence. Starting as a local development in the Ile-de-France, Gothic art radiates from there to the rest of France and to all Europe, where it comes to be known as pure modernism or *transcendent modernism* (French words). In the course of the thirteenth century, the new style gradually loses its "regional" flavor; regional variety begins to recede itself. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, we notice a growing tendency for these regional achievements to influence each other until, about 1400, a surprisingly homogeneous "international Gothic" style prevails almost everywhere. Shortly thereafter, this unity breaks apart. Italy, with Florence in the west, creates an entirely new art, that of the Early Renaissance, while north of the Alps, Flanders assumes an equally commanding position in the development of Late Gothic painting and sculpture. It is only here, finally, that the Renaissance becomes the basis of another international style. With the dramatic motion to guide us, we can more easily grasp the unfolding of Gothic art in greater detail.

#### ARCHITECTURE / FRANCE

The origin of our previous style can be pinpointed as exactly as that of Gothic. It was here between 1125 and 1144 in the rebuilding, by Abbot Suger, of the great Abbey Church of St. Denis just outside the city of Paris. If we are to understand how Gothic architecture happened in some time being as the picture appears, we must first acquaint ourselves with the special relationship between St. Denis, Suger, and the French monarchy. The kings of France derived their claim to authority from the Carolingian tradition, although they belonged to the Capetian line (founded by Hugh Capet after the death of the last Carolingian in 987). But their power was sustained by that of the nobles who, in theory, were their vassals; the only way they ruled directly was the Ile-de-France, and they often found their authority challenged even there. Not until the early twelfth century did the royal power begin to expand, and Suger, as chief adviser to Louis VI, played a key role in this process. It was he who forged the alliance between the monarchy and the Church, which brought the bishops of France (and the other under their authority) to the king's side, while the king, in turn, supported the papacy in its struggle against the German emperors. Suger, however, distinguished the

merely not only in the plans of practical politics but in that of "spiritual politics", by investing the royal office with religious significance, by glorifying it as the strong right arm of justice. He sought to rally the nation behind the King. His architectural plans for the Abbey of St.-Etienne must be understood in this context, for the church, founded in the late eighth century, enjoyed a dual privilege that made it ideally suitable for Hugot's purposes: it was the shrine of the Apostles of France, the sacred presence of the saints, as well as the chief memorial of the Carolingian dynasty (both Charlemagne and his father, Pepin, had been consecrated Kings there, and it was also the burial place of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charles the Bald); Hugot wanted to make the Abbey the spiritual center of France, a pilgrimage church to contain the splendor of all the others, the focal point of religious as well as political emotion. But in order to become the center embodiment of such a goal, the old edifice had to be enlarged and rebuilt. The great Abbot himself has described the entire campaign in such clear spare detail that we know more about what he desired to achieve than we do about the final result, for the nave facade and its sculpture are badly mutilated today, and the choir, which Hugot regarded as the most important part of the enterprise, retains its original appearance only in the ambulatory (figs. 370, 371, 376). Looking at the plan, we recognize the familiar elements of the Romanesque pilgrimage choir (compare fig. 173)—an enclosed space surrounded by an ambulatory and radiating chapels. Yet the elements have been integrated differently into a structure: the chapels, instead of remaining separate entities, are merged so as to form, in effect, a second ambulatory, and without creating vaulting based on the pointed arch as employed throughout (in the Romanesque pilgrimage choir, only the ambulatory had been groin vaulted). As a result, the entire plan is held together by a network of pressure order: it consists of seven identical wedge-shaped units fanning out from the center of the apse. We experience this double ambulatory not as a series of separate compartments but as a continuous (though articulated) space, whose shape is defined for us by the network of slender arches, ribs, and columns that contain the vaults. What distinguishes this interior immediately from its predecessors is its lightness, its lack of heaviness; the architectural forms were graceful, almost weightless as against the massive solidity of the Romanesque, and the windows have been enlarged to the point that they are no longer openings cut into a wall—but fill the entire wall space, so that they themselves become translucent walls. If we now examine the plan once more, we realize what makes this achievement of light possible. The outward pressure of the vaults is counteracted by heavy buttresses jutting out between the chapels (in the plan, they look like stubby black arrows pointing toward the center of the apse). The main weight of the masonry construction is concentrated there, visible only from the outside. No wonder, then, that the interior appears as



370. Ambulatory, Abbey Church of St.-Etienne, Paris. 1160-65



371. Plan of the Choir, Abbey Church of St.-Etienne, Paris

surprisingly airy and weightless, since the heaviest masonry of the structural skeleton are forced out of view. The same impression would be even more striking if we could see Hugot's choir in its entirety, for the upper part of the space, rising above the double ambulatory, had very large, tall windows (the effect, from the nave, must have been similar to that of the somewhat later choir of Notre-Dame in Paris; see fig. 374).

In describing Hugot's choir, we have also described the essence of Gothic architecture. For most of the individual elements that entered into its design is really new: the pilgrimage choir plan, the pointed arch, the

about pointed vaults, are familiar to us from the various regional schools of the French (and Anglo-Norman) Romanesque, even though we never encounter them all contained in the same building until St.-Omer. The Anglo-Franco had failed to develop a Romanesque tradition of its own, so that Suger—as he himself tells us—had to bring together artisans from many different regions for his project. He must not conclude from this, however, that Gothic architecture originated as a mere synthesis of Romanesque traits. If it were so, then that fact, too, would be hard to prove to explain the new spirit that arises as we finally at St.-Omer: the emphasis on strict geometric planning and the quest for harmony. Suger's

account of the rebuilding of his church intensely stresses both of these as the highest values achieved in the new structure. "Harmony" (that is, the perfect relationship among parts in terms of mathematical proportions or relations to the measure of all beauty, since it encompasses the laws according to which divine nature has constructed the universe; the "marvelous" light flooding the choir through the "most sacred" windows because the Light Christ, a spiritual revelation of the spirit of God).

This symbolic interpretation of light and of ministerial functions had been constituted for centuries in Christian thought. It derived from the writings of a fifth-century Greek theologian who, in the Middle Ages, was believed to have been Dionysius the Areopagite, an Athenian disciple of St. Paul. Through this identification, the works of this Pseudo-Dionysius came to be read with great authority. In Carolingian France, however, Dionysius the disciple of St. Paul was identified both with the author of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings and with St. Denis, the apostle of France and special patron of the vaults. The revival of monastic power during the early twelfth century gave new importance to the thought of the Pseudo-Dionysius, attributed to St. Denis and therefore regarded as France's very own. For Suger, the light-and-number symbolism of Dionysius thought more than have had a particularly strong appeal. We can well understand why his own mind was steeped in it, and why he wanted to give it visible expression when he rebuilt the church of the most pious saint. That he succeeded to prove not only to the abbey chapter of his choir design but also by its extraordinary impact; every visitor to St.-Omer, it seems, was overwhelmed by Suger's achievement, and within a few decades the new style had spread far beyond the confines of the Île-de-France.

The how and why of his success are a good deal more difficult to explain. First we encounter a controversy we have not covered before—that of form versus function. To the advocates of the functionalist approach, Gothic architecture has earned the credit of advances in architectural engineering, which made it possible to build more efficient vaults, to concentrate their thrusting force on central piers, and thus eliminate the solid walls of the Romanesque. Suger, they would argue, was fortunate in meeting the services of an architect who evidently understood the principles of ribbed pointed vaulting better than anybody else at that time. If the abbey chose to interpret the resulting structure as symbolic of Dionysian theology, by consciously expressing its religious quest in the abstract language of the churchmen, its success does not help us to understand the origin of the new style. It is perfectly true, of course, that the choir of St.-Omer is more rationally planned and constructed than any Romanesque church. The pointed arch (which can be "inserted" to nearly any desired height regardless of the width of its base) has now become an integral part of the ribbed, pointed vault. As a result, these vaults are



Fig. 109. Choir of Saint-Omer, France, c.1160-1170



Fig. 110. Plan of Saint-Omer, France, c.1160-1170



above 1210. West Facade,  
Notre-Dame, Paris

no longer restricted to square or near-square compositions, they have gained a flexibility that permits them to accommodate almost any shape loads or the impossibilities and perquisites of the ambulatory. The harmonizing of the vaults, too, is more fully understood than before. How could the theological ideas of Suger have led to these technical advances, unless we are willing to assume that he was a profoundly trained architect? If we grant that he was not, can he claim any credit at all for the style of what he so proudly calls "his" new church? Perhaps the question poses a false alternative, somewhere in the consciousness of the student and the egg. The function of a church, after all, is not merely to enclose a maximum of space with a minimum of material, for the master who built the choir of St.-Denis under Suger's supervision, the technical problems of vaulting must have been so minutely bound up with considerations of form (that is, of beauty, harmony, fitness, etc.). As a matter of fact, the design includes various elements that express function without actually performing it, such as the slender shafts called "cuspoids" that seem to carry the weight of the vaults in the choir here. But in order to know what constituted beauty, harmony, and fitness, the medieval architect needed the guidance of ecclesiastical authority. Such guidance might be a simple directive to follow some established model or, in the case of a patron so actively concerned with architectural matters as Suger, it might amount to full participation in the designing process. Thus Suger's desire to "build Christian for



right 1210. Choir of  
Notre-Dame  
view from the southeast, Paris

stage" is likely to have been a decisive factor from the very beginning; it shaped the overall shape of the kind of structure he wanted. By this means, and determined by choice of a master of Norman background as the chief architect. This man, a great artist, must have been capably responsive to the Abbot's ideas and intentions. Between them, the two together created the Gothic style.

Although St. Denis was an abbey, the future of Gothic architecture lay in the towns rather than in rural monasteries or cathedrals. There had been a vigorous revival of urban life, we will recall, since the early eleventh century; the movement continued as an unbroken quest, and the growing weight of the cities made itself felt not only economically and politically but in creative effort: new public buildings and the city stage rose to new importance; cathedral schools and universities took the place of monasteries as centers of learning, while the artistic effort of the age concentrated in the great cathedrals. Thus

of Notre-Dame ("Our Lady," the Virgin Mary) Paris, begun in 1163, reflects the richest features of Suger's St. Denis more directly than any other. The plan (fig. 176), with its emphasis on the longitudinal axis, is essentially nearly compact and unified as against that of major Romanesque churches; the double ambulatory of the choir continues directly into the aisles, and the ambly transept barely exceeds the width of the facade. In the interior (fig. 176a) still features of the Norman Romanesque survive: nave vaults over square bays, and galleries above the lower aisles. The columns of the nave arcade are another conservative feature. Yet the large clerestory windows, the lightness and slenderness of the forms, create an unmistakably Gothic effect (here here into the nave walls are made to recede). Gothic, too, is the "verticality" of the interior space. This depends less on the actual proportions of the nave—the latter Romanesque naves are equally tall, relative to their width—than on the counterbalancing of the vertical and on the soaring nave with which the sense of height is created. Romanesque interiors (such as fig. 169), by contrast, emphasize the great effort required in supporting the weight of the vaults.

In Notre-Dame, as in Suger's school, the buttresses (the "heavy bones" of the structural skeleton) are not visible from the inside. The plan shows them as massive blocks of masonry that stick out from the building like a row of teeth. Above the aisles, these grow into flying but-



above: 176. Nave looking east,  
Chartres Cathedral, 1194-1250

opposite: 176a. Choir Vault,  
Amiens Cathedral (Suger 1228)





Fig. West Facade, Notre Cathedral, c. 1150-60

traverse-arched bridges that reach upward to the central apse between the decorative windows where the outward thrust of the nave wall is concentrated (Fig. 11.11). The method of anchoring vaults, a characteristic feature of Gothic architecture, clearly owed its origin to functional considerations. Even the flying buttress, however, soon became architecturally imperative and its shape could express support (apart from actually providing it) in a variety of ways, according to the designer's sense of style.

The most monumental aspect of the exterior of Notre-Dame is the west facade (Fig. 11.12). Except for its windows, which suffered heavily during the French Revolution and is for the most part restored, it retains its original appearance. The design reflects the general disposition of the facade of St. Denis, which in turn had been derived from Norman Romanesque facades such as that of St. Etienne at Caen (see Fig. 10.16). Comparing the latter with Notre-Dame, we note the persistence of some basic features—the pier buttresses that reinforce the corners of the towers and divide the facade into three main parts; the placing of the portals; the three-story arrangement. The rich sculptural decoration, however, recalls the facade of the west of Strasbourg (see Fig. 10.18) and the elaborately carved portals of Beauvais. Much more important than these resemblances, however, are the

qualities that distinguish the facade of Notre-Dame from its Romanesque ancestor. Distinct among these is the way all the details have been integrated into a wonderfully balanced and coherent whole; the meaning of Gogin's emphasis on harmony, geometric order, and proportion becomes evident here even more strikingly than in St. Denis itself. This formal discipline also enhances the sculpture, which is no longer permitted the sporadic staves that often uncontrollably grow as characteristic of the Romanesque but has been assigned a precisely defined role within the architectural framework. At the same time, the entire solidity of the facade of St. Etienne at Caen has been transformed into its very opposite; familiar arcades, huge portals and windows destroy the continuity of the wall surface, so that the total effect approximates that of a sculptural openwork screen. Here, rapidly the tendency advanced during the first half of the thirteenth century can be seen by comparing the west facade of Notre-Dame with the somewhat later facade of the south transept, visible in Figure 11.13. In the latter the great rose window in the center is still deeply recessed, so it truly, the stone (scarcely that substance the opening is clearly cut off against the surrounding wall surface); on the transept facade, in contrast, we see no longer distinguish the rose window from its frame as single network of tracery screens the entire area.

Toward 1145 the Bishop of Chartres, who had inherited from Hugo and shared his ideas, began to rebuild his cathedral in the new style. Fifty years later, all but the west facade of Chartres Cathedral was destroyed by fire (for the sculpture of the westwork, see pages 146-147), and it is around rebuilding work plans between 1144 and 1146. It is in the case of the latter structure that appears in Figure 11.14. Constructed one generation after the start of Notre-Dame in Paris, it represents the first manifestation of the mature, or High Gothic, style. The gallery here now has reduced to a narrow passageway within the thickness of the nave wall, covered by a triforium arcade; the openings of the nave arcade are taller and narrower; responds have been added to the columnar supports, so as to stress the continuity of the vertical lines; and the nave vault is no longer a squinch. Alone among all major Gothic cathedrals, Chartres still retains most of its original stained-glass windows. The craze of its interior apse, unsuitable to anyone who has experienced it on the spot, cannot be suggested by black-and-white photographs, which inevitably exaggerate the brightness of the windows and their make them look like "holes" instead of "luminous walls." In reality, the windows admit far less light than one might expect; they are mainly as huge, multi-colored diffusing screens that change the quality of ordinary daylight, endowing it with the poetic and symbolic values so highly prized by Abbot Hugo. One sculpture is, which shows the northern nave wall illuminated by sunlight shining through the windows on the south side, conveys something of the wonderfully warm and ethereal effect that





Folio 100v (left) and Folio 101r (right) from the Voynich manuscript, showing the Voynich script and the Voynich alphabet.



*Christology in Romanesque. In John the Evangelist,  
from the copper-bound 'Book of John' (Lindisfarne Gospels, c. 1120).  
British Library, London, U.K.*



*Cologne (c. 1200), View of the South Choirs Gallery of  
the New Choirs-Gallery. 1904-1905*



Illustration 22. Descent into Limbo (Detail)  
1400-14. France. Santa Chapelle, Paris



216 St. Urban, Troyes (fig. 22)

prompted Roger to describe his choir as filled with "inner glow" light.

The High Gothic style defined at Chartres reaches its climax a generation later in the interior of Amiens Cathedral (fig. 24). Here breathtaking height has become the dominant aim, both structurally and aesthetically. Structural construction is carried to its most progressive limits. The inner logic of the system finally asserts itself in the shape of the vaults, buttresses as membranes, and in the expanded window area, which now includes the triforium, so that the entire wall above the nave arcade becomes a diaphany. The same emphasis on verticality and transparency can be traced in the development of the High Gothic façade. The most famous of these, at Reims Cathedral (fig. 25), makes an instructive contrast with the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris, even though in these designs was conceived only about thirty years later. Many of the same elements are common to both (as the Commission Cathedral of the Kings of France, Reims was closely linked to Paris, but in the stronger structure they have been reshaped into a very different ensemble. The piers, instead of being round, are projected forward as gabled piers, with windows in place of triforium above the doorway, the gallery of royal statues, which in Paris forms an incise horizontal between the first and second stories, has been raised until it merges with the third-story arcade, every detail except the rose window has become taller and nar-

rower than before, and a multitude of pinnacles further accentuates the continuous upward-pointing movement. The sculptural-decorative, by far the most lavish of its kind (two pages 120-121), is no longer happily clearly marked off across it has now spread to so many tablets, carved, carved pinnacles, and only on the façade but on the flanks as well, that the exterior of the cathedral begins to look like a diaphany for nature.

The High Gothic cathedrals of France represent a concentrated expenditure of effort such as the world has rarely seen before or since. They are truly national monuments, whose immense cost was borne by donations collected all over the country and from all classes of society—the tangible expression of the merging of religious and patriotic fervor which had been the goal of Abbot Suger. As we approach the second half of the thirteenth century, we sense that this sense of religious fervor has passed its crest; work on the vast structures began during the last half was proceeding at a slower pace; new projects are fewer and generally on a far less ambitious scale; and the highly organized teams of masons and carpenters that had dominated in the case of the great cathedrals during the preceding decades gradually break up into smaller units. Anonymous church of the last years of the century, St. Urban in Troyes (fig. 26), seems to testify that the "twelve apostles" of the Gothic style is past. Retirement of detail, rather than spreading monumentality, has been the designer's chief concern, by diminishing the reliance

and simplifying the plan, he has created a definite stage of glass in the choir; the windows begin to flow above the choir, continued by flying buttresses as thin as to be hardly noticeable. The same airy, unencumbered elegance was to fill in the architectural structure. In some respects, St. Etienne is prophetic of the later, or Flamboyant, phase of Gothic architecture. The beginnings of Flamboyant Gothic do indeed seem to go back to the late thirteenth century, but its growth was delayed by the Hundred Years' War with England, so that we do not meet full-blown examples of it until the early fifteenth century, which means Brancas, when to the seductive patterns of curve and countercurve there is a general return of Late Gothic tracery, as at St. Maixent in Rouen (Fig. 171). Strikingly, Flamboyant Gothic shows no significant developments of its own, what distinguishes St. Maixent from such churches as St. Etienne in Troyes is the excessive profusion of ornament. The architect has turned into a decorator who overloads the structural skeleton with a web of decorative or scenic and fanciful or no-objective it achieves completely. It becomes a fascinating game of hide-and-seek to locate the "bones" of the building within this picturesque tangle of lines.

Since our account of medieval architecture is mainly concerned with the development of style, we have until now confined our attention to religious structures, the most ambitious as well as the most representative efforts of the age. Secular buildings, to be sure, reflect the same general trends, but these are often obscured by the diversity of types, ranging from bridges and fortifications to royal palaces, town houses or town halls. Moreover, social, economic, and practical factors play a more important part here than in church design, so that the useful life of the buildings is apt to be much longer and their



Fig. 168. Choir House of Jacques-Coeur, Bourges (ca. 1450)

chance of preservation correspondingly less. Furthermore, for example, one often finds churches by even more recent standards in the technology of masonry. As a consequence, our knowledge of secular structures of the pre-Gothic Middle Ages remains extremely fragmentary, and most of the surviving examples from Gothic times belong to the latter half of the period. This fact, however, is not without significance; outstanding architects, both private and public, became far more abundant during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than it had been before. The history of the Louvre in Paris provides a telling example: the original building, erected about 1200, followed the strictly functional plan of the castles of that time—it consisted mainly of a stout tower, the donjon or keep, surrounded by a heavy wall. In the 1350s, King Charles V had it rebuilt as a sumptuous royal residence, although this second Louvre, too, has now disappeared or been what it looked like from a few windows pointed in the early fifteenth century (see companion 142). There is still a defensive outer wall, but the great structure behind it has far more the character of a palace than of a fortress. Symmetrically laid out around a square court, it provided comfortable quarters for the royal family and household (from the courtyard doorway) as well as lavishly decorated halls for state occasions. (Fig. 169), another miniature from the same manuscript, conveys a good impression of such a hall.)

If the exterior of the second Louvre still has some

Fig. 171. Maixent, Rouen, begun 1424



of the forbidding qualities of a stronghold, the colonnade's emphasis on the wealth of architectural ornament and sculpture. The same contrast appears in the tower of Jacques Coeur in Bourges, dating from the 1500s. We speak of it as a tower only because Jacques Coeur was a merchant and not a monarch, rather than a soldierman. Still, however, he also was one of the richest men of his day; he could well afford an architectural obviously modeled on the structures of the aristocracy. The courtyard (fig. 285), with its high-pitched roofs, its pinnacles and decorative carvings, suggests the picturesque qualities familiar to us from Flamboyant church architecture (fig. 275). That we should find at once at the Louvre proof of a merchant's readiness to striking proof of the importance attained by the urban middle class during the later Middle Ages.

## ARCHITECTURE

### ENGLAND, GERMANY, AND ITALY

One of the truly astonishing things about Gothic art is the uniformity response that "super-French style of the bourgeoisie" evoked abroad. Even more remarkable was its ability to adapt itself to a variety of local conditions—as much so, in fact, that the Gothic movements of England and Germany have become objects of immense national pride in modern times, and cities in both countries have not without justice been proudly "native" style. How did we to account for the rapid spread of Gothic art? A number of factors might be cited, singly or in combination: the response of the French aristocracy and some writers; the vast intellectual prestige of French centers of learning, such as the Cathedral School of Chartres and the University of Paris; and the influence of the Cistercians, the reformer monks first founded by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. By no means, but it is difficult to deny the flight of ideas of Romanesque sculpture. In conformity with his earlier ideas, Cistercian abbey churches took a distinctive, even type—decoration of any sort was held to be minimum, and in spite their work the place of apse, ambulatory, and radiating chapels. For that response, however, Cistercian architectural special emphasis on harmonious proportions and exact craftsmanship, and their "anti-Romanesque" outlook prompted them to adopt certain basic tenets of the Gothic style. During the latter half of the twelfth century, as the reform movement gathered momentum, this vision Cistercian Gothic came to be known throughout western Europe. Still, one wonders whether any of the explanations we have mentioned really go to the heart of the matter. The ultimate reason for the international victory of Gothic art seems to have been the extraordinary decorative power of the style itself, its ability to kindle the imagination and to arouse religious feeling even among people far removed from the cultural climate of the Ile-de-France.



285. Bourges Cathedral, 1200-70



286. Floor of Salisbury Cathedral

That England should have proved particularly receptive to the new style is hardly surprising. Yet English Gothic is did not grow directly from Anglo-Norman Romanesque but from the Gothic of the Ile-de-France (introduced in 1174 by the French architect who rebuilt the choir of Canterbury Cathedral and says that of the Cistercians. Within less than fifty years, it developed a well-defined character of its own, known as the Early English style, which dominated the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Although there was a great deal of building activity during those decades, it consisted mostly of additions to Anglo-Norman structures. A great many English cathedrals had been begun about the same time as Chartres (see page 111) but had remained rather

ideal, they were now completed or enlarged. As a consequence, we find few churches that are designed in the Early English style throughout. Among cathedrals, only Salisbury meets this requirement (figs. 176–181). Leaving the exterior, we realize immediately how different it is from its counterparts in France—and here again it would be to judge by French/Gothic standards, if comparisons and borrowing have given way to a long, low, sprawling look (the great crossing tower, which provides a dramatic starting point, was built a century later than the rest and is much taller than originally planned). Since there is no drawing after Gislebert, flying buttresses have been introduced only as an afterthought. Characteristically enough, the west facade has become a screen wall wider than the church itself and unadorned by emphatic horizontal bands of ornament and windows, while the towers have shrunk to stubby forms. The plan, with its strongly projecting double transept, retains the expanded quality of Romanesque structures, the square east end derives from Christian architecture. As we enter the nave, we recognize the same elements familiar to us from French interiors of the time, such as Chartres (see fig. 393), but the English interpretation of these elements produces a very different total effect. As on the facade, the horizontal divisions are derived at the expense of the vertical, so that we see the nave wall not as a succession of bays but as a continuous series of unbroken supports. These supports, carved of dark marble, stand out against

the rest of the interior—a method of stressing their special function that is one of the hallmarks of the Early English style. Another notable feature is the steep curve of the nave vault. On the second of the way from the entrance level, and the choirstory, as a result, gives the impression of being “crushed away” among the vaults. At Durham, more than a century earlier, the same treatment had been a calculated necessity (compare fig. 392); now it has become a matter of style, thoroughly in keeping with the character of Early English Gothic as a whole. This character might be described as conservative in the positive sense; it accepts the French system but tones down its revolutionary aspects and reestablishes a strong sense of continuity with the Anglo-Norman past.

The contrast between the bold upward thrust of the crossing tower and the heavily horizontal progression throughout the rest of Salisbury Cathedral suggests that English Gothic had developed in a new direction during the intervening hundred years. The change becomes very evident if we compare the interior of Salisbury with the choir of Gloucester Cathedral, built in the second quarter of the new century (fig. 395). This is a striking

fig. 176. West end/choir, Salisbury Cathedral



fig. 395. Choir, Gloucester Cathedral, c. 1250–70







example of English Late Gothic, also called Perpendicular. The name actually fits, since we now find Perpendicular noticed again that is so conspicuously absent in the Early English style (note the squashed piers rising to an trifoliate base from the vault to the floor). In this respect Perpendicular Gothic is much more akin to French Gothic, yet it includes our many features we have come to know as English that it would look very much out of place in the Continent. The appearance of small uniform tracery panels inside the bands of masonry in the west fronts of Salisbury, the plan combines the square east end of earlier English churches (and the spread curve of the vault is as steep as in the case of Salisbury). The ribs, on the other hand, have assumed an altogether new role—they have been multiplied until they form an ornamental network that screens the horizontals between the bays and thus makes the entire vault look like one continuous surface. This, in turn, has the effect of emphasizing the unity of the interior space. Such decorative elaboration of the "bones" (quadrants) vault is characteristic of the Perpendicular style on the Continent as well, but the English treated it rather and carried it to greater lengths. The ultimate is realized in the soaring slender vault of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, built in the early years of the sixteenth century

Fig. 282. Henry VII's Chapel of Henry VII,  
Westminster Abbey, London, 1503-10

Below: The Choir, St. Michael, Nuremberg, 1380-85



Fig. 283, with its beam-like beams hanging from solid "ties." This feature which merges structural beauty pictures the dazzling display of architectural pageantry.

In Germany, Gothic architecture took root a good deal more slowly than in England. Until the mid-thirteenth century, the Romanesque tradition, with its persistent German conservatism, remained dominant, despite the growing acceptance of Early Gothic features. Nevertheless, as in the High Gothic of the Basilica of France had a strong impact on the Rhineland. Cologne Gothic (see Fig. 284) in 1180 represents an ambitious attempt to carry the full-height French system beyond the stage of Amiens. Significantly enough, however, the building remained a fragment until it was finally completed in modern times; nor did it have any successors. The more characteristic of German Gothic is the development of the half-church, or *Hallenkirche*. Such churches—with aisle and nave of the same height—are familiar to us from Romanesque architecture (see Fig. 275). For reasons not yet well understood, the type found particular favor in German soil, where its prime possibilities were very fully explored. The large hall choir added in 1344-74 to the church of St. Michael in Nuremberg (Fig. 285) is one of

many fine examples from central Germany. The space here has a fluidity and expressiveness that infuse us as if we were standing under a huge canopy; there is no pressure, no directional command to prescribe our path. Amid the uniform lines of the pillars, formed by bundles of shafts which gradually change as they turn into ribs, we are to feel the continuous movement that we feel in the space itself.

Italian Gothic architecture stands apart from that of the rest of Europe, deluged by the formal criteria of the

*De-De-France*, most of it hardly deserving to be called Gothic at all. That is produced structures of ingenuity, beauty and ingenuity (that cannot be understood as mere combinations of the local Romanesque). We must be careful, therefore, to avoid too rigid or technical a standard in approaching these monuments, but we feel no debt justice to their unique blend of Gothic qualities and Mediterranean tradition. It was the Florentines, rather than the cathedral builders of the *De-De-France*, who provided the chief examples on which Italian architecture



376. Plan of the Abbey Church of Fiesole.



376. Nave and Choir, Abbey Church of Fiesole. Continued east



377. Nave and Choir, the Cross, Florence. Begin a view



378. Plan of the Cross, Florence



fig. Florence Cathedral.  
Rogus for Arnolfo di Cambio, 1428;  
drawn by Filippo Brunelleschi, 1429-30

fig. Plan of  
Florence Cathedral



based their conception of the Gothic style. As early as the end of the twelfth century, Cistercian abbots spring upon both northern and central Italy, their designs perceived directly after those of the French abbots of the order. One of the finest, at Fontevraud, near the sister town of Poitiers, was commenced in 1130 (figs. 363, 364). Without knowing its location, we would be hard put to decide where to place it on a map—it might as well be Burgundian or English; the plan looks like a completed version of Salisbury, and the finely proportioned interior hints a strong family resemblance to all Cistercian abbots of the time. There are no fluted towers, only a lantern over the crossing, no bells; the Cistercian ideal of austerity. The ground vaults, although based on the pointed arch, have no diagonal ribs; the windows are small, and the exterior almost entirely a good deal of Romanesque solidity, but the flavor of the whole is unmistakably Gothic ecclesiastical.

Churches such as the one at Fontevraud made a deep impression upon the Franciscans, the mendicant order founded by St. Francis of Assisi in the early thirteenth century. No magnificent halls dedicated to poverty, the *cella*, and humble, they were the spiritualities of St. Bernard, and the serene beauty of Cistercian Gothic nowhere seemed to them so perfect as that clearly monastic style. Be that as it may, their churches from the first reflect all Cistercian influence and thus played a leading role in maintaining Gothic architecture as fashion set. The Cross in Florence, begun about a century after Fontevraud, has well done to be the greatest of all Franciscan structures (figs. 365, 366). It is above a masterpiece of Gothic architecture, even though it has wooden ceilings instead of

grained vaults. There can be no doubt that this was a matter of deliberate choice, rather than of technical or economic necessity—a choice made not only on the basis of local practice (as much the wooden ceilings of the Tuscan Romanesque has also perhaps been a desire to evoke the simplicity of Early Cistercian basilicas and, in doing so, to link Franciscan poverty with the traditions of the early Church). The other, too, sometimes Cistercian and Early Christian features. We note, however, that it shows no trace of the Gothic structural system, except for the great vaulted choir; the walls remain intact in continuous surface instead, the Cross even part of its time to its wonderful survival and in contrast to Fontevraud, there are no buttresses at all, since the wooden ceilings do not require them. Why, then, speak of the Cross as Gothic? Surely the use of the pointed arch is too sufficient to justify the name? If glanced at the interior will elope our misgivings. For we sense immediately that the space creates an effect fundamentally different from that of either Early Christian or Romanesque architecture. The nave walls have the neighbor, "uncompared" quality we saw in northern Gothic churches, and the dramatic massing of windows at the eastern end covers the dominant role of light as forcefully as Giotto's choir at St. Onofrio. Helped in some of its structural impact, the Cross is Gothic beyond doubt; it is also profoundly Franciscan—and Florentine—in the monumental simplicity of the means by which this impact has been achieved.

If in the Cross the architect's main concern was an impressive interior, Florence Cathedral was planned as a monumental landmark towering above the entire city (figs. 366, 367). The original design, by Arnolfo di Cam-



the, dating from 1498—about the time construction was begun of the Choir—is not known or stated, although somewhat smaller than the present building, it probably shared the same basic features. The most striking of these is the great rectangular dome with its subsidiary half-domes, a motif ultimately of late Roman origin (see figs 101, 102, 148, 149). Arnolfo may have thought of it at first as an extension done about the crowding of nave and transept, but it soon grew into a huge counterpoint of space that makes the nave feel like an afterthought. The school building of the dome, and the details of its design, belong to the early fifteenth century. Apart from the windows and doorways, there is nothing Gothic about the exterior of Florence Cathedral (figs 149, 150) except to maintain the nave walls may have been planned for ground annexations. The solid walls, enriched with geometric marble stripes, are a perfect match for the Renaissance Baptistry across the way (see fig. 149). Characteristically enough, a separate campanile takes the place of the square tower Gothic is so in northern Gothic churches. The interior, on the other hand, recalls the Choir, even though the dominant impression is one of still solemnity rather than lightness and grace. The stibed ground-vault of the nave was clearly on the huge nave arcade, providing an emphasis on width instead of height, and the architectural detail throughout has a massive solidity that seems more Renaissance than Gothic. Thus the unadornedness of the Choir reflects the spirit of the new style more faithfully than does the Cathedral, which, on the basis of its structural system, ought to be the more Gothic of the two.

The nave facade, so dramatic a feature in French cathedrals, never achieved the same importance in Italy. It is remarkable how few Italian Gothic facades were ever carried near completion before the onset of the Renaissance.

figs 149, 150. Nave and Choir, Florence Cathedral

figs 149, 150. Louvre-Museum and interior, Baptistry, Florence Cathedral, Baptistry 1498



some of these of the Choir and Florence Cathedral are both modern. Among those that were, the front to Orto Cathedral (fig 149), designed in the main by Lorenzo Maiani. It makes an instructive comparison with Tuscan Renaissance facades (such as fig 149) on the one hand, and with French Gothic facades on the other. Many of its important details derive from the latter source, and its remarkable lightness, too, is unmistakably Gothic. But we realize at once that these features have been superimposed on what is essentially a facade facade like that of Pisa Cathedral: the screen is reduced to mere so as not to compete in height or importance with the central gable, and, as at Pisa, the entire design has a strongly small-scale quality that has nothing to do with its actual size. This impression may strike us as somewhat paradoxical, for the Orto facade is less complex and more clearly articulated than that of the 1498 Renaissance Cathedral. But reference to the latter's elaborate richness of detail is counterbalanced by the greatly simple treatment elsewhere: the Orto facade lacks a prominent wall, unlike the classical which compose it more "unusually" rather than merged into a single whole. One somehow feels that the entire arrangement, beautifully balanced though it is, could be



1491-1500, Milan Cathedral,  
Bogert 1986

folded operationation apart if the roof were. Except for the modern stained-glass windows and the doorways, the Florence facade has no wall openings, and large parts of it consist of framed variations of wall areas. Yet we experience them not as voids, material surfaces but as transients, since they are filled with richly carved mosaics—an effect equivalent to Gothic stained glass in the North.

By far the largest Gothic church in Italian soil, as well as the one most nearly comparable to Northern structures, is Milan Cathedral (fig. 192), begun in 1386. Its design was the subject of a famous dispute between the local architects and consulting experts from France and Germany. What they achieved can hardly be termed a genuine synthesis of Northern and Southern traditions. It strikes us, rather, as an uneasy—though ambitious—compromise, burdened with costly dubious Late Gothic decorations that devoid of any unity of feeling. The facade in particular reveals its shortcomings very plainly if we compare it with that of Chartres. Both are composed in much the same way, yet the earlier design has a great-like perfection while the later one suffers as an little more than a mechanical juggling of details.

The secular buildings of Gothic Italy convey as distinct a local flavor as the churches. There is nothing in the cities of southern Europe to match the impressive grandeur of the Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 193), the town hall of Florence. Fortress-like structures such as this reflect the fortical units—among political parties, social classes, and prominent families—as characteristic of 15th



1459-1500, Palazzo Vecchio,  
Florence, Bogert 1986



FIG. 107 Palazzo Vecchio, 1429-51, 1466

within the Italian city-states. The wealthy man's home for pleasure, a home denoting any large urban house was quite literally his castle, designed both to reinforce social status and to protect the owner's possessions. The Palazzo Vecchio, while larger and more elaborate, follows the same pattern. Refused its fortification walls, the city government could not well protect from the wrath of angry crowds. The tall tower not only symbolizes civic pride but has an extremely practical purpose: dominating the city as well as the surrounding countryside, it served as a lookout against invasion from without or within. Among Italian cities Venice alone was ruled by a merchant oligarchy so firmly established that internal disturbances with the exception of that first riot, for a consequence, Venetian palaces, distinguished by defensive requirements developed into graceful, ornate structures such as the Ca' d'Oro (fig. 102). There is more than a touch of the Chinese in the delicate lattice-work effect of this facade, even though most of the decorative vocabulary derives from the Late Gothic of northern Europe. Its stipping pattern, ideally designed to be seen against the sun reflecting in the water of the Grand Canal, has the same light-bright quality we recall from the exterior of St. Mark's (see fig. 104).

#### SCULPTURE: 1386-1428

Although his account of the rebuilding of St. Denis does not deal at length with the sculptural decoration of the church, Adolph Fugot must have attached considerable importance to this aspect of the enterprise. The three portals of his west facade were far larger and more richly

carved than those of Norman Romanesque churches. Unhappily, their condition today is so poor that they do not tell us as much about Fugot's ideas of the role of sculpture within the total context of the structure he had envisioned. We may assume, however, that these three portals represented the way that the admirably well-preserved Claustral Cathedral (fig. 101), begun about 1140, under the influence of St. Denis, had even more ambitions in conception. They probably represent the oldest full-fledged example of Early Gothic sculpture. Comparing these with Romanesque portals, we are impressed first of all with a new sense of order, as if all the figures had suddenly come to attention, conscious of their responsibility to the architectural framework. The three portals, like the entire movement of Romanesque sculpture, have given way to an emphasis on symmetry and clarity; the figures on the heads, necks, and trunks are no longer entangled with each other but stand out as separate entities, so that the entire design carries much farther than that of previous portals. Particularly striking in this respect is the novel treatment of the jambs (fig. 101), which are lined with tall figures attached to columns. Similarly elongated figures, we recall, had occurred on the jambs or traceries of Romanesque portals (see figs. 102, 103), but they had been conceived as either carved into—or protruding from—the masonry of the doorway. The Claustral jamb figures, in contrast, are essentially separate, each with its own axis; they could, in theory at least, be detached from their supports. Here, then, we witness a development already revolutionary in importance: the first, basic step toward the emancipation of monumental sculpture in the round along the road of classical antiquity. Apparently this step could be taken only by "borrowing" the rigid cylindrical shape of the column for the human figure, with the result that these statues seem more distant than their Romanesque predecessors. Yet they will not retain their immobility and mechanical proportions for long: the very fact that they are seated endows them with a more emphatic presence than anything in Romanesque sculpture, and their heads show a gentle, human quality that betokens the fundamentally realistic trend of Gothic sculpture. Realism is, of course, a relative term whose meaning varies greatly according to circumstances. On the Claustral west portals, it appears to spring from a reaction against the fantastic and dehumanized aspects of Romanesque art, a reaction that may be seen not only in the calm, serene split of the figures and their increased physical bulk (compare the Claustral of the center symposium with that at Vitruvius, fig. 104) but in the rational discipline of the sculptural program underlying the entire scheme. While the outer aspects of this program are accessible only to a mind fully conversant with the theology of the Claustral Cathedral School, its main elements are simple enough to be grasped by the man in the street. The jamb statues, a continuous sequence linking all three portals, represent the prophets, kings, and queens of the Bible; their por-

gave is both to sustain the rulers of France as the spiritual descendants of Old Testament royalty and to stress the hierarchy of secular and spiritual rule, of prince (or emperor and king)—as ideal ultimately put forward by which figure, Christ himself appears enthroned above the main doorway as Judge and Ruler of the Universe, flanked by the symbols of the four Evangelists, with the apostles assembled below and the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in the antichambers. The right-hand tympanum shows his incarnation: the Birth, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Infant Christ on the lap of the Virgin (who also stands for the Church), while in the gables we see the personifications and representatives of the liberal arts—Roman windows paying homage to the divine wisdom of Christ. In the left-hand tympanum, finally, we see the timeless Heavenly Christ, the Christ of the Incarnation, flanked by the signs of the zodiac and their earthly counterparts, the labours of the twelve months—the ever-repeating cycle of the year.

When Chartres Cathedral was rebuilt after the fire of 1194, the Royal Portal of the west facade must have seemed rather small and old-fashioned in relation to the rest of the new edifice. Perhaps for that reason, the two trumpet façades each received three large and heavily

carved portals provided by deep porches. The grand statuary of these portals, each with group doors in figure 98, represents an early phase of High Gothic sculpture. By now, the symbolism of statue and column has begun to dissolve: the columns are quite literally put in the shade by the greater scale of the figures, by the strongly projecting canopies above, and by the elaborately carved bases of the statues. In the three saints on the right, we still find echoes of the rigid cylindrical shape of Early Gothic (and statue, but even here the heads are no longer strictly in line with the central axis of the body, and St. Theodore, the knight on the left, already stands at ease, in a combination of Classical contrapposto. His feet rest on a horizontal platform, rather than on a sloping shelf as before, and the curve of his body, instead of being straight, describes a slight but perceptible S-curve. Even more convincing is the abundance of precisely observed detail—the rumples, the texture of the hair and flesh and mail—and, above all, the organic movement of the body. Two more imperial Roman times have we seen a figure so thoroughly alive as this. For the most impressive quality of the statue is not its realism; it is, rather, the serene, balanced image of man which this realism conveys. In this ideal portrait of the Christian soldier, the

192. West facade, Chartres Cathedral: a trumpet





191. Saint Statues, West Facade, Chartres Cathedral

spirits of the Crusades has been cast into its most elevated form.

The style of the *de Selve* could not have evolved directly from the elongated columnar statues of the Chartres west facade. It incorporates another, equally important tradition: the character of the Minor relief, which we traced in an earlier chapter from Roman of Rouen to Nicholas of Verdun (compare figs. 194, 195, 196).



192. Saint Statues, South Transept Portal, Chartres Cathedral c. 1145-50

196). At the end of the twelfth century this trend, inherited from its medieval and miniature, began to appear in monumental stone sculpture as well, transforming it from Early Gothic to Classic High Gothic. The link with Nicholas of Verdun becomes strikingly evident in the block of the Virgin (fig. 199), a fragment from Strasbourg Cathedral contemporary with the Chartres transept portals. Here the draperies, the facial types, the movements and gestures have a classical flavor that immediately recalls the Klosterneuburg altar (fig. 195). What marks it as Gothic rather than Romanesque, on the other hand, is the deeply felt tenderness permeating the entire scene. We sense a bond of shared emotion among the figures, an ability to communicate by glance and gesture such as we have never met before. This quality of feeling, too, has Classical roots—we recall its entering into Christian art during the Second Golden Age in Byzantium (see fig. 184). But how much warmer and more eloquent it is in its brotherhood than at Hagia Sophia!

The climax of Gothic classicism is reached in some of the statues at Reims Cathedral: the most famous among them being the Violante group (fig. 198, right). To have a pair of joint figures meet a narrative scene such as this would have been unthinkable in Early Gothic sculpture: the fact that there can be no scene shows how far the art-





Fig. 109. Christ of the Flight,  
tympanum of the south transept,  
Reims Cathedral, c. 1230

Figure 109. Christ of the Flight,  
tympanum of the south transept,  
Reims Cathedral, c. 1230-40

uting columns has receded into the background. Christ, schematically enough, the *Salvator*, much more conspicuous than in the St. Theodore, dominates the side view as well as the front view, and the physical bulk of the body is further emphasized by horizontal folds pulled across the abdomen. The relationship of the two women shows the same human warmth and sympathy we find in the Brewhouse tympanum, but their dimension is of a far more monumental kind: they remain as an foreshadow of ancient Roman statues (compare fig. 101) that we wonder if the artist could have been inspired directly by large-scale Roman sculpture. The influence of Nicholas of Verdun alone could hardly have produced such finely rounded, solid volumes.

The vast scale of the sculptural program for Reims Cathedral had made it necessary to call upon the services of masters and workshops from various other building sites, and so we encounter several distinct styles among the Reims sculpture. Two of these styles, both clearly different from the character of the *Finestre*, appear in the Annunciation group (fig. 99), left. The Virgin exhibits a graceful manner, with a rigidly vertical body and straight, tubular limbs meeting at sharp angles; it may probably be traced about 1230 by the sculpture of the west porch of Notre-Dame in Paris from there (figured in Reims as well as Reims) (see fig. 99, below). The angel, in contrast, is comparatively graceful in some the way, round face framed by curly locks, the emphatic smile, the strong *Salvator* of the slender body, the simplicity of the drapery. This "flegant style," dated around 1230 by the Parisian master working for the royal court, was in spread for and wide during the following decades; it soon became, in fact, the standard formula for High Gothic sculpture. We shall feel its effect for many years to come, not only in France but abroad. A



characteristic feature is the fine group of Abraham and Melchizedek, carved shortly after the middle of the century for the interior west wall of Reims Cathedral (fig. 99). Abraham, in the manner of a medieval knight, still recalls the vigorous realism of the St. Theodore or



above: 490. *Archangel and Archibishop*, interior west wall, Reims Cathedral. After 1210

right: 491. *The Virgin of Paris*, Early 14th century, Notre-Dame, Paris

Charles; Michelangelo, however, shows clearly his distance from the angel of the Reims Annunciation—his hair and beard are even more elaborately curled, the draperies more lavishly simple, so that the body almost disappears among the riotous play of folds. The deep recesses and sharply projecting ridges bring a new awareness of light-and-shadow effects that seems more pictorial than sculptural, and the same may be said of the way the figures are placed in their common niche, a half-century later every trace of division has disappeared from Gothic sculpture. The human figure itself now becomes strongly conscious and abstract. Thus the famous *Virgin of Paris* (fig. 491) in Notre-Dame Cathedral stands largely of hollows, the proportions having been reduced to the point where they are seen as lines rather than volumes. The statue is quite literally dis-embedded—in every sense no longer bears any relationship to the Classical conception. Compared to such masterly grace, the angel of the Reims Annunciation seems cold and lifeless indeed, yet it contains the seed of the way question is strikingly expressed in the *Virgin of Paris*.

As we look back over the century and a half that separates the *Virgin of Paris* from the Charles and



periods, we cannot help wondering what brought about this change from the realism of Early and Classic High Gothic sculptures. Despite the fact that the new style was fostered by the royal court and thus had special authority, we find it hard to explain why unworldly elegance and calligraphic, smoothly flowing lines came to dominate Gothic art throughout Northern Europe from about 1250 to 1350. It is clear, nevertheless, that the *Virgin*



of Paris represents neither a return to the Renaissance nor a complete repudiation of the earlier modern trend. Civilized nations had never been of the all-consuming, continuous sort; it had been a "continent of particulars." Forward as specific details rather than as theories of all structure of the world's world, the most characteristic products are: first the classically-inspired public squares and town-hall constructions of the early Renaissance century, the

actual-scale savings made in the Caisse of the Atlantic in special frames on the façade of Avenue Coligny (fig. 49), with their delightful observation of everyday life. This intimate blend of modern services never within the abstract formal framework of the Vierge of Paris, we see it in the Infant Christ, who appears, born not in the Northern-innocence, apparently facing the beholder, but in a characteristic Southern child smiling with his



499. Choirscreen on the choir screen,  
Naumburg Cathedral c. 1220-40



500. The Rise of John on the choir screen,  
Naumburg Cathedral c. 1220-40

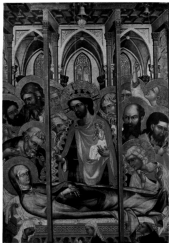
northern soil. Our nation then retains an emotional aspect which links it to the Strasbourg *Beast of the Virgin* and to the Roman *Plinianus*. It is this aspect, not nation or character as such, that is the essence of Gothic art.

The spread of Gothic sculpture beyond the borders of France began only toward 1200—the style of the *Chancel* was more portable but hardly any where abroad has, even under way, approached it as astonishingly rapid pace. England may well have led the way, as it did in evolving its own version of Gothic architecture. Unfortunately, so much English Gothic sculpture was destroyed during the Reformation that we can study its development only with difficulty. The richest remains are the tombs, which do not accept the iconoclasm of anti-Catholics. They include a life, illustrated by the optimal example in figure 502, that has no counterpart on the other side of the Channel; it shows the deceased, not in quiet repose as does the vast majority of medieval tombs, but in violent action, a fallen hero fighting in the twelfth century. According to an old tradition, these dramatic figures, whose agony so vividly recalls the *Boys of Don* (see fig. 177), honor the memory of Crusaders who died in the struggle for the Holy Land. If so, they testify to the needs of Christian soldiers, carry a religious meaning that might help to account for their compelling expressive power. In any case, they are among the finest achievements of English Gothic sculpture.

In Germany, the growth of Gothic sculpture can be traced more easily. From the 1220s to 1250, German masters trained in the sculptural workshops of the great French cathedrals transplanted the new style to their homeland, although German architecture at that time was still predominantly Romanesque. However, even after the middle of the century, Germany failed to emulate the vast literary output of France. As a consequence, German Gothic sculpture tended to be less closely linked with architectural setting (the stone work was often done for the interior rather than the exterior of churches) and this, in turn, permitted it to develop an individuality and expressive freedom greater than that of its French models. All these qualities are strikingly evident in the style of the Naumburg Master, an artist of real genius whose best-known work is the magnificent series of statues and reliefs he carved, about 1220-40, for Naumburg Cathedral. The *Chancel* (fig. 502) forms the central feature of the choir screen, enclosed by a three, gabled porch. The three figures from the opening that links the nave with the sanctuary. Facing the group as he did neither than above the screen, in accordance with the craft practice) our sculptor has brought the sacred subject down-to-earth both physically and emotionally: the suffering of Christ becomes a human reality because of the emphasis on the weight and volume of the Risen's body, and Mary and John, gazing with the beholders, convey their grief more eloquently than ever before. The action of these figures is heroic and dramatic, as against



*Colophon 13. Hieronymus Bosch, The Fight Between Carnival and Lent. About 1490. Panel, 67 1/2 x 61 1/2". The Louvre, Paris*



*Exultation (by Beata Beata, Feast of the Virgin, 1490s)*  
 Folio 50v (179v) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Collection de l'École Supérieure de Commerce, Paris, sous le titre *Les Fêtes Nationales de la Révolution*,  
 1793-94, Musée de la Ville, Paris, France



*Colombe de la Sainte Vierge, The Adoration of the Kings*  
 1470. Panel of 107 x 107 cm. 18th century, France



the *typicon* of the Brethrenhouse symposium or the Reims *statuette*. If the Clavin Gothic sculpture of France makes comparisons with Flavian, the Naumburg Master might be termed the temperamental kin of Scopas. The same intensity of feeling dominates the Prussian scenes, such as the *Kiss of Judas* (fig. 48), with its unforgettable contrast between the meekness of Christ and the violence, sword-wielding St. Peter. Finally there are, attached to the responds inside the choir, the statues of saints associated with the breeding of Christ and the infant, among them the famous pair, Elizabeth and John (fig. 49). Although these men and women were not of the artist's own time, so that he knew them only as names in a chronicle, he

has given each of them a personality as distinctive and beautiful as if he had portrayed them from life. They make an instructive contrast with the St. Theodore at Chartres (see fig. 38).

Gothic sculpture, as we have come to know it in this, reflects a desire to escape the traditional forms of Christ: men are not with narrow greater emotional appeal. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the tendency gave rise to a new kind of religious imagery, designed to serve private devotion; it is often referred to by the Germans term *devotionalism*, since Germany played a leading part in its development. The most characteristic and widespread type of *devotionalism* was the *Pieta* (an Italian word derived from the Latin *pieris*, the root word for both "pity" and "play"), a representation of the Virgin grieving over the dead Christ. No such scene occurs in the original account of the Passion; it was invented, rather — as we do not know exactly when or where — in a high counterpart to the familiar world of the Madonna and Child. The example reproduced in figure 48 came from the same period as the *Virgin of Lucca*; like most such groups, it is carved of wood, with a vividly painted sur-



above: 49, Elizabeth and John,  
Naumburg Cathedral, c. 1220-30

right: 48, *Pieta*, Early 14th century.  
Wood, height 22 1/2". Provincetown Museum, Boston



1900-1901: Charles Fournier,  
Portal of the Chartraine de Champagné,  
Dijon, 1901-02



Before 1901: Charles Fournier,  
the statue that 1900-1901  
height of figure 11,  
Chartraine de Champagné, Dijon



here to enhance its impact. Besides these has become purely a vehicle of expression—the agonized face, the blood-stained wounds of Christ that are enlarged and elaborated to an almost grotesque degree; and the bodies and limbs are of a puppet-like thinness and rigidity. The purpose of the work, clearly, is to induce in overwhelming a sense of horror and pity that the beholder will identify his own feelings completely with those of the great crucified Mother of God.

As first glance, our First would seem to have little in common with the Virgins of Paris. Yet they both share a less, "defiant" quality of form that is the characteristic period flavor of Northern Europeans art from the late thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth. They after 1330 do we again find an interest in weight and volume, coupled with a renewed impulse to explore tangible reality. The climax of this trend occurred around 1340, during the period of the so-called International Style (for which see page 216). Its greatest exponent was Claus Slüter, a sculptor of Northern-Gothic origin working for the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon. The portal of the Chartraine de Champagné (fig. 49), which he did in 1349-53, reveals the monumental statuary uncharacteristically unadorned portals, but the figures there grow in large and expressive than they almost completely their architectural framework. This effect is due not only to their size and the bold three-dimensionality of the carving, but also to the fact that the joint statues (John Philip the Bold and his wife, accompanied by their parents) rather are turned toward the Madonna and the infant, so that the five figures form a single, coherent unit, like the Crucifixion group at Neupont. In both instances, the sculptural composition has simply been expressed

power—however skillfully—on the stage of the doorway, are derived from it as at Chartres, Notre-Dame, or Reims. Significantly enough, the Champenois portal did not pave the way for a revival of architectural sculpture; it remained an isolated effort, and Sluter's other works belong to a different category, which for lack of a better term we must label church furniture (altars, pulpits, etc.), combining large-scale sculpture with a small-scale architectural setting. The most impressive of these is the *Messe d'Al* at the *Chapelle de Champenois* (fig. 491), a splendid wall surrounded by statues of Mary and other Old Testament prophets and now surmounted by a crucifix. The majestic Mary epitomizes the same quali-

ties we find in Sluter's portal statues; only, less sharply defined patterns envelop the heavy-set body like an ample shawl, the swelling drapes seem to reach out into the surrounding space, determined to capture as much of it as possible (note the outward curve of the scrolls, in the heads, facing left in our illustration, these aspects of our artist's style are less pronounced); what arises as, rather, as the precise and masterful radius of every detail, from the minutiae of the costume to the texture of the wrinkled skin. The head, unlike that of Mary, has all the individuality of a portrait. Nor is this impression diminishing, for the sculptural development that culminated in Claus Sluter had produced, from about 1290 on, the first genuine portraits since late antiquity. And Sluter himself has left us two splendid examples in the heads of the *Isidore* and *Eleuthère* on the *Chapelle de Champenois*. It is this attachment to the tangible and specific that distinguishes his realism from that of the thirteenth century.

We have left a discussion of Italian Gothic sculpture to the last, for here, too, as in Gothic architecture, Italy stands apart from the rest of Europe. The earliest Gothic sculpture on Italian soil was probably produced in the



about 1295. Nicola Pisano, *Messe d'Al*,  
1295-96, Reims, France

about 1295-1300. The *Isidore*, detail of  
the *Messe d'Al*, Reims, France

about 1300. Giovanni Pisano, *The Crucifix*, detail of the  
*Messe d'Al*, 1300-05, Pisa Cathedral





gates; they are now opened far enough apart to let us see the landscape setting that creates them, and each figure has been allotted its own patch of space. If *Giusto's* *Samson* strikes us as so essentially a sequence of halting, wounded moments, *Verrocchio's* appears to be made up mainly of certainties and shadows.

*Giorgio* *Francesco*, then, seems to follow the same road toward "three-dimensionality" that we encountered earlier (the steps around *120*). He does so, however, only within limits. Compared to the *Figure of Peter*, his *Statue of Piero degli Strozzi* (fig. 214) and immediately evokes memories of *Verrocchio's*. The three-dimensional firmness of the modeling is further emphasized by the strong turn of the head and the draped-out full leg; we also note the heavy, button-like folds of the undergarment figure is in. Yet these points indicate that the *Francesco* is not a French prototype which must have been rather like the *Figure of Peter*. The back view, with its suggestion of "Gothic grace" (note the construction more clearly than the front view).

The figures of Italian Gothic churches, we will recall, do not rival those of the French cathedrals as focal points of architectural and sculptural endeavor. The French Gothic portal, with its jumble of statues and delicate carved companions, never found three in the front, instead, we often find a survival of Romanesque traditions of architectural sculpture, such as statues in niches or small-scale reliefs overlaying the wall surface (compare fig. 107). At *Orsanmaggio*, *Verrocchio* *Marino* carved the wide plaques between the portals with relief-carvings of such Gothic delicacy that we become aware of them only if we see them at close range. The statues of the church from the *San Jacopo* in the neighborhood of *Orsanmaggio* (fig. 215) make an interesting comparison with similar works in Romanesque art (fig. 107). The Gothic models are as delicate as iron, but the artists now make comparison rather than share honor. Even here, then, we find the spirit of human sympathy that distinguishes the Gothic from the Romanesque.

If Italian Gothic sculpture failed to combine the vast sculptural programs of northern Europe, it excelled in the field which we have called *shaded figures*, such as pulpits, tombs, shrines, and fonts. Among the latter, the most remarkable perhaps is the monument of *San Grande della Scala*, the head of *Verrocchio*. It tall structure built up of successive shrines of the *San Marino*, it consists of a vaulted canopy housing the sarcophagus and surrounded by a horizontal pedestal which in turn supports an exquisite statue of the deceased (fig. 216). The ruler, seated in his richly ornamented throne, is shown in full armor, sword in hand, as if he were standing on a windward hill at the head of his troops, and, in a supreme display of self-confidence, he wears a third grin. Clearly, this is no Christian figure, no availing knight, no embodiment of the spirit of chivalry, but a frank glorification of power. *San Grande*, personified today mainly as the friend and protector of *Verrocchio*, was



211. Equestrian Statue of San Grande della Scala, from the tomb, 1520. *Verrocchio*, Venice



212. *Verrocchio* and *Francesco* from a *Marino*, showing the *San Marino* shrine.

1524. *Marino*, height 2.27'. In *San Marino*, Venice



14th-century sculpture: The Saviour of Man, 1390-1400, Ghiberti, ca. 1400, National Museum, Florence

selective extraordinary figures, although he held Varona at a bay from the German emperor, he styled himself "the Great Khan," thus asserting his claim to the absolute sovereignty of an Asian potentate. His five-armed, impragmatic torso - a form of monument traditionally reserved for emperors - conveys the same ambition in visual terms.

During the late fourteenth century, northern Italy proved particularly susceptible to artistic influences from across the Alps, not only in architecture (see Milan Cathedral fig. 109) but in sculpture as well. The sculptors stop the short career of St. Mark's in Venice (fig. 108), turned by Jacopo della Porta and his pupils into a more open, where the most recent greater masters and the revived interest in weight and volume that culminated in the work of Claus Sluter, even though these qualities are not yet fully developed here. With the sculptors from St. Mark's, we first encounter on the (threshold of the "International style," which flourished throughout Western Europe between 1380 and 1420, its foremost representative in Italian sculpture was a Florentine, Lorenzo Ghiberti, who as a youth must have had close contact with French art. We first encounter him in 1390-1400, when he was a competition for a pair of fully decorated bronze doors for the Baptistry in Florence. (It took him more than ten decades to complete these doors, which fill the north portal of the building.) Each of the competing entries had to contain a "nude relief," a Gothic square relief frame, representing the Saviour of

Man. Ghiberti's panel (fig. 109) is first of all not the perfection of its contemporaries, which reflects his training as a goldsmith. The witty character of the surface, the wealth of beautifully articulated detail, make it easy to understand why this entry was awarded the prize. If the composition seems somewhat lacking in dramatic force, that is an characteristic of Ghiberti's style, lyrical temper as of the rest of the period, for the realism of the International style did not extend to the realm of the emotions. The figures, in their witty draped, simple garments, retain an air of courtly elegance even when they share scenes of violence. However much his work may owe to French influence, Ghiberti proves himself thoroughly Italian in his respect for antiquaries for ancient sculpture, as evidenced by the beautiful nude torso of Jesus. There are still traces a tradition of classical idealism that had reached its highest point in Greek Rome but that gradually died out during the fourteenth century. But Ghiberti is also the last of Giovanni Pisano. In the latter's *Annunciazione* panel (fig. 107) we noted a built-in emphasis on the spatial setting, the relief carved within the same tendency a good deal further, achieving a far more natural sense of movement. For the first time since classical antiquity, we are made to experience the background of the panel not as a flat surface but as empty space from which the sculptured forms emerge toward the beholder (note particularly the angel in the upper right-hand corner). This "plastic" quality marks Ghiberti's work as the painting of the International style, where we find a similar interest with spatial depth and atmosphere (see below, page 110). While not a revolutionary himself, he prepares the ground for the great innovations that will mark the second decade of the fifteenth century in Florentine art and that we call the Early Renaissance.

## PAINTING, 1380-1420

Unlike Gothic architecture and sculpture, which began as dominantly as St. Denis and Chartres, Gothic painting developed a profile that gave it its early range. The new architectural style sponsored by Abbot Suger gave birth to a new conception of monumental sculpture almost at once but did not demand any radical change of style in painting. Suger's account of the rebuilding of his church, in the end, places a great deal of emphasis on the structural effect of stained-glass windows, whose "continuous light" flooded the interior. Stained glass was thus an integral element of Gothic architecture from the very beginning. Yet the technique of stained-glass painting had already been perfected in Romanesque times; the "many masters from different regions" whom Suger recruited to do the choir windows at St. Denis may have had a larger task and a more complex pictorial program than before, but the style of their designs remained Romanesque.



400. *Stabat Mater*, c. 1300. Stained glass window.  
Height 2' 10". Bourges Cathedral



401. Detail of Figure 400

During the next half-century, as Gothic structures became ever more sketched and decorative windows grew to vast size, stained glass displaced manuscript illumination as the leading form of painting. Since the production of stained glass was so intimately linked with the great cathedral workshops, the designs were to be influenced more and more by architectural sculpture, and in this way, about the year 1300, arrived a collectively Gothic style of their own. The tapestry *Stabat Mater* (fig. 400) of Bourges Cathedral, one of a series of windows representing Old Testament prophets, is the direct like of the great murals on the Chartres transept portals and of the Fontaine group at Reims. All three works show a common ancestor, the dominating style of Nicholas of Verdun (compare fig. 395), yet the *Stabat Mater* resembles a more projected style: a transcendent source rather than an enlarged figure from the stained program of the Chartres transept stair. Examining one of the sections of the

stained glass in close range (fig. 401), we realize that the window consists not of large pieces but of hundreds of small pieces of "lead glass" bound together by strips of lead. The maximum size of these pieces was severely limited by the primitive methods of medieval glass manufacture, so that the artist who created this window could not simply "paint on glass"; rather, he painted with glass, according to his design, assembled the way one would a mosaic in a figure (panels, not of solid-shaped fragments which he cut to fit the contours of the forms. Only the four limbs, such as eyes, hair, and drapery folds, were added by actually painting—in, better perhaps, drawing—in black or gray on the glass surface. While this process encourages an abstract, schematic style, it tends to exert any attempt to render three-dimensional effects. Yet in the hands of a great master the mere use of lead strips could make itself into figures of the burning incomprehensibility of our *Stabat Mater*.

Against the peculiar demands of their medium, the stained-glass workers fulfilled the windows of the great Gothic cathedrals also better than the draftsmen coming from the workshop behind their work. No Romanesque painter had ever been called upon to construct or paint as tall—the Ribadulid window is 1:14 feet tall—as so freely found even an architectural framework. The task required a technique of orderly planning for which the medieval painting tradition could offer no precedent. Only architects and some manuscript makers knew how to deal with this problem, and it was their methods that the stained-glass workers borrowed in mapping out their own compositions. Gothic architectural design, as we read from our discussion of the chest of St. Denis near page 130, is a system of geometric relationships; the same rules could be used to control the design of a stained-glass window, or even of an individual figure. We gain some insight into this procedure from the drawings in a notebook compiled about 1340 by the architect Villard de Honsmeurt, such as the *Wheel of Fortune* (fig. 494). What we see here is not the final version of the design but the scaffolding of circles and triangles on which the image is to be constructed. The proportions of these geometric schemes is well illustrated by another drawing from the same notebook, the *Plan View of a Lion* (fig. 495). According to the inscription, Villard has projected the animal from life, but a closer look at the figure will convince us that he was able to do so only after he had laid down a geometric pattern: a circle for the face circle due between the eyes in the center and a second, larger circle for the body. To Villard, then, drawing from life meant something far different from what it does to us—it meant fitting in an abstract framework with details based on direct observation. If we now turn back once more to the French drawings, simplified outlines of the Ribadulid, we cannot help wondering to what extent they, too, reflect a geometric scaffolding of some sort.

The period 1340-50 might be termed the Golden Age of stained glass. After that, as architectural activity declined and the demand for stained glass began to dwindle, manuscript illumination gradually supplanted its former position of leadership. By then, however, miniature painting had been thoroughly affected by the influence of both stained glass and stone sculpture, the artistic preoccupations of the last half of the century. The striking change of style is fully evident in figure 497, from a French book about 1360 for King Louis IX (St. Louis of France). The manuscript's format (1:1.5), in which Nebuch the Assyrian dominates the area of the page. We notice first of all the careful symmetry of the framework, which consists of five, ornamented panels very much like those in the Ribadulid window, and of an architectural setting. The latter recalls the canopy above the heads of noble men on fig. 345 and the seated male riders enclosing the trial of Abraham and Melchisedek at Bromwich 401. Against this emphatically rectangular background, the figure is "retained" by ornate and sketched modeling, but their sculptural quality stays short of the outer contours, which are defined by heavy dark lines rather like the lead strips in stained-glass windows. The figure themselves show all the characteristics of the elegant style originated about twenty years before by the sculptors of the royal court canopy the Assommoir (fig. 14) and this character in fig. 497: graceful gestures, sweeping poses, swelling lines, neatly waved strands of hair. Of the extensive usage of Romanesque painting as find out the slightest hint. Instead, our miniature recapitulates the style and refined taste that made the court art of Paris the standard for all Europe.

Until the fifteenth century, the production of illuminated manuscripts had been confined to the workshops of monasteries. Now, along with a great many other activities under the royal patronage of the monks, it shifted

494-495. French or Flemish court.  
*Wheel of Fortune* c. 1340  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



495. French or Flemish court.  
*Plan View of a Lion* c. 1340  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





ness and more to glass workshops organized by laymen, the masters of the painting houses of Italy. Here again the workshops of sculpture and stained-glass painters were fused into the pattern. Some members of this new, unified kind of illuminator are known to us by name, such as Master Matteo of Paris who, in 1392, did the miniature in the *Prayer Book of Philip the Fair*. Our sample (fig. 492) shows him working in a style derived from the Master of St. Louis. Significantly enough, however, the framework no longer dominates the composition; the figures have become larger, and their solid-like modeling is more emphatic; they are even permitted to overlap the frame, a device that helps to detach them from the flat pattern of the background and thus introduces a certain—though still very limited—space-into the picture.

We must now turn our attention to Italian painting, which at the end of the thirteenth century produced an explosion of creative change as spontaneous and as far-reaching in its impact upon the future, as the rise of the Gothic cathedral in France. A single glance at Giotto's *Lamentation* (fig. 493) will convince us that we

are faced with a truly revolutionary development here. How, we wonder, could a work of such intense dramatic power be conceived by a contemporary of Master Matteo? What were the conditions that made it possible? Gladly enough, as we inquire into the background of Giotto's art, we find that it arose from the same "folk-illumination" attitudes we find met in Italian Gothic architecture and sculpture. Medieval Italy, although strongly influenced by Northern art from Carolingian times on, nevertheless had always maintained close contact with Byzantine civilization. As a result, panel painting, mosaic, and mosaic—techniques that had never before been used north of the Alps—were kept alive on Italian soil, and at the very time when mosaic gave birth to the dominant painted art in France, a new wave of Byzantine influence counterbalanced the incoming Romanesque elements in Italian painting. There is a certain irony in the fact that this neo-Byzantine style (or "Greek manner," as the Italians called it) made its appearance some after the conquest of Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204—one thinks of the way Giotto at last once captured the taste of the victorious Westerners of old. Be that as it may, the Greek manner prevailed almost at the end of the thirteenth century, so that Italian painters were able to absorb the Byzantine tradition far more thoroughly than ever before. During this same period, as usual, Italian architects and sculptors followed a very different course (controlled by the Greek manner, they were assimilating the Gothic style). Eventually, toward 1300, Gothic influence spilled over into painting as well, and it was the conjunction of this element with the neo-Byzantine that produced the revolutionary new style of which Giotto is the greatest exponent.

Among the painters of the Greek manner, the Florentine master Cimabue, who may have been Giotto's teacher, occupied particular fame. His impressive altar panel of the *Madonna Enthroned* (fig. 494) stands the



fig. 492. Detail of miniature illustrating the Jews at Jerusalem, from the *Prayer Book of Philip the Fair*, 1392. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

fig. 493. Matteo di Giovanni, *Death of Christ*, from the *Prayer Book of Philip the Fair*, 1392. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





20. Theotokos Madonna Enthroned, c. 1050-60.  
Ivory, 10 1/2 x 11 1/2 in. (26.8 x 29.3 cm). Berlin-Dahlemburg, Germany

From Byzantine icons or mosaics (compare fig. 20) and contemporary wall relief sculptures it finds them to mainly a greater variety of design and expression, which tells its huge size. Panels or such a monumental scale had never been attempted in the West. Equally, neo-Byzantine is the gifted design of the person and the way the throne of infant Christ seems to enter this shape. The geometric balance (solidity, the architectural style of the throne—note central use of the Baptistry in Florence (see fig. 129)). Another Madonna Enthroned (fig. 22), painted a quarter of a century later by Giotto or his circle for the main altar of Santa Caterina, makes an instructive comparison with Cimabue's work. The Virgin framed this panel by including in the *Maestri*—"majesty"—to identify the Virgin's role here as the Queen of Heaven surrounded by her celestial court of saints and angels. In fact, given the two pictures may well stand side by side, both follow the

same basic scheme: yet the differences are important. They reflect not only two contrasting perceptions and contrasting techniques—the persistence of Byzantine design, sensitive of form—but also the rapid evolution of style. In Giotto's hands the Greek canon has become an Italian, and more: the rigid angular disposition here gives way to an understating softness, the abstract idealistic reverse with loss of gold is reduced to a minimum, and the bodies, faces, and hands are beginning to reveal with a subtle three-dimensional life. Clearly, the heritage of Byzantine Roman illumination that had deep roots part of the Byzantine tradition, however dormant or submerged, is asserting itself once more. But there is also a half-hidden Gothic stream here; we sense it in the fluency of the drapery folds, the appealing naturalism of the infant Christ, and the tender glances by which the figures communicate with each other. The chief source of this Gothic influence must have been Giovanni Pisano, who spent the decade 1250-60 in Rome in the workshop-entourage in charge of the cathedral facade.

Apart from the Madonna, the Maestri includes many small-compartments with scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. In these panels, the most mature works of Giotto's career, the pre-fertilization of Gothic and Byzantine elements has given rise to a development of fundamental importance—a new kind of picture space. The *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* (fig. 23), and

22. Another Madonna Enthroned, work of  
Giotto or his circle, the Maestri altar (1268-72). Panel,  
height 5' 10 1/2 in. (179 cm). Cathedral Museum, Siena





Fig. 481 (Detail). *Christ-Kinging Jerusalem*, from the back of the Monastery.

Below and: Duccio's *Annunciation of the Birth of the Virgin*, from the Monastery.



drawing it of its three-dimensional qualities. Even in the earliest scenes on the back of the Monastery, such as *Christ-King Jerusalem* (Fig. 481), the architecture remains in space-covering function; the diagonal movement into depth is conveyed not by the figures—which have the same scale throughout—but by the walls on either side of the road leading to the city, by the gate that frames the welcoming street, and by the structures beyond. Whatever the shortcomings of Duccio's perspective, his architecture again demonstrates its capacity to contain and contain, and for that very reason makes us so much intelligible than similar scenes in ancient art (compare Fig. 482).

As we turn from Duccio to Giotto, we meet an artist of far bolder and more dramatic impact. Yet to follow years younger, Giotto was less alone in the Greek manner than the staff, despite his probable apprenticeship under Cimabue. In a Florence, he followed in Cimabue's wake of monumental scale, which made him a wall painter by nature, rather than a panel painter. Of his surviving works, those in the Arena Chapel, Padua, done c.1305-1310, are the best preserved as well as the most characteristic. They include many of the same subjects that we find on the scenes of Duccio's Monastery, such as *Christ-King Jerusalem* (compare Fig. 481). The two versions have many elements in common, even though both ultimately derive from the same Byzantine source; but where Duccio has enriched the traditional scheme, especially as well as in narrative detail, Giotto subjected it to radical simplification. The action proceeds parallel to the picture (plainsy landscape, architecture, and figures have been reduced to the essential minimum. And the other

shows us something we have never seen before in the history of painting: two figures enclosed by an architectonic frame. Ancient painters (and their Byzantine successors) had been quite unable to achieve this; their architectural settings always stay behind the figures, so that their bodies seem to look as if they were taking place in an open-air theater, on a stage without a roof. Duccio's figures, in contrast, inhabit a space that is created and defined by the architecture, as if the action had moved a notch into his panel. Perhaps we will recognize the origin of this spatial framework: it derives from the architectural "housing" of Gothic sculpture (compare especially Figs. 475, 476). Northern Gothic artists, too, had tried to reproduce these architectural settings, but they could do so only by borrowing them out completely as in the *Passion of St. Louis* (Fig. 482). The Italian painters of Duccio's generation, on the other hand, trained as they were in the Greek manner, had acquired enough of the devices of Hellenistic-Roman literature to let them render such a framework without

technique of linear-perspective construction applied to the freshly planned walls with its limited range and intensity of tones, further emphasizes the austere quality of Cimabue's picture, which he executed in egg tempera on gold ground. It is perhaps in, although of somewhat later date, may help us to visualize the operating criteria of the thirteenth century's best work that by far the more powerful impact of the two; it makes us feel so close to the scene that we have a sense of being participants rather than distant observers. How does the artist achieve this extraordinary effect? He does so, first of all, by having the entire scene take place in the foreground—and even more important—by presenting it in such a way that the beholder's optical field falls within the lower half of the picture. Thus we can imagine ourselves standing on the same ground plane as the painted figures, while Cimabue makes us survey the scene from above in bird's-eye perspective. The consequences of this choice of viewpoint are truly spellbinding: choice implies conscious awareness—in our case, awareness of a relationship in space between the beholder and the picture—conclusions may well claim to be the first to have established such a relationship. Cimabue, certainly, does not yet conceive his picture space as continuous with the beholder's space (though we have the sensation of rapidly floating above the scene, rather than of looking where we stand), and even ancient painting of its most illustrious provides us more than a pseudo-continuity in this regard (see the previous discussion, page 10–11). Cimabue, on the other hand, not only tells us where we stand, he continues to frame with a three-dimensional reality so focused that this scene is visible and tangible as sculpture in the round. With him it is the figure, rather than the architectural

220 Cimabue, *The Lamentation*, 1268–69.  
Florence, Uffizi/Galleria, Parma



framework that creates the picture space. As a result, the space is more limited than Cimabue's—the depth extends no farther than the combined volume of the overlapping bodies within the picture—but within its limits lies an equally more persuasive. For his contemporaries, the tactile quality of Cimabue's art must have seemed a miracle: it was this that made these pictures like an equal, or even superior, to the greatest of the ancient masters, because his forms looked so lifelike that they could be mistaken for reality itself. Equally significant are the records linking Cimabue with the claim that painting is superior to sculpture—not as life itself, as it turned out, for Cimabue indeed mark the start of what might be called "the era of painting" in Western art. The spectacular turning point in the year 1294, when he was appointed the head of the Florentine-Cathedral workshop, as leader and responsible for the entire church's decoration in sculpture.

Yet Cimabue's role was not simply to transplant Gothic statuary into painting. By creating a radically new kind of picture space, he had also sharpened his awareness of the picture-canvas. When we look at a work by Cimabue for his ancient and medieval predecessors we tend to do so as individuals, as it were; our glance reveals them detail to detail as a intensely pure and we have surveyed the entire area. Cimabue, on the contrary, makes us see the whole at one glance. His large, simple forms, the

upper right: 1490, Giotto, *St. Francis Preaching to the Birds*. Panel, 40" x 40".  
Lilly Library, Florence

upper left: 1490, Piero Lorenzetti, *The Effect of the Flood*. Panel, 40" x 40".  
Collegio Mediceo, Rome



strong grouping of his figures, the limited depth of his "stage," all these factors help to underscore his scenes with an intense coherence such as we have never found before. Nature here dramatically frames the narrow verticals of the "blocks" of episodes on the left and contrasts with the upward slope formed by the welcoming crowd on the right, here Christ, alone in the center, bridges the gap between the two groups. The more we study the composition, the more we come to realize its majestic firmness and clarity. But Giotto's achievement is a matter of degree; does not fully emerge from any single work. Only if we compare a number of scenes from the Italian fresco cycle do we understand how perfectly the composition in each instance is attuned to the emotional content of the subject. Thus the scene has "expressed" the traditional pattern of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem to stress the solemnity of the event, as a triumphal procession of the Prince of Peace, while the tragic mood of the Lamentation (fig. 2) is brought home to us by the formal rhythm of the design as much as by the gestures and expressions of the participants. The very low center of gravity, the hunched, bending figures contribute the somber quality of the scene and prevent our composing even before we have grasped the specific meaning of the event depicted. With extraordinary boldness, Giotto sets off the human grief of the human scene

ers against the fleeting movement of the weeping angels among the clouds, as if the figures on the ground were constrained by their collective duty to maintain the stability of the composition while the angels, scattered weightless in flight, do not share this burden. Let us note, too, how the impact of the glances radiating from the severely simple setting, the descending slope of the hill acts as a counterpoint and at the same time directs our glances toward the heads of Christ and the Virgin, which are the focal point of the scene. From the top line a rare fiction, its harmonious and isolation suggest that all of nature somehow shares in the Saviour's death, yet it also invites us to ponder a more precise symbolic message. For it alludes—go down Death is a passage to the Tree of Knowledge, which the sin of Adam and Eve had caused to wither and which was to be renewed to life through the sacrificial death of Christ.

The art of Giotto is so strongly original that it seems as if it were difficult to trace than those of Giotto's style. Apart from his Florentine background as represented by the Giotto manner of Cimabue, the young Giotto seems to have been familiar with the late-Renaissance painters of Rome; in that city, he probably also became acquainted with other monuments—early Christian and ancient Roman mural decorations, classical sculpture, too, left an impression on him. More fundamental than



210. Antonio Litterio, *Good Government (period)*, 1578-81. France: Palais National, Paris

any of these, however, was the influence of the Florentine—*Pisano*, and especially *Giorgio*—the founding fathers of Italian Gothic sculpture. They were the chief intermediaries through whom Gothic first came in contact with the world of northern Gothic art. And the latter remains the most important of all the elements that entered into Giotto's style. Without the knowledge, direct or indirect, of Northern works such as those illustrated in figure 104 or figure 105, he could never have achieved the emotional impact of his *Annunciation*.

211. Antonio Litterio, *Good Government (detail)*, 1578-81. France: Palais National, Paris



What we have said of the Gothic sources applies equally to the *Madonna Enthroned* (fig. 214), the most important among the great number of panel paintings by early masters. Owing about the same time as Giotto's *Maestri*, it illustrates once again the difference between Florence and Rome, its architectural setting clearly deriving from Cimabue (see fig. 106). The figures, however, have the rather unexpressive quality of weight and volume we see in the frescoes in the Arena-Chapel, and the picture space is just as permeated—our reaction is here, that the golden halos look like Giotto's halos in *St. Thomas*. Initially enough, the scheme of a design based on Italian Gothic architecture has become a solid-like structure that excludes the *Madonnas* on their sides and thus "isolates" her from the gold background. Its least ornamentation includes one feature of special interest: the colored marble surfaces of the base and of the pedestal within the pinnacles. Such details before many centuries had been highly developed by ancient painters (see figs. 107 and 108, and catalogue no. 1), but the tradition had died out in early Christian times. Its sudden re-appearance here offers concrete evidence of Giotto's familiarity with abstract ancient models still in vogue in medieval Rome.

There are few more in the entire history of art to equal the extent of Giotto as a cultural innovator. His early greatness, however, tended to dwarf the next generation of Florentine painters, which produced only followers rather than new leaders. Their contemporaries in Rome were most fortunate in this respect, since Giotto never had the same overpowering impact. As a consequence, it was they, not the Florentines, who took the next decisive step in the development of Italian Gothic painting.



Left: 1925 Giovanni Martini,  
*The Triumph of Death* (reproduced  
 in 1925, *Primo Compimento, Roma*)

Below: 1926 Giovanni Martini  
 "Group" drawing for the  
*Triumph of Death* (reproduced  
 in 1925, *Primo Compimento, Roma*)

ing, Simone Martini, who painted the very last interior *Allegory of Culture* (reproduced 12) about 1390, may well claim to be the most distinguished of Duccio's disciples; the spent the last years of his life in Arezzo, the town in southern France that served as the residence-hermitage of the popes during most of the fourteenth century. Our panel, originally part of a small altar, was probably done there. In its squalling colors, and especially in the architectural background, it well reflects the art of Duccio (compare fig. 491). The vigorous modeling of the figures, on the other hand, as well as their dramatic gestures and expressions, betray the influence of Giotto. While Simone Martini is not much concerned with spatial clarity, he proves to be unconsciously acute observer; the clear variety of costumes and physical types, the wealth of human incident, create a sense of three-dimensional reality very different from both the lyricism of Duccio and the grandeur of Giotto. The crowning to everyday life also appears in the work of the brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, but on a more monumental scale and coupled with a keen interest in problems of space. The boldest spatial experiment in Piero's oeuvre of 1345, *The Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 492), where the painted architecture has been correlated with the real architecture of the house in such a way that the two are seen as a single space. Moreover, the rounded chamber where the birth takes place occupies two levels—it contains a colonnade behind the coturns that projects the scene from the right wing. The left wing represents an interior which leads to a room and only partially glimpsed architectural space suggesting the interior of a Gothic church. When Pietro Lorenzetti achieved here is the outcome of a development that began three decades earlier in the work of



Duccio (compare fig. 491), but only now does the pictorial surface assume the quality of a transparent window through which—and on which—we perceive the more limited spaces known from daily experience. For Duccio's work alone is not sufficient to explain Piero's astonishing breakthrough; it requires, precisely, rather, through a combination of the architectural picture space of Duccio



429 Giovanni da Nerves. Post, 1981. Post,  
20 x 20 cm. London, Florence

city and the architectural picture space of Giotto. The same procedure modified Ambrogio Lorenzetti, in his drawings of 1288-92 in the Siena city hall, to unfold a more problematic view of the entire town before our eyes (fig. 423). Again we can feel amazed at the distance that separates this precisely articulated "portrait" of Siena from Dürer's view of Jerusalem (see fig. 428). Ambrogio's moral forms part of an elaborate allegorical program depicting the contrast of good and bad government: hence the artist, in order to show the life of a medieval city-state, had to fill the streets and houses with bustling activity. The gay and busy crowd gives the architectural view its striking reality by introducing the human scene. On the right, because the image of evil dominates, the town's government house provides a view of the Siena countryside, fringed by distant mountains. It is a true landscape—the first since ancient Roman times—full of sweeping depth yet distinguished from its classical predecessors (such as columnar fig. 425) by an ingrained verticality, a domesticated air. From the presence of man is not sufficient, he has taken full possession of nature, turning the hillside with vineyards, patterning the valleys with the geometry of fields and pastures. In such a setting, Ambrogio observes the presence of their reconstruction (fig. 422), according to a rule

Trajan seems to characterize: that it has hardly changed during the past six hundred years.

The last four decades of the fourteenth century in Florence and Siena had been a period of political stability and economic expansion as well as of great artistic achievement. In the 1340s both cities suffered a series of catastrophes whose echoes were to be felt for many years: bad weather and outbreaks of bubonic plague, the Black Death, wiped out more than half the urban population. The popular reaction to these catastrophic events was mixed. Many people regarded them as signs of Divine wrath, warnings to a sinful humanity to forsake the pleasures of this world; to such people the Black Death represented a kind of reformer's exorcism. For others, such as the gay company in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, the fear of sudden death merely intensified the desire to enjoy life while there was yet time. These conflicting attitudes are reflected in a new personal theme, *The Triumph of Death*. The iconographic content is a longhouse elevated west after 1340 in the Compagnia, the cemetery building next to the Cathedral. From this work, attributed to the Florentine Francesco Traini, we reproduce a particularly dramatic detail (fig. 426). The elegantly costumed men and women on horseback have suddenly come upon their sleeping comrades in open fields, even the animals are terrified by the sight and smell of rotting flesh. Only the horses, having recognized all earthly pleasures, calmly point out the bones of the same. But still the living escape the lesson, or will they. Like the characters of Boccaccio, torn away from the shocking spectacle more determined than ever to pursue their own hedonistic ways? The artist's own sympathies were obviously divided; his style, far from being reformerically, recalls the realism of Ambrogio's systems, although the forms are harder and more expressive.

In a life which occurred in 1344, Traini's fresco was badly damaged and had to be detached from the wall in order to show what was left of it. This procedure exposed the first, rough part of plaster underneath, on which the artist had sketched out his composition (fig. 426). These drawings, of the same size as the fresco itself, also date in fact, hence they are called simply the Italian word derived from ancient language in Italy, *disegno*, which was famous as a source of black-and-white pageants, although line and sweeping, this great Traini's personal style more directly than the painted version, which was carried out with the solid materials. Disegno also seems to suggest us with the standard technique of preparing frescoes in the fourteenth century.

Traini still retains a strong link with the great masters of the second quarter of the century. More characteristic of Tuscan painting after the Black Death are the artists who did not reach maturity until the 1350s. None of them can compare with the men whose work we have





*Crucifixion (p. 106) and Last Judgment (p. 107), from the Lindisfarne Gospels, c. 900.*  
*Manuscript illumination from the Lindisfarne Gospels, c. 900.*  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Cloister, 1900).*



*Annunciation (St. Martin-en-Feytaert) (Robert Campin?); The Annunciation under a tree (part of the House of David).  
 About 1425-30. Panel, 17 1/2" x 27 1/2". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Cloisters Collection, Purchase)*



*Edwin Landseer, The Greek Slave, 1826. Oil on canvas, 100 x 120 cm. The painting is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*



*Salvador Dalí, 'The Garden of Delight' (Detail of the center area), c. 1494-1500. The Prado, Madrid*





191. *Manuscript Voynich 100. The Annunciation to the Virgin and the flight into Egypt (copy 100, folio 4v, p. 1). Museum of Fine Arts, Gifu*

space with the staff bent to form? It seems to be interesting to this last player position on the board above him. The four figures at the bottom of the page are playing a game of tag counters, a tabled game from the Iberian Peninsula that got on the left, and moving the figure heading up to the board without a moving counter against. These fanciful marginal designs—or *deliberes*—are a characteristic feature of Northern Celtic manuscripts. They had origins at least that is clearly before John Pencil in the regions along the English Channel, whence they spread to Paris and all the other centers of Celtic art. Their subject matter encompasses a vast range of motifs: fantasy, fables, and grotesque figures, as well as strictly observed scenes of everyday life, upper and lower side with religious themes. The sources of *deliberes* is in playfulness, while there is in a special domain where the artist enjoys unconstrained freedom, inventiveness, comparable to the license traditionally claimed by the court painter, thus accounts for the wide appeal of *deliberes* during the late Middle Ages.

As we approach the middle years of the twelfth century, Italian influence becomes ever more important in Northern Celtic painting. Sometimes this influence was transmitted by Italian artists working in Northern art, as examples in *Manuscript 100* (see page 191). The illuminated borders with scenes of country life in the *Primer of the Pope of Angers* (fig. 192) were done by

one of his Italian followers, who must have been there, deeply familiar with the previous chapters of landscape and deep space in Italian painting. The work shows many of the qualities we recall from the *Good Government* fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (see fig. 194). Another gateway of Italian influence was the city of Pavia, which in 1198 became the residence of Emperor Charles IV and rapidly developed into an international cultural center second only to Paris. The *Book of the Virgin* (see page 193), by an unknown Northern painter of about 1210, again brings to mind the settlements of the great foreign masters, although there were known to our artists only as second or third hand, the growing reliance of other master figures. Master (see page 193) and the carefully articulated architectural interior settings in detail from such works as *Primer Lorenzetti's* *Book of the Virgin* (fig. 195), although it lacks the spaciousness of its Italian models. Italian, too, is the vigorous modeling of the heads and the overlapping of the figures, which reinforces the three-dimensional quality of the design but raises the awkward question of what to do with the Italian. (I know, we will remember, had faced the same problem in his *Madonna* (see page 194), copy 100.) Still, the Northern master's picture is not a mere echo of Italian painting. The gestures and facial expressions convey an intensity of emotion that represents the best heritage of Northern Celtic art. In this respect, our panel is far more akin to the *Book of the Virgin* at Brunswick (see page 195) than to any Italian work.

Toward the year 1200, the mingling of Northern and Italian traditions had given rise to a single dominant style throughout western Europe. This International style was not confined to painting—we have used the same term for the sculpture of the period—but painters clearly played the main role in its development. Among the most important was Heinrich Wundelstein, a Fleming who worked for the court of the Duke of Burgundy in Gifu. The panel reproduced in figure 196, one of a pair of diptychs for an altar shrine which he did 1 year or so before two pictures within a single frame, the temple of the *Procurator* and the landscape of the *Virgin* (see figure 196) stand alongside side by side, even though the artist has made a half-hearted effort to persuade us that the landscape extends around the building. Compared to these and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Wundelstein's picture space still differs in as many as many ways—the architecture looks like a shell's house, and the details of the landscape are quite out of scale with the figures. Yet the panel conveys a far stronger feeling of depth than we have found in any previous Northern work. The reason for this is the richness of the modeling, the subtly rounded shapes, the dark, velvety shadows create a sense of light and air that does more than make up for any shortcomings of scale or perspective. The same rich, pictorial quality—a hallmark of the International style—appears in the simple, broadly shaped garments





222. Giovanni da Fiesole, *The Trinity* (probable) used as the altarpiece shown in Leonardo da Vinci's copy

and the foreground figures—for the first time since classical antiquity—into middle darkness on the ground. Once more we moved at the middle of reality almost within the narrower in the middle distance to the horizon points of the tower to the wall of the thickly planted field. That scene is memorable in other ways as well: its tattered clothing, its unhappy men, go beyond mere description. It is meant to be a pathetic figure, to arouse our awareness of the miserable lot of the peasantry in contrast to the life of the aristocracy, as symbolized by the splendid master on the far bank of the river. (The result, nevertheless, is a "portrait" of the Italian peasant, the most vivid structure of its kind at that time; see page 221.)

Several of the calendar pages are devoted to the life of the nobility. The most interesting perhaps is the January page, the only January scene of the group, which shows the Duke of Berry as a peasant (fig. 223). He is moved here to a huge landscape, with a scene to present him and incidentally to set a kind of order: here that section of space the mountain of mountains and aristocrats. His theme, known to us also from other works of the period, has all the distinctive qualities of a fine portrait, but the rest of the crowd—except for the youth and the clerk on the Duke's right—disappears as a lack of individuality. They are all of the same type, in line as well as manner, uniformly middle-class whose superhuman endurance brings to mind their famous counterparts in the Italian legends of our own day. They are differentiated only by the resistance and variety of their clothing, hardly the gap between them and the nobility present of the French aristocracy could not have been greater in real life than it appears in these pictures!

From the costly drawing of the January page it is but a step to the three May and their scene in the atmosphere

by Giotto da Fabriano, the greatest Italian painter of the International Style (chapter 11). The scenes here are as colorful, the peasants as happy and witty as in the North. The Holy Family on the left almost seems in danger of being overwhelmed by the gay and festive peasant pressing down upon it from the hills in the distance. Again we witness the happy-go-lucky and cheerful peasants, which now include not only the familiar ones but hunting hawks, camels, and monkeys. (Such scenes were highly collected by the princes of the period, many of whom kept private men.) The Christ background of the May is further emphasized by the bright red and gold of some of their costumes. It is not these motifs, however, that make our picture as the work of an Italian master feel something else, a greater sense of weight, of physical substance, than we could hope to find among the Flemish or representatives of the International Style. Giotto, despite his love of the detail, is obviously a painter used to working on a monumental scale, rather than a miniature or miniature artist. Yet he, too, commanded the delicate pictorial effects of a miniature, as we can see if we turn to the small panel showing the base, or pedestal, of his sculpture. In the March (fig. 224) the new presence of light that we first observed in the October page of the *John the Baptist* shines light as an independent figure, separate from form and color—dark under the entire picture. Even though the main sources of illumination are the three radiance of the windows "Child" ("the light of the world") and of the angel bringing the glad tidings to the shepherds in the fields, that effect is an actual—note the strong cast shadows, as if the figures were lit by a sun. The parts of the scene of the night scene open up a whole new world of outside possibilities, possibilities that were not to be fully developed until two centuries later.



## THE RENAISSANCE

In describing the transition from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages, we were able to point to a great event—the rise of Islam—marking the separation between the two eras. No comparable event sets off the Middle Ages from the Renaissance. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to be sure, witnessed far-reaching developments: the fall of Constantinople and the Turkish conquest of southeastern Europe; the journey of exploration that led to the founding of overseas empires in the New World, in Africa and Asia, with the subsequent eras of Spain and England as the foremost colonial powers; the deep spiritual crisis of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. But none of these events, however vast their effects, can be said to have produced the new era. By the time they happened, the Renaissance was well under way. Thus it is hardly surprising that the crises, the events, and the upheavals of the Renaissance have long been a favorite subject of debate among historians, and that their opinions vary like those of the proverbial blind men trying to describe an elephant. Even if we changed the identity of scholars who would share the existence of the animal metaphor, we are left with an extraordinary diversity of views on the Renaissance. Every branch of human study has tended to describe the two eras of the period. While these images overlap, they do not coincide, so that our concept of the Renaissance may vary along lines as to literature, music, literature, philosophy, politics, economics, or science. Perhaps the only essential point on which most experts agree is that the Renaissance had begun when people realized they were no longer living in the Middle Ages.

This statement is not a simple-minded as it sounds. It brings out the undeniable fact that the Renaissance was the last period in history in which men experienced and to some extent felt for itself. (Those who believe that there was no such thing as the Renaissance admit this, but stress that the people who thought they were no longer living in the Middle Ages were deluded.) Modern men did not think of themselves as an age distinct from classical antiquity, the past to rise, animated simply of "it" and "is it." The era "under the Law" cited is, of the first Renaissance author was "of Greece" that is, after the birth of Christ. From his point of view, then, history was made in Athens rather than in Rome. The Renaissance, to contrast, divided the past not according to the Greek plan of antiquity, but on the basis of human

achievement. It saw classical antiquity as the era when man had reached the peak of his creative powers, so we brought to a sudden end by the barbarian invasions that destroyed the Roman Empire. During the thousand-year interval of "darkness" which followed, little was accomplished, but now, at last, the "time between" or "Middle Age" had been superseded by a revival of all that ancient civilization which flourished in classical antiquity. The present, the "New Age," could then be fittingly labeled a "rebirth"—renewed in Italian from the Latin *renasci*, to be reborn, *renaissance* in French and, by adoption, in English. The origin of this revolutionary view of history can be traced back to the circle in the writings of the Italian poet Petrarch, the first of the great ones who made the Renaissance. Petrarch, however, thought of the new era mainly as a "revival of the classics," that is, limited to the restoration of Latin and Greek to their former purity and the return to the original texts of ancient authors. During the next two centuries, this concept of the revival of antiquity grew to embrace almost the entire range of cultural endeavor, including the visual arts. The letter, in fact, came to play a particularly important part in shaping the Renaissance, for precisely that we shall have to explore later.

That the new humanism—so which, to us, is so essential, we saw our concept of the Renaissance, the Middle Ages and classical antiquity—should have had its start in the mind of one man is itself a telling comment on the new era. Petrarch's plan for a revival of antiquity is extraordinary not for his restoration of the ancient—classical revivals, so much, had been the first endeavor in the Middle Ages. But, rather, for the contrast, strongly conscious of his time, that antedates his plan, revealing him as he looks an individual and a humanist. Individualism is a new self-awareness and self-consciousness enabled him to perceive, against all established authority, his own conviction that the "age of truth" was actually an era of darkness, while the "forgotten past" of antiquity really represented the most enlightened stage of history. Such readiness to question traditional beliefs and practices was to become profoundly characteristic of the Renaissance as a whole. Moreover, as Petrarch, meant a belief in the importance of what we still call "the humanities" or "human culture" (rather than Greek letters, or the study of languages) that is, the pursuit of learning in languages, literature,

history, and philosophy for its own end, in a spirit rather than a religious framework. There again he set a pattern that proved to be most important, for the formation of the new breed of scholar who followed him, because the medieval leaders of the Renaissance.

We must not assume, however, that Petrarch and his successors wanted to revive classical antiquity look, style, and form. By interpreting the concept of "a three-cent years of darkness" between themselves and the ancients, they acknowledged—unlike the medieval obscurants—that the Greco-Roman world was irretrievably lost. Its genius could be revived only in the mind, by courage and achieving contemplation across the barrier of the "dark ages," by rediscovering the full greatness of ancient achievements lost to sight and thought, and by endeavoring to compare with those achievements in an ideal past. The aim of the Renaissance was not to duplicate the master of antiquity but to equal him, if possible, to surpass him. In practice, this meant that the authority granted to the ancient models was far from unlimited. Writers strove to express themselves with Christian eloquence and precision, but not necessarily in Latin. Architects continued to build the churches demanded by Christian ritual, not to duplicate pagan temples, but their churches were designed afresh, "in the manner of the ancients," using an architectural vocabulary based on the study of classical structures. Renaissance

physicians studied the anatomical handbooks of the ancients, which they found very much more accurate than those of the Middle Ages, but they discovered discrepancies when they matched the hallowed authority of the classical texts against the direct experience of the dissection table, and learned to rely on the evidence of their own eyes. And the humanists, however great their enthusiasm for classical philosophy, did not become neo-pagans but went to great lengths trying to reconcile the heritage of the ancient thinkers with Christianity.

Thomas of Middelburg, then, found themselves in the position of the legendary warrior's opponent who set out to measure his master's achievements and in the process obtained far greater energies than he had bargained for. But since their master was dead, rather than merely absent, they had to cope with these unfamiliar powers as best they could, until they became masters in their own right. This process of limited growth was repeated with cities and nations. The Renaissance may have been an uncomfortable, though intensely exciting, time to live in. Yet these very tensions—or such appears its subsequent-called back an unexpunging of creative energy made as the world had never experienced before. It is a fundamental paradox that the desire to return to the classical, based on a rejection of the Middle Ages, brought on the new era not the rebirth of antiquity but the birth of modern times.

## PART THREE / THE RENAISSANCE

### 1. "Late Gothic" Painting, Sculpture, and the Graphic Arts

As we return our focus from the Renaissance as a whole to the Renaissance in the fine arts, we are faced with some questions that are still under debate: When did it start? Where, like Gothic art, originates in a specific locale, or in several places at the same time? Should we think of the new era, whatever style, as a new attitude that might be embodied in more than one style? "Renaissance-renaissance," as I know, was an Italian idea, and there are no doubt that Italy played the leading role in the development of Renaissance art, or, at least until the early sixteenth century. But when did this development get under way? So far as architecture and sculpture are concerned, modern scholarship agrees with the traditions of view, five hundred years after the hundred years ago, that the Renaissance began some after 1400. For painting, however, as even older traditions claim, the

new era began with Giotto, who (as Renaissance writers about 1500) "managed to light this art which had been buried for many centuries." The reason disagreed with testimony, for we hesitate to accept it at face value, for we must then assume that the Renaissance in painting started about 1300, a full generation before Giotto. How did Giotto himself regard the past as an age of darkness, after all, the two chief sources of his early style were the Byzantine tradition and the influence of Northern Gothic. The artistic revolution he claimed from these elements does not necessarily show him at a new era, since revolutionary changes had occurred in medieval art before. Now is it fair to credit this revolution to him alone, disregarding Giotto and the other great Italian masters. Petrarch was well aware of the achievements of all these men—the great advantage of both Gothic and



100. *The Museum as Museum (Museum Corner)*, The Museum (disappears about 1925-26, Paris, under official title), 1892 (107" x 107") (with *The Disappearing Museum of art*, New York [The Guggenheim Collection, Purchase, 1925]

Giuseppe Martinelli that he never claimed that there had occurred no light what had been buried during the centuries of darkness. Here, then, do we succeed in Rousseau's statement? We now understand that Rousseau, an autodidact of French, was chiefly concerned with advancing literature in literature. In his defense of the status of poetry, he found it useful to draw analogies with painting—had not the ancient themselves proclaimed that the two arts were akin, as Vergil's famous dream, or perhaps, poem?—and to use Goethe's wider view of "the demands of painting" ruling advantage of his already legendary fame. Rousseau's love of Goethe's Renaissance culture is a bit of intellectualizing, rather than a trustworthy reflection of Goethe's own attitude. Nonetheless, when he has to say sincerely or believe to say the best to apply Rousseau's concept of "crisis-after-the-darkness" to one of the most able poets though he did a somewhat provincialist, and for his way of describing Goethe's achievement, it was he who claimed that Goethe depicted every aspect of nature so truthfully that people often mistake his paintings for reality itself (see page 101). Here he implies that the survival of antiquity means for painters an uncomprehending nation. And this, as we shall see, was to become a persistent theme in Renaissance thought, painting the imitation of nature as part of the great movement "back to the classical" and tending to minimize the possible contribution between these two times.

Rousseau, of course, was not in a position to know from many aspects of reality Goethe and his contemporaries had failed to investigate. These aspects, we recall, were explored by the painters of the International

Style, although in somewhat tentative fashion. To advance beyond the realm of Goethe painting took a second operation, which began simultaneously and independently in France and in the Netherlands, about 1820. We have to think, therefore, of two events, both linked by a common aim: the conquest of the visible world—not chiefly, separated in almost every other respect. For Rousseau, or Goethe, revolution was the most immediate aim. In the long run, the more fundamental vision included architecture and sculpture as well as painting; we call it the Early Renaissance. The same term is not generally applied to the new style that emerged in the North, in Flanders. We have, in fact, an auxiliary name to designate the Northern form of the revolution. For art historians are still of two minds about its scope and significance in relation to the Renaissance movement as a whole. The customary label, "Late Goethe" (which we shall see, for the sake of convenience, with operations made to indicate its doubtful status, hardly does justice to the special character of Northern thirteenth-century painting. But it has some justification. In outline, for instance, that the conquest of the new style, unlike that Italian contemporaries, did not reject the International Style; rather, they took it as their point of departure, so that the break with the past was less abrupt in the North than in the South. "International" also reminds us that thirteenth-century architecture was rather fully concerned directly toward the Goethe tradition. Whatever we choose to call the style of Northern painters of this time, their artistic consequence was clearly "Late Goethe" (see page 122, 123). How could they create a genuinely post-medieval style in such a setting,



say: Florentine and late neo-classic. The above altarpiece (upper) (Completed 1495). Panel: 10 1/2" x 14 1/2". To show, (lower)

one reading, would it not be more reasonable to regard their work, despite its great importance, as the final phase of Gothic painting? If we treat them, then, as the Northern counterpart of the Early Renaissance, we do so for several reasons. The great Florentine master whose work we are about to examine had no impact that went far beyond his own region. In fact, they were so admired as the leading Italian artists of the period, and their lesser imitators had a conspicuous influence on Early Renaissance painting. (The Italian, we will recall, that associated the most intensive of studies in painting with a "return to the classical.") Italian Renaissance art, in contrast, made only little impression north of the Alps during the fifteenth century. For Italian eyes, then, "late Gothic" painting appears definitely post-medieval, late-Renaissance, the attitude of the Florentine painter had a close parallel in the field of music. After about 1420, the Netherlands produced a school of composers as revolutionary were dominant the development of new through-out Europe for the next hundred years. How much the new style of these men was appreciated can be gathered from a contemporary source which states that "nothing north listening to had been composed before their time." This remark, with its sweeping rejection of the "impaired dark ages," takes the attitude of the Florentine musician with Italian "Renaissance-consciousness" (re-

says for the absence of any reference to the social or contemporary. We have no similar testimony concerning the new style of the Florentine painter, but from what we know of the impact of their work it seems likely that people felt "nothing worth looking at had been painted before their time."

The first phase—and perhaps the decisive one—of the personal revolution in Florence is represented by an artist whose name we do not know but whose work we call the Master of the *Madonna of the Magnificat* of a large altar from Florence, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Frankfurt, although he was probably identical with Robert Campes, the foremost painter of Florence, whose career we can trace to documents from 1420 to his death in 1444, leaving his finest work in the *Madonna of the Magnificat* (fig. 122, catalogue 28), which he must have done soon after 1425. Comparing it with its nearest relatives, the Franco-Florentine pictures of the International Style (figs. 120-21, catalogue 25, we see that it belongs within that tradition, yet we also recognize it as a new personal experience. Here, for the first time, we have the sensation of actually looking through the surface of the panel into a spatial world that has all the essential qualities of everyday reality: solidified light, stability, continuity, and comprehensibility. The pictures of the International Style, even at their most adventurous, had never gained

as such contradictory; their commitment to reality was far from absolute. The painters they created lived the extraordinary quality of being able when the world went mad to stay at things as he created an art, where fact and fancy merge without conflict. The Master of Flémalle, in contrast, has undertaken to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He does not get on so well with the objects, empty, unadorned, used to point each other in space. With a determination that seems almost obsessive, he studies every last detail with its maximum effectiveness by defining every aspect: its rounded shape and size, its color, material, surface texture, its degree of rigidity, and its way of responding to illumination. The artist even distinguishes between the diffused light producing soft shadows and delicate gradations of brightness, and the direct light entering through the two round windows; the latter accounts for the more shadowy depths confined to the upper part of the center panel, and for the two reflections on the base panel and central arch.

The *Mondo* diptych, in short, transports us with startling abruptness from the abstract world of the International Style to the broadness of a Flemish village. The Master of Flémalle, whether or not we have time to learn from Robert Campin, was not a great painter, but a tremendous scholar in the sense of such skill to describe pictures as the two masterpieces kneeling beside the Virgin's diptych. Characteristically, this is the earliest instance of the transcription according to a fully equipped domestic interior the virtues, an *apogée*, still as well as the first to house its image, the female confusion, by showing that at work was done. The field separates from tradition toward upon narrative a problem no one had faced before: how to transfer representational events from symbolic settings to an empty environment, without making them look either artificial or inorganic. He has met this challenge by the method known as "diagonal symbolism,"<sup>1</sup> which means that almost any detail within the picture, however casual, necessary or symbolic message, thus the landscape, the carter and donkey in the left wing, and the fish in the center panel, are forever associated with the Virgin, the cross showing her death, the count for humanity, and the lion for charity; the stone water basin and the towel on its rack are not merely ordinary household equipment but further allusions to Mary as the "fount of life" and the "well of living waters."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most intriguing symbol of all is the small star in the room of the Virgin. It was recognized only centuries ago, as we can tell from the growing wish and the wall of monks, that who, to be saved thought, that it was his, and what made the Virgin go out? Was the divine balance of the Lord's presence (presence) the material light? Or did the Star of the world itself represent the Virgin light, now extinguished to show that Christ has become man, that in Christ "The Word was made flesh?"

Finally, the center wealth of medieval symbolism con-



Left: Joseph and the birth of his son

tain in our picture, but it is so completely absorbed in the world of everyday appearance that we are often left to doubt whether a given detail demands symbolic interpretation. Otherwise I feel long wondered, for instance, why St. Joseph should be so concerned with the maintenance of household economy in the new relation, as when on his workbench, until the particular meaning of these domestic objects was discovered a few years ago.



247: The Toledo altarpiece (retablo)

according to St. Augustine, "God had to appear in earth in human form so as to flesh-flesh."<sup>12</sup> The *Corpus* of the Lord was the world's message.<sup>13</sup> These explanations of the art require much scholarly ingenuity; we tend to think of the *Albrici* altarpiece and similar pictures as embodying a special kind of puzzle, and so they often do, to the modern beholder, although they can be enjoyed superficially knowing of their symbolic content. But what about the persons for whom these works were painted? Did they consistently grasp the meaning of every detail? They would have had no difficulty with such well-established symbols as our picture in the flowers. Let us guess, too, that they probably understood the symbolism of the water basin. The message of the entombed vessels and the incense-burner could not have been common knowledge even among the well-educated, however, for these two vessels—and from their insignificance we can hardly guess that they are symbols—make their surface appearance in the *Albrici* altarpiece.

They must be unique cases, for St. August with the incense-burner has been found in only one other picture, and the recently entombed vessels show no more than

where, as far as we know. Apparently, then, the Master of *Albrici* introduced these symbols into the visual arts, yet hardly any serious scholar has begun to see influence. But if the vessels and the incense-burner were difficult to understand even in the fifteenth century, why are they in our picture at all? Did the painter who may have been exceptionally sensitive tell the artist to put them in? Doubtful. If this were the only case of its kind. None, however, there are countless instances of equally subtle or obscure symbolism in "Late Gothic" painting; it seems more likely that the initiative came from the artist, rather than from their various patrons. We have reason to believe, therefore, that the Master of *Albrici* was either a man of unusual learning himself, or had contact with the theologians and other scholars who could supply him with the references that suggested the symbolic meanings of things like the entombed vessels and the incense-burner. In other words, our artist did not merely continue the symbolic tradition of medieval art within the framework of the new realistic style; he expanded and enriched it by his own efforts. But why, we wonder, did he pursue conscientiously what we are accustomed to regard as two opposite goals, realism and symbolism? To him, apparently, the two were interdependent, rather than in conflict. We might say that he needed a growing symbolic repertoire because it encouraged him to explore features of the visible world never represented before (such as a candle immediately after it has been blown out, or the interior of a carpenter's shop, needed as the setting for the incense-burner). For him to paint everyday reality, he had to "simplify" it with a maximum of spiritual significance. This deeply traditional attitude toward the physical universe as a mirror of Divine truths helps us to understand why in the *Albrici* picture the realistic and basic components already are rendered with the same concerned attention as the sacred figures; potentially realistic, everything is a symbol and thus becomes equally meaning-bearing.

The simplest symbolism of the Master of *Albrici* and his courtiers was not an external device grafted onto the new realistic style, but ingrained in the creative process. Their Italian contemporaries must have sensed this, for they praised both the Milanese realism and the "purity" of the Flemish masters.

If we compare our altarpiece of the *Albrici* donors' vision with those of earlier panel paintings (see chapter 15), by the fifteenth century then, all other influences aside, its distinctive beauty makes the Master of *Albrici*'s picture stand out among the rest. The previous brightness of the older works, their patterns of brilliant blue and reds and use of gold, have given way to a color scheme far less decorative but much more flexible and differentiated. The subdued tones—muted greens, blues, or brownish grays—show a new sobriety, and the scale of contrasting shades is smoother and less a wider range. All these effects are essential to the realistic style of the Master of *Albrici*; they were made possible by the use

of oil, the medium he was using the first to exploit. The basic technique of Northern panel painting had been prepared, in which the finely ground pigments were mixed ("tempered") with diluted egg yolk. It produced a fine, tough, smooth-surfaced extremely resistant to the natural stain of light-tinted, flat color surfaces. However, to capture the different tones on the panel cannot be smoothly blended, and the continuous progression of values necessary for three-dimensional effects was difficult to achieve; also, the dark tints of the best readily and unconditionally. For the Master of Flémalle there were various drawbacks, which he overcame by substituting oil for the watercolor-egg-yolk mixture. In a purely material sense oil was not inferior to natural resin, but it had been used only for special purposes, such as the coating of stone surfaces or painting on metal. It was the Master of Flémalle and his contemporaries who discovered its artistic possibilities. Oil, a viscous, drying-up medium, could produce a vast variety of effects, from thin, translucent films called "glazes" to the thick impasto that is, a thick layer of creamy, heavy-bodied paint; the tones could also yield a continuous scale of hue, including red, where dark shades previously unknown. Without oil, the Flemish masters' conquest of visible reality would have been much more limited. Thus, for the technical aspect of

them, too, they owe to be called the "fathers of modern painting," for oil has been the painter's basic medium ever since.

Needless to say, the full range of effects made possible by oil was not discovered all at once, nor by one man. The Master of Flémalle contributed less than Jan van Eyck, a somewhat younger and very much more famous artist, who was long credited with the actual "invention" of oil painting. About half his life and career we know a great deal. Born about 1390, he worked in Holland from 1422 to 1432, in life from 1432 to 1440, and thereafter in Bruges, where he died in 1440. He was both a townsmen and a court painter, highly esteemed by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who occasionally sent him on confidential diplomatic errands. After 1422, we can follow Jan's career through a number of signed and dated pictures. The manuscript on the front of the great *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, so far as completed it in that year, after it had been begun by his older brother, Robert (figs. 422-423). Jan's earlier development, however, remains obscure; there are several "typical" works, obviously older than the others after him, that may have been painted by either of the two brothers. The most fascinating of these is a pair of panels showing the *Crucifixion* and the *Last Judgment* (figs. 424-425). Scholars agree that their date is between 1410 and 1415, whatever brother, Jan or Robert, was the author.

The style of the two panels has many qualities in common with that of the almost anonymous oil-over-lacquer invention to the visible world, the estimated date of 1400, the angular drapery folds, less graceful but far more realistic than the archaic loops of the transcendental style. At the same time, however, the individual forms are not strictly regular, like those characteristic of the Master of Flémalle, and even less ordered, less "sculptural." The sweeping curve of space is the result not so much of visible foreshortening as of subtle changes of light and color. If we inspect the *Crucifixion* panel closely, from the foreground figure to the far-off ray of heaven and the wine-cupped peaks beyond, we see a gradual decrease in the intensity of local color and in the contrast of light and dark. Everything tends toward a uniform tint of light bluish gray, so that the farther we move away we merge imperceptibly with the color of the sky. This optical phenomenon, which the Van Eycks were the first to utilize fully and systematically (the Limbourg Brothers had already been aware of it, as is seen in fig. 422), is known as "atmospheric perspective," since it results from the fact that the atmosphere is never wholly transparent. Even on the clearest day, the air between us and the things we are looking at acts as a haze across their surfaces with one ability to see distinct shapes clearly, so we approach the limit of "visibility," it softens them, attenuates. An atmospheric perspective is more fundamental to our perception of deep space than linear perspective, which

fig. 422. Jan van Eyck, *A Man and a Don* (detail from the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*). Paris, Musée de la Ville.  
The National Gallery, London.  
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees)





220 (See next page, *Transcendentalist and the Book*, and *Transcendentalist's Vision*) The Transcendentalist's Vision (Illustrated by courtesy of the Trustees)

towards the destination is the apparent size of objects as their distance from the observer decreases. It is effective not only in forewings, but in the *Transcendentalist* panel even the foreground scene developed in a delicate form that reflects movement, shadow, and color, and that the scene seems to have continued and blossomed quite beyond the painted edge of the Master of Flourens. How did the first Epileptic accomplish this effect? Their exact technical procedure is difficult to reconstruct, but there can be no question that they used the old medium with extraordinary refinement. By alternating opaque and transparent layers of pigment, they were able to impart to their pictures a soft, glowing balance of tone that has never been equaled, probably because it depends so much on their individual sensitivity as it does on their skill craftsmanship.

Viewed as a whole, the *Transcendentalist* scene regularly devoid of detail, as if the scene had been partly lost to the viewer's sight. Only when we concentrate on the details do we become aware of the vibrant structure

in the form of the crowd beneath the cross, and the occasional but profoundly touching grief of the Virgin Mary and her companions in the foreground. In the last judgment panel, this dual aspect of the Epileptic style came the form of two sections: above the horizon, all is order, symmetry, and calm, while below it—on earth and in the subterranean realm of hell—the opposite conditions prevail. The two scenes thus correspond to heaven and hell, contemplative (the) against physical and emotional turbulence. The lower half, clearly, was the greater challenge to the artist's imaginative powers. The dead rising from their graves with frantic gestures of fear and hope, the damned being torn apart by vicious demons more frightful than any we have seen before, all have the uncanny quality of a nightmare, but a nightmare "rehearsed" with the same confidence and confidence of the world of the *Transcendentalist* panel.

The *Transcendentalist* (figs. 220-221), the greatest masterpiece of early Flemish painting, presents problems so complex that our discussion must be limited to their essentials. We have already mentioned the inscription informing us that the work, begun by Hubert, was completed by Jan in 1220. Since Hubert died in 1230, the altarpiece was presumably made in the seven-year span between 1220 and 1230. We may expect it, therefore, to introduce us to the first phase of the new style, following that of the pictures we have discussed so far. Although it has been seen as a picture—a central body with two lateral wings—each of the three parts consists of three separate panels, and thus, in addition, the wings are painted on both sides, the altarpiece has a total of twenty component parts of assorted shapes and sizes. The variable makes what has rightly been called a "superstition," remembering that far from harmonious, which could not have

221 Detail of figure 220





been planned this way from the start. Apparently he took just a number of points left unattended by Hubert, completed them, added some of his own, and assembled them at the bottom of the working drawing whose perimetrical line we see on the outside of the altar. To reconstruct the scene of events, and to determine each brother's share, is a fascinating but treacherous game. Suffice it to say that Hubert remains a somewhat shadowy figure, his role, apparent with retrospection by him, not probably so found in the first central panel, although there did not belong together originally. The upper third, where huge figures in the final arrangements create the maximum of visual mass below, were intended, it seems, to form a self-contained vignette: the Lord between the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. The lower panel and the first flanking is probably formed a separate altarpiece, the Adoration of the Lamb, concluding Christ's sacrificial death. The two panels with counterbalancing weight were thus best planned by Hubert as a pair of wings either, if this act of composition is correct, the two tall, narrow panels showing Adam and Eve (fig. 491) are the only ones added by him to Hubert's work. They continue on the most daring of all the earliest monumental scenes of Northern painted painting hardly less than *l'écrit*, compositionally abstract and carried by the most delicate play of light and shade. Their quiet dignity—and their prominent place in the altar—suggests that they should contain as full as much of original life, as of naive creation in God's own image. Adam recl, he, of course, is represented in the small, relatively expressive corner above, which shows the story of Cain and Abel but more unambiguously, however, is the fact that the scene and Eve were designed specifically for their present positions in the ensemble. Acknowledging that they would really appear this way in the operation whose ritual is before the bottom of the panel, Jan van Eyck has depicted them in accordance with the observed composition and thereby established a new, direct relationship between picture space and real space.

The outer surfaces of the two wings (fig. 491) were evidently planned by him as one coherent unit. There, as no world, normally opaque, the largest figures are not above, but in the lower tier. The two St. John appeared in groups to simulate sculpture, like the scenes of Cain and Abel, the Adam, and his wife, each in the opposite niche, are the immediate kin of the Adam and Eve scene. The upper tier has two pairs of panels of different width; the artist has made a sense of the outward harmony by combining all four into one distance. Such an effect, we recall, had first been created almost a century earlier (compare fig. 421), but Jan, not content with perspective devices alone, heightens the illusion by drawing the shadows cast by the figures of the panels on the floor of the Virgin's chamber (consequently through, the architectural mouldings, in its beauty detail, the Minerva Altarpiece, thus providing a valuable link between the two great products of Flemish realism.

Jan van Eyck's potential of optimal individuality occupy conspicuous positions in both the Minerva and the Ghent altarpieces. A reserved interest in isolated personalities had developed in the mid-fourteenth century, but until about 1420 its best achievements had been in sculpture (see fig. 492), the miniature quality confining themselves to alternative the profile view (such as the portrait of the Duke of Berry in fig. 493). Not until the Master of Flémalle, the first artist since completely to have had command of a three-quarter view of the human face, had been a three-quarter angle, did the portrait play a major role in Northern painting. In addition to Jan van Eyck's portraits, we now begin to encounter in growing numbers small, independent portraits whose peculiar intimacy suggests that they were intended for private, personal collections for the real presence of the altar. One of the most fascinating is Jan van Eyck's Adam and Eve (fig. 491-fig. 491), which may well have a self-portrait—the slight stress along the eye sockets to come from gazing into a mirror. The view is looked at the same profile, their light as the Adam and Eve of the Ghent Altarpiece; every detail of shape and texture has been recorded with almost microscopic precision. Jan does not suppress the other's personality, yet this face, like all of Jan's portraits, remains a psychological puzzle. It might be described as "even-tempered" in the more

491. Adam and Eve (The Virgin's Chamber, Flémalle Altarpiece, c. 1420, Panel, 107 x 117). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Michael Friedberg Collection, 1920).





above: 221. *Marriage of the Virgin, The Perinelli altarpiece*  
(upper: 2, 2426; lower: 2312) × 107,  
height 2312/2426 mm, 15th century, Florence

below: 222. *Detail of figure 221*



most sense of the term, its character traits balanced against each other so precisely that none can occur itself as the cause of the rest. As he was fully capable of expressing emotion, he had only used the face of the creature the *Emphrasa*, or the source of pain and relief in the oldest altarpieces; the story scene of the portrait surely reflects his conscious ideal of human character rather than his indifference or lack of insight.

The Florentine comes when the new style of painting flourished—Giovanni, Ghirlandaio, Roggieri—invited them of their so-called international feeling and taste. Their foreign visitors included many Italian humanists. For one of them Jan van Eyck produced what is not only his most remarkable portrait but a major masterpiece of the period, *Giovanni de Dintelo and His Wife* (fig. 222). The young couple is carefully exchanging marriage vows in the privacy of the bridal chamber. They seem to be quite alone, but as we scrutinize the scene, progressively placed behind them (fig. 223), we discover in the reflection that two other persons have entered the scene. One of them must be the artist, since the words above the scene, in fluent legal language, tell us that "In nomine dei mecum huius" (I am now taking you as my wife) and the date, 1479. Jan's words, there, is that of a witness; the picture purports to show exactly what he saw and has the features of a pictorial marriage certificate. Yet the domestic setting, however persuasively realistic, is replete with disguised quotations of the most subtle kind, conveying the sacramental nature of marriage. The couple stands in the chamber, turning in toward each other, stands for the all-seeing Christ since the Florentine source of the entire theme, the dove which the couple has taken off seated as that they are standing on "holy ground" (the wings of the dove refer to page 210), even the little dog is an emblem of married love, and the furnishings of the room invite similar interpretation. The natural world, as in the Mantegna altarpiece, is made to contain the world of the spirit in such a way that the two actually become one.

In the work of Jan van Eyck, the expression of the study made visible to light and color had reached a point that was not to be surpassed for another two centuries. Roggieri was the Neoplatonist, the third great master of early Florentine painting, not himself a different thought equally important task. In sculpture, within the framework of the new style created by his predecessors, the emotional drama, the passion of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 224) can be immediately in his early masterpiece, *The Descent from the Cross* (reproduce 225), which dates from about 1475, when the spirit was in his contribution. Here the modeling is sculpturally precise, with its forms, complex

angry little snuffing the flame of Erosion, and the soft half-shadows and ribs, glowing when there the knowledge of his own flesh. Yet Roger is far more than a mere follower of the two older men, whose he even is there—and it is obviously a great deal—he uses the same which are not their but his. The outward even, in this case, the lowering of Christ's body from the crucifixion has less than the world of human feeling; the figure, judged for its expressive content, could well be called a Lamentation. The artistic severity of these great-shoulder gestures and form is in sculpture rather than in painting: there the limbering down of the Virgin Mary and the Mourning Crucifixion the way, in the Stone Head (fig. 486) and Christ Water's Stone (fig. 487), it seems peculiarly fitting, therefore, that Roger should have sought for water in a shallow under natural water or stone, as this figure were natural man, so even against a landscape background. The field as he gave him a double advantage in heightening the effect of the huge stone in the hand of the father's arms around—in the foreground, and allowed him to mold the figure into a column, formal group. He renders the figure's arm, which has been well described as "for once physically there and spiritually rather than like van Dyck's," as an example for another other action. When he died in 1844 after thirty years of searching activity in the Christian painter of the Alps, his influence was evident in European painting north of the Alps, in whose continued to be discernible almost everywhere within Italy until the end of the century, such was the activity of his style.

Whitman of Roger's religious work applies readily well to his portrait. The picture of Erasmus of 1811 (fig. 491) has been sometimes treated as the beginning of a new style, as so few like that like van Dyck's. Modeling is reduced to a minimum; much descriptive detail has been simplified or omitted altogether; the greatly elongated form of the body comes to prominence not rather than the artist's individual personality. Yet this last, compared with that of the idea is a far better, perhaps a more vital sense of character, instead of coming for the psychologically "natural" view of the portrait. Roger interprets the human personality by suppressing some more and emphasizing others. In consequence, he tells us more about the inner life of his subject, less about their outward appearance.

Among the artists who followed Roger was the English, who succeeded in coming from the great master's shadow. The most dynamic of these was Edgar van der Grint, an English genius whose figure and gesture in sculpture particularly interesting to us today. After a quarrel with van Gogh in the contemporary strength of Roger, he died in 1871, when he was about forty years of age, in such a manner as a lay brother for some time he continued to paint, but increasing the of depression there his in the verge of madness, and some years later he was dead, the most



491. *Continued from page 100: The Family* (1871). Paint, 11 1/2 x 17". The National Gallery, London (Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees)

creative work, the huge sculpture he completed about 1871 for the London Portico, is an immense achievement (figs. 492, 493). While we need not waste in the hands of Roger's figure natural ideas, it sometimes makes a sense, religious personality. On it there are signs, between the artist's devotion to the natural world, the wonderful spaces and atmospheric landscape setting, and the world of great realism detail and the concrete with the supernatural? In the wings, for instance, the leaning position of the Portico figure are described by their great scale, whose figure and character stand in front of a higher world, the temple, the Virgin Mary, and the shepherds of the Nativity in the center panel, who share the same huge scale. But these latter figures are not meant to be "larger-than-life," for their height is normal in relation with architecture and to the wall and air, the length, which gives them to the natural world, as the lower, that appear somewhat small. This variation of scale, although its constant and excessive purpose is clear, stands outside the logic of everyday experience allowed in the environment the artist has provided for his figures. There is another striking contrast between the heroic treatment of the shepherds (fig. 494) and the great solemnity of all the other figures. These half-baked, going to breakfast wonder as the newborn Child, meet in the dramatic march of the Nativity with



above: 149. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Delight*  
c. 1500 (Panel, woven wool, 100" x 67",  
woven 1617, 1 1/2 ft. wide, The Prado, Madrid)

below: 148. Detail of figure 149



a wide-eyed dreamer never attempted before. They aroused particular admiration in the Italian painters who saw the work after it arrived in Florence about 1510.

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century there were no painters in Florence comparable to Hugo van der Goes, and the most original artists appeared further

north, in Holland. To one of these, Gherghen van der Boon of Haarlem, we owe the enchanting *Ministry* represented in figure 219, a picture so daring, in its quiet way, as the center panel of the *Allegory* tapestry. The idea of a national Ministry, illustrated mainly by influence from the Christ Child, goes back to the International Style first begun by Gherghen, applying the personal discoveries of Jan van Eyck, given new, intense reality to the theme. The magic effect of his last panel is greatly enhanced by the smooth, simplified shapes that record the impact of light with striking clarity; the manger is a rectangular trough; the heads of the angels, the infant, and the Virgin are so round as objects viewed on a table.

If Gherghen's intention, "obscurer" forms attract us especially today, another Dutch artist, Hieronymus Bosch, appeals to our interest in the world of dreams. Little is known about Bosch except that he spent his life in the provincial town of Brugghe and that he died, an old man, in 1516. His work, full of varied and seemingly irrational imagery, has proved so difficult to interpret that much of it, despite the remarkable insight contributed by recent research, remains unsorted. We can readily understand that if we study the tapestry known as *The Garden of Delight* (fig. 219, 148, color plate 21), the richest and most puzzling of Bosch's pictures. Of the three panels, only the left one has a clearly recognizable subject: the Garden of Eden, whence the Lord introduced Adam to the newly created Eve. The landscape, almost Elysian in its city features, is filled with animals, among them such exotic creatures as an elephant and a giraffe, and also hybrid creatures of old and newer kinds. Behind them, the dream work for





*Exhibition 22: Being with a Presence. Portals of the Recovery and Passing of the Past Time. About 1910. Francisco G. Ferrer, Spain.*



Colonnade 13. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of San Lorenzo*, about 1630.  
Frank, 6 x 10 ft. The National Gallery, London (acquired by purchase at the expense of the Treasury).



Colombine as Venus, Mourning.  
 An. Strauss. About 1870-75.  
 Pencil, 18 1/2 x 17 1/2".  
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



visions are equally strange. The right wing, a night-mare vision of burning ruins and human instruments of torture, surely represents Hell. But what of the center? Here, we see a landscape much like that of the Garden of Eden, populated with countless male and female personifying a variety of "popular" virtues: in the center, they parade around a circular basin on the backs of all sorts of beasts, many deposit themselves in pools of water; most of them are closely linked with numerous birds, fish, flowers, or natural elements. Only a few are openly engaged in love-making, yet their behavior betrays the delights in this "paradise" are those of carnal desire, however mildly disguised. The birds, fish, etc., are symbols or metaphors which Bosch uses to depict man's life on earth as an unending repetition of the original sin of Adam and Eve, whereby we are all doomed to be the prisoners of our appetites. Nonetheless he is so much so kind as the possibility of redemption; redemption, as the eternal bliss or loss, had already occurred itself in the Garden of Eden before the Fall, and we are all doomed for that, the Garden of Eden, with its gaily and relaxed instruments of torture. He professed in Bosch's pessimism—if we read the meaning of the explicit narrative—that some scholars have refused to take it at face value; the center panel, they claim, is really an unusual vision of Paradise according to the beliefs of a secret heretical sect to which Bosch supposedly belonged. While their view has the advantage, it does point up the fundamental ambiguity of the Garden: there is indeed an innocence, even in burning poetic beauty, in this panorama of unbridled carnal excess. Bosch was a naive idealist who insisted his pictures be the visual mirrors, every detail packed with satirical meaning. Unconsciously, however, he may have been so captivated by the intrinsic appeal of the world of the flesh that the images he created with such prodigious technical mastery what they are meant to condemn. That, surely, is the reason why The Garden of Delights still makes us staring a response today, even though we no longer understand every word of the artists.

His most true genius hardly at fifteenth-century art in the era of Northern Europe. After about 1450, the new realism of the Flemish masters began to spread into France and Germany and, by the middle of the century, its influence was pervasive from Spain to the Baltic, tracing the countless artists; many of them still artists who turned out personal adaptations of Northern-Netherland painting, only a few were gifted enough to improve on today with a distinctive personality. One of the highest and most original was Conrad Witz of Basel, whose drawings for Georges de Selve, painted in 1494, include the remarkable panel shown in figure 293. The judge from the imagery, with its various birds and other, regular birds, he must have had close contact with the Master of Flémalle; that the artist, rather than the figure, attracts our attention, and here the influence of the Van Eyck seems dominant. Witz, however, did not



293. Conrad Witz, *Christ Washing on the Mount*, 1494. Panel, 21 x 16". Museum, Berlin.



294. Conrad Witz, *Simon the Pharisee and the Levite*, 1494. Panel, 21 1/2 x 12 1/2". From Museum, Berlin.

simply follow these great pioneers, as explorer himself, he knew more about the optical appearance of water than any other painter of his time (and especially the texture of the lake in the foreground). The landscape, too, is an original creation, representing a specific part



140 Jean Fouquet: Saint Patrick's figure, detail and framed as copper, diameter 7". The Louvre, Paris

of the stone of the Lake of Geneva—the earliest landscape “portrait” that has come down to us.

In France, the painter Jean Fouquet, twenty-eight years younger than Neri, had the exceptional fortune, soon after he had completed his training, to be brought back to Italy, about 1440. In consequence, his work represents a unique blend of Florentine and Early Renaissance elements, although it remains basically Northern. Étienne Chevalier and Niccolò della Porta (fig. 49), painted about 1470 for the left wing of a diptych, share his mastery as a portraitist: the head of the saint seems no less individualized than that of the donor. Italian influence can be seen in the style of the architecture and, less directly, in the elongated stability and weight of the two figures. The artist's self-portrait from about the same time also reflects his exposure to the South (fig. 50): it is a very pleasant example of gold on black enamel, which must have been inspired by a late Roman miniature like the one reproduced in figure 51. It carries a species of “portrait” promise that was to become immensely popular, especially in England, a century later: that it has the further distinction of being the earliest clearly identified self-portrait (there is separate painting, not so considered part of a larger work. The copy of the fresco in Florence is original, however, rather than ancient or Renaissance). In fact, the quality of the greatest results has not yet been than in a that. Perhaps this applies to concepts that are as impressive as it is accurate that have pictures, too, must be a self-portrait.

A Florentine copy, influenced by Italian art, also characterizes the main features of all French fifteenth-century paintings. The *Strapace Pont* (fig. 52). As its name indicates, the panel comes from the extreme south of France. It was probably painted by an artist of that

region, but the name of this important master is not important, and we know no other works by his hand. All we can say about his background is that he must have been thoroughly familiar with the art of Neri and the Workshop, for the figure types and the expressive construction of the *Strapace Pont* could be derived from no other source. At the same time, the design, magnificently simple and stable, is Italian rather than Northern (you first see these qualities in the art of Giotto). Northern, too, is the ideal, florid, landscape emphasizing the monumental isolation of the figure. The almost bulging forehead shown on the left face is occasionally (cf. Hans Meyer) did the artist mean to place the crown in an emblematic “hair-bow” setting? However that may be, he has created from these various features an unforgettable image of heroic power.

If we had to describe fifteenth-century art north of the Alps in a single phrase, we might label it “the first century of great painting,” for panel painting so dominated the art of the period between 1400 and 1500 that its standards apply to manuscript illumination and stained glass and even, in a large extent, to sculpture. After the late thirteenth century, we will recall, the emphasis had shifted from architectural sculpture to the more intimate scale of devotional images, icons, pulpits, and the like. Great stone, where art is as important in weight and volume, had hardly escaped the monumental spirit of the High Gothic. But he had no real successors, although artists of his style can be seen in France art for the next fifty years. What ended the International Style in the sculpture of Northern Europe was the influence of the Master of Flémalle (with Roger van der Weyden). The carvers (also quite often were also painters) began to reproduce in stone or wood the style of these artists, and continued to do so, in Germany, until about 1500. Thus completely the same of “Late Gothic” sculpture became identified with those of painting that he seen in figure 53 and 54: the *Adoring Kings* from a work of the Master of Flémalle, about 1420, anticipate all the main features of a carved group by a late German sculptor about a century later. The most characteristic works of the “Late Gothic” period are wooden altar shrines, often large in size and sometimes intricate in detail. Such shrines were especially popular in the Germanic countries. One of the finest examples is the *Crucifixion of the Virgin* (fig. 55) by the Tyrolean sculptor and painter Michael Pacher, in St. Wolfgang, Austria. Invariably gilt and colored from within a shining spectacle as they emerge from the shadowy depths of the shrine under gaily Flemish-style carvings, we enjoy it—but in personal rather than plastic terms. We have no experience of volume, either positive or negative, the figures and writing seem to melt into a single picture of unified, existing lines that promise only the hands to stand out in separate entities. If we compare this *Crucifixion* with Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 56), we realize that the latter, paradoxically, is a far more “sculptural” work. Del Pecker, the “Late Gothic”



fig. 16 Francesco Ferruccio Martini.  
The Virgin and Child with St. Anne.  
Painted by c. 1600. The Louvre, Paris.

sculpture, but unable to compete with the painter's mastering of three-dimensional bodies, and therefore chose to restrain his in the pictorial realm, by extracting the mass from its dynamic flow: contours of light and shade! Padua's own work seems to support this view: some years after completing the St. Wolfgang altarpiece he made another altarpiece, this time with a painted scene (fig. 16). Again we see large figures under various angles—the treatment of a carved statue—but now with far greater emphasis on space and volume. In fact the Padua is a painter when he sculpts, and a sculptor when he paints. It only a slight exaggeration, in this exchange, sculpture inevitably gets the short end of the bargain.

Before we turn to the Early Renaissance in Italy, we

must note another important fifteenth-century phenomenon north of the Alps: the development of printing techniques for pictures as well as books. Our earliest printed books in the modern sense were mass-produced in the Rhineland soon after a paper was no longer rare whether the famous Bible published by Johann Gutenberg at Mainz shows the priority traditionally claimed for it. The new technique spread all over Europe and developed into an industry that had a more profound effect on Western civilization (from humanism even to the introduction of the printed book to mark the borderline between the Middle Ages and the modern era.) Printed pictures, however, had hardly less importance; without them, the printed book could not have replaced the



fig. 17 The Worms in Francesco Ferruccio Martini's Church.  
Painted about 1600. The Louvre, Paris.  
Painted by c. 1600. The Louvre, Paris.

fig. 18 The Worms in Francesco Ferruccio Martini's Church.  
Painted about 1600. The Louvre, Paris.



work of the medieval writer and illuminator to quickly and completely. The physical and the literary aspects of printing were, indeed, closely linked from the start. But when is the start? When, said by others, was printing invented? The beginnings of the story—which will be told here in brief outline—is in the ancient Near East five thousand years ago. Mechanically speaking, the first means were the surface “presses,” but these initial impressions on clay from stone seals were carved with both pictures and inscriptions. From Mesopotamia, the use of seals spread to India and eventually to China. The Chinese applied ink to their seals in order to impress them on wood or silk, and, in the second century A.D., they invented paper. By the sixth century, they were printing pictures and books on paper from wooden blocks carved in relief, and two hundred years later they developed movable type. Some of the products of Chinese printing clearly reached the medieval West—through the Arabs, the Moors, or travelers such as Marco Polo—although we lack direct evidence. The technique of manufacturing paper, too, came to Europe from the East, and Chinese silk and porcelain were imported in small quantities from the fourteenth century on. Paper

g1) *Wolfgang Pöschel, Creation of the Virgin: stone pictures of wooden doors, c.1470. St. Margarete church, Berlin. Photo: J. Wollgast, Berlin*



g2) *Stefano Peretti, St. Augustine and St. Gregory, stone panel of the Altarpiece of the Four Great Fathers, c. 1470. St. Peter's, Prato, Italy. Photo: J. Wollgast, Berlin*

and printing from wood blocks were both known in the West during the last Middle Ages, but paper, as a writing alternative to parchment, gained ground very slowly, while printing was used only for ornamental pictures in books. At the same time, however, in the development, for printing about 1470, that produced within the century a printing technology which was superior to that of the first East and of far wider cultural importance. After 1500, in fact, no basic changes were made in this field until the Industrial Revolution.

The idea of printing personal designs from wood blocks onto paper seems to have originated in Northern Europe at the very end of the fourteenth century. Many of the oldest surviving examples of such prints, called *woodcuts*, are German, others are Flemish, and some may be French, all show the familiar qualities of the international style. The designs were probably devised by painters or sculptors, but the actual carving of the wood blocks was done by the specially trained craftsman who also produced wood blocks for movable prints. As a result, early woodcuts, such as the *St. Jerome*, figure g1, have a flat, ornamental pattern; forms are reduced to simple, heavy lines with little concern for three-dimensional effects other than in hatching or shading. Some of the earliest shapes were meant to be filled in with color, these prints often recall stained glass (compare fig. g2) more than the miniatures which they replaced. Despite their weathered aspect to modern eyes, fifteenth-century woodcuts were popular art, in a kind that did not attract the notice of high ability until shortly before 1500. A single wood block printed thousands of copies,



to be sold for a few pence apiece, bringing the individual membership of persons within everyone's reach for the first time in our history. What people did with these prints is illustrated in figure 40, a detail from a Flemish manuscript painted about 1425, where a woman is told, one of St. Christopher is pinned up above the mantel. Perhaps it is a hint at the Virgin's journey to Bethlehem (St. Christopher is the patron of travelers), but this charmingly incongruous feature may also be understood as a disguised symbol of her humility, for only the poor would have made an object on their walls.

The St. Christopher woodcut has two lines of inscription—a short prayer, presumably, on the bottom. Incriptions of this kind are often found among early woodcuts, the letters having been either added by hand or printed from the same block as the picture. Such woodcut-containing objects and text were sometimes ascribed metaphoric prominence to a culture “black block,” that is, a new line of text is added to an existing block that is sometimes and particularly today taken as a single clip could run an entire page. I like to wonder, then, that printers even had the idea of putting such lines on an even wood block. Wooden movable type, used by hand, worked well for lengths of large size but not for small ones, moreover, it was too expensive to use for printing long words such as the Bible. By 1425, this problem had been solved through the introduction of metal type sets from Mainz, and the stage was set for block production as we know it today.

Whichever first thought of metal type probably had the aid of goldsmiths to work out the technical production problem. This is the more plausible since many goldsmiths, as engravers, had already entered the field of printmaking. An engraving, unlike a woodcut, is printed not from a raised design but from a V-shaped groove, and uses a metal plate (usually copper) with a steel tool known as a burin. The technique of embossing metal surfaces with engraved patterns was developed in classical antiquity (see fig. 14) and continued to be practiced throughout the Middle Ages (see fig. 24); the engraved line is difficult to wear out. Thus, no new skill was required to engrave a plate that was to serve as the “matrix” for a paper print. The subsequent printing was done by rubbing ink into the grooves, wiping off the surface of the plate, covering it with a damp sheet of paper and pushing it through the press. The notion of making an engraved print apparently came from the desire for an alternative, more refined and flexible, to woodcuts. Of a wood block, let us remember, there are edges, hence the stones they use, the more difficult to carve. Engravings emanated from the line as a smaller and more sophisticated point. The oldest examples we have, dating from about 1425, already show the influence of the great Flemish painters; their forms are systematically modeled with fine hatched lines, and often convincingly foreshadowed. Not all engravings share the economy of early woodcuts—individual details can be distinguished clearly from the beginning, and intricate details appear, and most of the important engravings of the last third of the fifteenth century are known to us by name. Even though the early engravings were usually produced by training, these prints are so clearly linked to hand printing—that we may determine their genre



fig. 40a St. Christopher in 1425 Woodcut, Flemish Manuscript Illuminating Mainz

fig. 40b Woodcut of St. Christopher, detail from an illumination by Johann Schenk (c. 1425), Royal Manuscript of Peter von Buren, Brussels



graphic design far more easily than the woodblock. Hogenau is the Upper Rhine region, so we trace a certain technical tradition of fine engraving from the time of Albrecht Dürer to the end of the century. The most accomplished of these is Martin Schongauer (c. 1445-91), the first printmaker whom we also found as a painter, and the first to gain international fame.

Schongauer might be called the Hogenau of the "fine" line of engraving. After learning the goldsmith's craft in his home's shop, he must have spent considerable time in Florence, for he shows a thorough knowledge of Hogenau's art. His prints are engraving with Hogenau's motifs and engraving devices, and reveal a deep compositional affinity to the great Florentine. Yet Schongauer had his own engraving powers of invention: his finest engravings have a complexity of design, spatial depth, and richness of texture that make them fully equivalent to great paintings, and have sometimes found inspiration in them for large-scale pictures. *The Engraving of St. Andrew* (fig. 49), one of Schongauer's most famous works, masterfully combines simple representational and formal precision, subtle movement and unassuming stability. The image we look at is, like most, an illustration of a scene of biblical value, the dramatic beauty of the anguished face, and the artist's ability to render every conceivable surface—scales, rocks, leather, hair—perfectly by varying the hatching marks upon the plate. He was not to be superseded any later engraver in this respect.

The originality of conception and technique, Schongauer had only one rival among the printmakers of his time, the Master of the Hammer (so called after a book of drawings attributed to him). The very individuality of this artist, who was probably of Swiss origin, although he seems to have spent most of his career in the Rhine land, is the opposite of Schongauer's: the printmaker as the Holy Family. His gifts are weak, intense in mood and spontaneous, almost identity in invention. Even his scale, very different from the standard engraver's tiny format, instead of submitting to the conventional imposed discipline demanded by the trade, the Master of the Hammer stretched his design into the engraving with a few neat needles. This technique, known as "dry-point," permitted him to draw almost as freely as if he were working with a pen on a sheet of paper. The results, of course, did not yet prove so free as those made by the brush, so that a distinct point was left to mark out after yielding to more beautiful impressions, whereas an engraved plate lasted through hundreds of printings. But the dry-point technique preserved the artist's personal "handwriting," and permitted soft, atmospheric effects—velvety shadows, delicate, luminous drawings—more intimate with the hand. The Master of the Hammer knew how to take full advantage of these possibilities. He was a pioneer in the use of a steel that was technique, a contrast and a half line, the supreme instrument of Rembrandt's graphic art.



fig. 49. Martin Schongauer, *The Engraving of St. Andrew*, a copper-plate engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Engraving Fund, 1908).

fig. 50. The Master of the Hammer, *St. Andrew*, a dry-point engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



## 2. The Early Renaissance in Italy

When we discussed the new style of painting that arose in Florence about 1400, we avoided suggesting why the revolution took place at that particular time and in that particular area. This does not mean, however, that no explanation is possible. Unless we believe in sheer fate or chance, we find it difficult to place the entire burden of responsibility on the Master of Florence and the masters Van Eyck, there must, we feel, be some link between their accomplishments and the social, political, and cultural setting in which they worked. But this link is as yet less apparent, and less well understood, than we might wish. Regarding the origins of Early Renaissance art, we are in a better position. Thanks to recent research, we have more insight into the special circumstances that help to explain why this style was born in Florence at the beginning of the fifteenth century, rather than elsewhere or at some other time.

In the years around 1400, Florence faced an acute threat to its independence. The powerful Duke of Milan, trying to bring all of Italy under his rule, had already conquered the Lombard plain and most of the Central Italian city-states. Florence remained the only serious obstacle to his ambition. The city put up a vigorous and successful defense, so the military, diplomatic, and commercial ties that bound them, the intellect was for its own; the least important: the Duke had much deeper support as a new Caesar, bringing peace and order to the country, whereas Florence, in its turn, called public opinion by proclaiming itself the champion of freedom against autocratic tyrants. This preoccupation was so strong as to be taken by humanists, the likes of Petrarch and Boccaccio, but the Florence grew to be the better reason of themselves. Their writings, such as Leonardo Bruni's *History of the City of Florence* (1404-1405), present him to the Florentine ideal of a father of the Citizen: the humanist, speaking in the name of a free republic, asks why, among all the states of Italy, Florence alone had been able to defy the superior power of Milan, he finds the answer in her institutions, her cultural refinements, her geographical situation, the spirit of her people, and her descent from the city-state of ancient Elisium. Then not Florence today, he concludes, remains the more role of political and intellectual institutions as that of Athens at the time of the Persian Wars? The passage finds the call to greatness, implicit in the image of Florence as the "new Athens" must have stirred a deep impulse throughout the city, for just when the flower of Milan threatened to engulf them, the Florentines embarked upon an ambitious campaign to

build the great artistic enterprises begun a century before, at the time of Giotto. Following the completion of 1401-1402 for the bronze doors of the Baptistry (see page 264), an extensive program continued the early fourteenth-century of the Cathedral and other churches, while dedications were resumed on how to build the dome of the Cathedral, the largest and more difficult project of all. The campaign lasted more than thirty years (it gradually passed out after the completion of the dome in 1436), its total cost, although difficult to express in precisely financial terms, was comparable to the cost of rebuilding the Acropolis in Athens (see pp. 217). The huge investment was itself not a guarantee of artistic quality but, motivated by such civic enthusiasm, it provided a special opportunity for the emergence of creative talent and the coming of a new style worthy of the "new Athens." And, from the start, the visual arts were considered essential to the emergence of the Florence again. They had been linked with the crafts, or "mechanical arts," throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, and it seems to chance that the first explicit statement placing a place for them among the liberal arts occurred in the writings of the Florentine character Filippo Villani, about 1400. A century later, the same was to be generally accepted throughout the Western world. What does it imply? The liberal arts were defined by a tradition going back to Plato, and comprised the intellectual disciplines necessary for a gentleman's education—mathematics including musical theory, dialectics, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy; the fine arts were excluded because they were "handwork," lacking a theoretical basis. Thus, when the citizen-gentleman, or the artist, joined the ranks of the state, the nature of his work had to be modified. He was acknowledged as a man of ideas, rather than a mere manipulator of materials; and the work of an artist in the visual arts and more so the stable record of his creative mind. This meant that works of art must not—cannot, should not—be judged by their material or craftsmanship; were everything that bore the imprint of a great master—drawings, sketches, tapestries, sculpted pieces—was highly collected, regardless of its incompleteness. The artist's methods, too, underwent certain changes. Now in the company of scholars and poets, he often became himself a man of learning and literary culture; he might write poems, or autobiographies, or theoretical treatises. On another consequence of the new social status, artists tended to develop new sets of ideas contrasting personally upon the rest of the world, self-controlled, polished, as one to another.

sculpture, and the solitary genius, sensitive, idiosyncratic, subject to fits of neuroticism, and likely to be in conflict with his patrons. It is remarkable how near this modern view of art and artists became a living reality in the Florence of the Early Renaissance.

#### FLORENCE, 1480-1490

The first half of the fifteenth century is the heroic age of the Early Renaissance Florentine art, dominated by the original genius of the new style, reinforced by the confident leadership of the movement. To meet its high stage, no man chosen sculptor first, for the sculptors had neither such more plentiful opportunities than the architects and painters to meet the challenge of the "new style." The artistic campaign had opened with the competition for the Baptistry doors, and for some time it continued mainly of sculptural projects. Ghiberti's medal relief, we recall, drew not either significantly from the International Gothic (see fig. 492) nor its contemporary Baptistry doors, even though their execution took another twenty years. In the final period only Cellini's admiration for ancient art, reinforced by the taste of Pisano, can be linked with the discovery of the Florentine humanism around 1490. Similar moments occur in

other Florentine sculpture at this time. The such "young artist" of ancient sculpture, indeed and small in scale, mostly sculptor rather than Pisano had some analogy before this page 495. A decade after the first relief, we find that this limited medieval situation has been surpassed by a somewhat younger artist, Niccolò Bonaiuti. The four reliefs, called the *placenta* (fig. 495), which he made about 1475-14 for one of the niches on the exterior of the church of Or San Michele, demand to be compared not with Niccolò Pisano but with the Roman *Placenta* (see fig. 491). The figures in both groups are approximately the same, yet Niccolò gives the impression of being a good deal larger than those at Rome; their quality of mass and monumentality seems quite beyond the range of medieval sculpture, even though Pisano depended less directly on ancient models than had the Master of the *Placenta* or Niccolò Pisano. Only the heads of the second and third of the *Genio* reveal specific examples of Roman sculpture—these monumental portrait heads of the third century A.D. (compare figs. 470 and 471). Pisano was obviously much impressed by their realism and their agonized expression. His ability to retain the essence of both these qualities indicates a new attitude toward ancient art, which values classical form and content, no longer regarding them as medieval elements to be done.

When Niccolò entered the *Placenta* Contest, he was still in his early twenties. He died in 1491, having almost finished a large relief of the Descent into the Tomb for the gable above the second north portal of Florence Cathedral. In preparation, one of the drawings that early the Virgin had toward, we can have again—and surprisingly—Niccolò's art had evolved during the contest. The style of this figure is evident from both the *Placenta* of the *Genio* and the International Gothic. It is, in fact, indeed, the thing which of "Late Gothic" art such as that by the Master of Florence (fig. 491). Both artists, at the same time and independently, had discovered how to combine the forms of the *Placenta* with the style of the *Genio* and the *Placenta* generally, combining them in this, from the figure whose turbulent patterns and billowing folds demonstrate the frequent force of the wind. But the body of the *Placenta* is not made to disappear among the folds, as that it seems essentially plastic, whereas the body of Niccolò's figure fits out the garments with its own vigorous activity. In this figure, we are concerned, people itself, while in the *Placenta*—compare Niccolò Bonaiuti.

Comparing the two single statues as we see this Early Renaissance art in contrast to "Late Gothic," we find an attitude toward the human body similar to that of classical antiquity. The man who did most to re-establish this attitude was Donatello, the greatest sculptor of his time. Here in 1490, about the same time as Niccolò Bonaiuti, he created Niccolò by forty-five years. Among the "young artists" of the new style, he alone survived well past the middle of the century. Together with Pisano, Donatello opens the early part of his career working on

494. Niccolò Bonaiuti: *San Jacopo* (Genio Contest), 1475-1491. Marble, about 1480. Or San Michele, Florence.







(left-right) Head of figure 20b

19b-20a, "Portrait of"  
a Roman, Early 2nd century A.D.  
Marble, Rome  
From Wikimedia, Berlin

consequence for the Colossal and On Two Models, then also faced the same artistic problems, and the generalization of the two masterful heads to compare. Their different approaches are strikingly illustrated in Vasari's *Giulio Romano and Donatello in Mark* (fig. 21a). Both are located in deep Gothic niches, but Vasari's figure cannot be divorced from their architectural setting and will never attached, like the youth statue, to the column behind them. The St. Mark no longer needs such shelter: perfectly balanced and self-sustaining, he would know nothing of his massive authority if he were deprived of his present pedestal. There is the first statue since antiquity capable of standing by itself, or, to put it another way, the first statue to recognize the full meaning of the Classical contrapposto. For a discussion of this issue, refer to page 101. In a performance that truly makes an epoch, the young Donatello has managed to combine the natural achievement of ancient sculpture. He treats the human body as an articulated structure, capable of movement, and to display it as a separate and secondary element, determined by the shape surrounding rather than by position imposed from without. Unlike the *Corvus*, the St. Mark looks as if he could take off his clothes, stand put in a row of all elements; that is, ancient marble can not pretend as they are in Vasari's figure. Perhaps there is the right word for him: *liberal*.

A few years later, about 1423-25, Donatello carved another statue for the two Models, the female St. George (fig. 21b). This statue is shapelier than that of the St. Mark, and the young woman's arm can actually protrude from its slightly outstretched in armor, her body and limbs are not rigid but wonderfully elastic; her mass, with the weight placed on the forward leg, conveys the readiness for combat (the right hand originally held a cross or sword). The controlled energy of her body

is reflected in his eyes, which seem to seek the horizon for the approaching enemy. He is the Christian soldier in the Early Renaissance version, optimally able to face St. Theodore or Christ-tyranny, yet, not even the great defender of the "new statue" before his statue is a

21a. Vasari's figure. Facing ahead, ahead of the *Corvus*,  
a copy. Porcellino, Florence, Florence Cathedral





above: 210. Donatello, *St. Mark*, terra cotta, 1409-11. Museo, 112/24 San Marco, Florence

right: 211. Donatello, *St. George*, terracotta, c. 1405-17. Marble (the statue has been transferred to the National Museum and replaced by a bronze cast). Height of statue 1' 10". On San Marco, Florence

relief panel showing the hero's first heroic exploit: slaying the dragon (fig. 211). The marble on the right is the capture prison where the saint had come to liberate Sicily. Donatello has here produced another revolutionary work, showing a new kind of relief that is physically shallow (hence called *schietto*, "flattened out") yet creates an illusion of volume (painted depth). The head already has achieved its own degree of volume (Greek and Roman reliefs, and by Ghiberti compared with fig. 210, and figs. 201, 202). But in all these cases, the actual carved depth is roughly proportional to the apparent depth of the space represented: the horse in the lower plane are in very high relief, while those more distant become progressively lower, seemingly immersed in the background of the panel. Donatello achieves this extraordinary, baffling effect by the skilful use of the varying wind-swept landscape



within continuity of delicate surface undulations which cause the marble to catch light from varying angles. Thus every tiny ripple becomes endowed with a descriptive power infinitely greater than its real depth, and the result, like a painter's brush, becomes a tool for creating shades of light and dark. Yet Donatello cannot have borrowed his technique from any painting, for no painter, at the time he did this in Ghiberti relief, had achieved so subtle and convincing a view of nature.

On the opposite of Florence Cathedral, where it was built in 1424-25, a row of tall Gothic statues had been designed for various figures visible above the roof-top in fig. 212). Half of these statues were still empty,



figs 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

figs 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000



and between 1270 and 1275, Francesco filled in the rest. The most impressive statue of the series (fig. 498) is the enthroned prophet nicknamed *Francesco* ("Franceschini bene"), made a dozen years after the St. Mark. The figure has long seemed special to us as a striking example of the master's freedom, and there is no question that it is indeed unique—for none so clear any ancient statue or its nearest rivals, the prophets on the *Alcova* Wall (see figs. 499, 500). But, we may ask, what kind of realism have we here? Francesco has not followed the conventional usage of sculpture as founded old ways in Christian teaching systems, finding a large world; he has created an entirely new type, and it is difficult to accept for his image in terms of realism. Why did he not represent the old usage that a realization of the old? (See figs. 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

Francesco had learned the technique of the sculptor as a youth by working under Ghiberti on the Baptistry



279 Verrocchio, *The Feast of Herod* (c. 1475).  
Oil on wood, 27 1/2 square feet (Florence, Italy)



280 Giovanni Verrocchio, *The Story of Jacob and Esau*,  
detail of the "Feast of Herod," c. 1475.  
Oil on wood, 27 1/2 square feet (Florence, Italy)

down. Now, in the right, he begins to shed his former teacher's last method. The *Feast of Herod* (fig. 279), which is made about 1475 for the baptismal font of St. Giovanni (the Baptistry of Santa-Catharina), shows the same exquisite surface finish as Ghirlandaio's panel (see fig. 274), but also an expressive power that no longer repeats only the names of the *Florentine*. By elevated or medieval standards, the main scene is poorly composed; the focus of the drama (the movement presenting the head of St. John to Herod) is far to the left, the dancing Salome and most of the spectators are masked on the right, the center remains empty. Yet we see at once why Verrocchio created this gaping hole: it compensates more effectively than the numerous gestures and expressions, the impact of the shocking sight. Moreover, the vertical movement of the figure helps persuade us that the picture space does not end within the panel, but continues indefinitely in every direction; that the frame is merely a window through which we see this particular segment of unlimited, continuous reality. The surface openings within the panel serve to frame additional segments of the same reality, looking us further into the depths of the picture. This architecture, with its round arches, its fluted columns and pilasters, is not Gothic but reflects the new style launched by Filippo Brunelleschi, whose architectural achievements will emerge in soon. Brunelleschi also introduced the system of linear perspective, and the *Feast of Herod* is probably the earliest surviving example of a picture space constructed by this method. The details of the method need not concern us here, beyond saying that this system is a geometric procedure for projecting space onto a plane, analogous to the way the lens of a photographic camera lens projects a perspective image on the film; its central feature is the vanishing point, toward which any set of parallel lines will seem to converge. If these lines are perpendicular to the picture plane, their vanishing point will be on the horizon, corresponding exactly to the position of the beholder's eye. Brunelleschi's discovery in itself was scientific rather than artistic, but it immediately became highly important to early Renaissance artists because, unlike the perspective practices of the past, it was objective, precise, and rational (in fact, it even became an argument for upgrading the fine arts into the liberal arts). While empirical methods could also yield striking results, mathematical perspective made it possible now to represent three-dimensional space on a flat surface in such a way that all the distances remained measurable—and this meant, in turn, that by reversing the procedure the plan could be derived from the perspective picture of a building. On the other hand, the scientific implications of the new perspective demanded that it be consistently applied, a requirement that artists could not always live up to, but practiced as well as aesthetic means. Since the method presupposes that the beholder's eye occupies a fixed point in space, a perspective picture automatically tells us where we must

stand as art is properly. Thus the artist who knows in advance that his work will be seen from above or below, rather than at ordinary eye-level, ought to make his perspective construction correspond to these conditions; but if there are no abstracted but for superhumanly beautiful design to an extreme degree, he may disregard them and assume instead an ideal beholder, normally located, back to the rear in *The Fall of Man*; but eye should be set at first perpendicular to the center of the panel, but in the Baptism we must crouch low to see it correctly, as the figure to which our relief is attached is only a few feet high. (For other problems raised by the use of scientific perspective see page 212.)

At the same time that Donatello designed the *Font of David*, Cellini was commissioned by the another part of Florence church for the Baptism in Florence. This second art was beautiful that they were more different the "Font of Paradise," is decorated with ten large reliefs in square frames (each twenty-eight small panels in grouped figures, as on the earlier design) and shows the artist's successful assimilation, under the influence of Donatello's earlier relief groups of the new style, to the fully Renaissance point of view. The story of David and Goliath (fig. 471) may be interestingly contrasted with the *Font of David*. In it, about a decade later, and in perspective construction is more rare and more, Michelangelo's discovery that remarkable from Donatello's writing by Lando Biondi Alberti, the author of the first

Renaissance treatise on painting and later, an important addition (see pages 242-252). The relief by Cellini's sculpture is a spacious hall, a few examples of Early Renaissance architectural design reflecting the mature art of Bramante, while the figures still remind us, by their grace and graceful classicalism, of the International Gothic style.

Giuliano Pisano was the only major sculptor of that time was design with *Queen of Sheba*, like Cellini, he changed his style from Gothic to Early Renaissance in mid-century, mainly through contact with Donatello that he grew up in Florence; he might have been one of the great masters of the new movement from the start, but his thoroughly individual art remained outside the main road. It had no effect on Florentine art until the very end of the century, when the young Michelangelo fell under its spell. Michelangelo's admission was accepted by the artist from Genoa having the main point of the church of S. Petronio in Bologna, such as the *Procession of Adam* (fig. 472). The relief works of these painters' construction—superficial little interest in personal depth—but the figures are doing most profoundly impressive. The figure of Adam slowly rising from the ground, as a statue brought to life single one from its block, magnifies the heroic beauty of a classical statue; from the whole body once again expresses the dignity and power of man as it is fit to discover sympathy. Yet we sense that more than art have been found from Original Sin.

fig. 470. *Fontaine de la Quercia*. The *Fontaine of Adam*, c. 1425-1430. Marble, 12' x 10' 1/2". S. Maria del Fiore, Florence, Italy.



fig. 472. *Adam in Paradise*. Relief of an ivory tablet, c. 1495-1500. Palazzo Medici, Florence.





glt, Verrocchia, David c. 1475-80, Bronze.  
Height 60 cm. National Museum, Florence

Jacopo's Adam contains a hint of incipient conflict as he leans the least, but not nearly flat, but in posture of quiet rather than a happy victim of the Evil One.

It is instructive to compare Jacopo's Adam with the work that probably inspired it, an Italian translation of an Early Christian ivory depicts (fig. ght). The latter figure represents a disarming trend almost yet to interrupt fig. 81g, a final attempt to preserve the Greek ideal of physical beauty within a Christian context.

7. Adam appears on the Iberian (Iberian, actually appointed to "have dominion . . . over every living thing," but the classic form he already became a female, a more death-

And the classical mode entered the tradition of medieval art in the decorated tradition. Whatever we read the unadorned body, from 1400 to 1450, we may be sure that it is not of, directly or indirectly, from classical sources, no matter how unlikely this may seem to be in fig. 140. We may also be sure except for a few special cases—that such nudity has a moral significance, whether negative (Adam and Eve, as victims or fall) or positive (the nudity of the Christ of the Passion, of saints being martyred or martyring the flesh, of Fortitude in the game of Hercules). Finally, medieval nudity, even the most accomplished, are devoid of that enormous appeal which we take for granted in every mode of classical antiquity. Such appeal was perhaps avoided rather than unobtainable, for in the medieval mind the physical beauty of the ancient "ideals," especially nude statues, embodied the monstrous attraction of paganism. The Middle Ages understood the enormous beauty of the unadorned body, but by way of two separate paths. The Adam and Eve of 1400 was first (fig. 81g, 81h), or the reader of Bosch's *Paradise Lost*, have no precedent in either ancient or medieval art; they are, indeed, not "nude," but "naked"—people whose natural state is to be dressed and who for specific reasons appear stripped of their clothing. Jacopo della Verrocchia's Adam, on the other hand, is clearly nude, in the full classical sense, for after a Renaissance's intense (fig. 81g, 81h), an even more ardent admiration of Early Renaissance sculpture, the first Italian nude statue since antiquity that is wholly life-sized. The Middle Ages would surely have considered it as an idol, and Giovanni's contemporaries, too, must have felt uneasy about it, for many years it remained the only work of its kind. Why the artist chose to represent the young man in this fashion is somewhat puzzling (the symbolic reasons that have been suggested are not very persuasive), especially since David years later made similar bodies and a lot. The early history of the figure is unknown, but there can be little doubt that it was made for a private gallery and meant to be placed—perhaps in the corner of a courtyard—where it would be visible from every side. While the David is, in a sense, partly dressed, we can see clearly to wonder what happened to the rest of his costume (and why he wears so much as he does. Nudity, death, is the natural state, although to describe a classical statue only as the beautifully posed contrapposto. Giovanni has chosen to model an adolescent boy, not a full-grown youth like the athletes of Greece, so that the ideal structure (and a few fully developed) in swelling muscles, not that to articulate the boy's form according to the classical pattern (compare figs. 142, 143). If the figure nevertheless remains a profoundly classical one, the reason lies beyond its aesthetic perfection, as in ancient statues, the body speaks to us more eloquently than the face, which by Giovanni's standards is strangely devoid of individuality.

Giovanni was called to Florence in 1427 to produce the equestrian monument of Cosimo de' Medici, the recently de-

great commander of the Tuscan army (fig. 47c). The statue, the artist's largest free-standing work in bronze, still stands in its original position on a tall pedestal near the banks of the church dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. We already know its two other precedents, the *Marino Marabelli* in Rome (fig. 47b) and the *San Grande* in Florence (fig. 47d). Without directly imitating the former, the Donatello statue is majestic in appearance, noble and in some of balance and dignity. Donatello's horse, a heavy-set animal fit to carry a man in full armor, is so large that the rider must dominate it by the authority of command, rather than by physical force. The link with the San Grande, through two statues, is equally significant. Both statues stand next to a church facade, both are monumental in the military presence of the steed, but the Donatello, in the new Renaissance fashion, is not part of a tomb; it was designed solely to commemorate the fame of a great soldier. That is in the self-glorifying spirit of a sovereign, but a sovereign authorized by the Republic of Venice, imperial factor of distinguished and faithful service. To this purpose, Donatello has created an image that is a complete union of ideal and reality: the general's armor-clad torso conforms harmoniously with classical details; the head is powerfully individual, and yet endowed with a truly Roman nobility of character.



47b. Donatello, *Marino Marabelli* (partial).  
c. 1454-55. Wood, height 5 ft. 8 in. Bergamo, Florence



When Donatello went home to Florence after a lifetime's absence, he must have felt like a stranger. The political and spiritual climate had changed, and so had the taste of artists and patrons (see page 396). His subsequent works, between 1493 and 1504, stand apart from the dominant trend, perhaps that is why their theme, appearance and personal quality stand out among the master's best created works. The wooden *Mary Magdalen* (fig. 47f) seems so remote from Renaissance ideals that at first we are tempted to see it as a return to such Gothic decorative images as the *Great Pieta* (fig. 47d). But then we recall the intensity of the *Marino*, and we realize that the tormented features of this *Mary Magdalen* follow on through into religious images not basically different from Donatello's earlier work. Far from being a return to the medieval past, the extreme individualism of his late style confirms Donatello's reputation as the earliest "solitary genius" among Italian renaissance artists.

although he was to greatest and most during master, Bramante had not created the Early Renaissance style in sculpture all by himself. The new architecture, on the other hand, did owe its existence to one man, Filippo Bramante. Two years older than Donatello, Bramante had begun his career as a sculptor. After failing to win the competition of 1491-1492 for the Baptistry doors, he reportedly went to Rome with Donatello. He studied the architectural measurements of the ancients, and seems to have been the first to take exact measurements of these structures. His discovery of scientific perspective may well have gotten out of his hands for an accurate method of recording their appearance on paper. What else he discovered this long "apprentice period" we do not know, but in 1493-1494 we again find him competing with children, this time for the job of building the Cathedral dome (see figs. 464, 465, 466). His designs had been established half a century earlier and could be altered only in details, but the task was posed a difficult problem of

construction. Bramante's proposals, although contrary to all traditional practice, so impressed the authorities that this time he was not over his head. Thus the dome owes to his vision the first work of post-medieval architecture, as an engineering feat if not the style. The technical details need not concern us here. Bramante's main achievement was to build the dome in two separate shells that are ingeniously linked to reinforce each other, rather than in one solid mass. As the total weight of the structure was thereby lightened, he could dispense with the massive and costly wooden framework required by the older method of construction. Instead of having building materials carried up on ramps to the required level, he designed hoisting machines, his entire scheme reflects a bold, analytical mind always searching conventional solutions of better ones could be devised. This fresh approach distinguishes Bramante from the Gothic masterminds and architects, with their time-honored procedures.

In 1494, while he was working out his final plans for the dome, Bramante married and he apparently secured an buildings entirely of his own design. In some familiar form of the Medici family, one of the leading merchants and bankers of Florence, who commissioned him to build a country to the Romanesque church of S. Lorenzo. His plan for this country palace was to serve also as a model chapel for the Medici to so impress his pattern that he was immediately called to develop a new design for the main church. The construction, begun in 1494, was often interrupted, so that the interior was not completed until 1519, more than twenty years after the architect's death (the exterior remains unfinished to this day). Nevertheless, the building in its present form is essentially what Bramante had envisioned almost 25 years, and thus represents the first full statement of the archi-tectural ideas (figs. 464, 465).

The plan may not seem very novel, as first glance. Its



464. Palazzo Medici-Riccardi.  
Plan of S. Lorenzo.  
1494-95, Florence



465. Palazzo Medici-Riccardi.  
S. Lorenzo, Florence



September 15.  
Dismantling the wall  
to Avenue B. A large  
chunk is left.  
Front, 40' x 12'.  
The street is covered  
with dirt.  
(Copyright)





*Glorification of Antonio Bonaventura, the Bishop of Porto*  
 Tiepolo, G. B. (1726-90). Oil on canvas, 1770-75.



Calvary in the Desert. The Crucifixion of Jesus Christ 1631  
Painted by Peter Paul Rubens, Brussels, Belgium.



*Figure 10. The symposium. The lady of the house and the guests recline on cushions of soft  
padding. The women, seated on the right, are the guests. The men, seated on the left, are the  
guests.*



gth. Exterior. Beyond the nave and choir, the Pius Chapel (Rome) (fig. 33, top, *Forum*, Princeton)



gth. Interior View of the Pius Chapel

general arrangement recalls Catherine Gorkin's church (see fig. 31a); the unsanctified nave and transept join it to the choir (see fig. 31a). What distinguishes it is a new emphasis on symmetry and regularity. The entire design consists of square units: four large squares form the choir, the transept, and the arms of the transept; four more are combined into the nave; other squares, one-fourth the size of the large units, make up the aisle and the chapel attached to the transept (the offering chapel); outside the aisle were not part of the original design. We notice, however, some small deviations from this scheme—the transept arms are slightly longer than they are wide, and the length of the nave is not four but four and a half times its width. A few simple measurements will replace these general considerations. Broadbent's team have first decided to make the floor area of the choir equal to five of the small square units; the nave and transept were then to be twice as wide as the aisle or chapel; that is, using this system, he made no allowance for the inevitable thickness of the walls between these compartments, so that the transept arms have a width of two units, and a length of two units plus one wall-thickness; the nave is twice as wide (that is, twice longer than, strictly speaking it should be). In other words, Broadbent conceived G. Lurieu as a grouping of abstract "space blocks," the larger ones being simple multiples of the standard unit. Once we understand how we create form revolutionarily by this, for his clearly defined, separate space compartments represent a radical departure from the Gothic cathedral's way of thinking.



gth. Plan of the Pius Chapel

"The central theme was our organization. God, made order has replaced the emotional warmth, the flowing spatial movement of Gothic church sections. G. Lurieu does not sweep us off our feet. It does not seem that we forward after we have entered it—we are quite content to remain near the door, for our view seems to take its maximum extension almost as it, from that starting point, we were confronted with a particularly clear and convincing demonstration of scientific perspective geometry (fig. 47b). The total effect recalls the "old-fashioned" Tuscan Renaissance (such as Pius Colonna) (fig. 36f)—and Early Christian basilica (see page 34, 35), for these movements, in Broadbent's conception the church



Fig. 126. Filippo Brunelleschi: Plan of St. Spirito.  
Rogers 122, 33. Florence.

Fig. 127. Filippo Brunelleschi: Plan of  
the Church of Santa Maria della Spina.  
Rogers 122, 33. Florence.



architecture of classical antiquity: they inspired his return to the use of the round arch and of columns, rather than piers, in the nave arcade. For these earlier buildings lack the transparent lightness, the wonderfully precise articulations of S. Lorenzo. Unlike Brunelleschi's, these columns are larger and more closely spaced, leading to screens of the aisle from the nave. Only the arcade of the Florentine Baptistry is as gracefully proportioned as that of S. Lorenzo, but it is a blind arcade, without any supporting function (see fig. 125, the Baptistry, see also, see in Brunelleschi's day thought to have once been a classical temple). But Brunelleschi did not revive the architectural vocabulary of the ancient use of more autonomous entablatures. The very quality that attracted him to the component parts of classical architecture must have seemed, from the medieval point of view, their chief drawback: their inflexibility. A classical column, unlike a medieval column or pier, is strictly defined and self-sufficient, and its details and proportions can be copied only within narrow limits (the ancient thought of it as an organic structure comparable to the human body); the classical round arch, unlike any other arch (barrel, stone, pointed, etc.), has only one possible shape, a semi-circle; the classical architrave and the classical repertory of profiles and ornaments are all subject to similarly strict rules. But this classical vocabulary is completely inflexible—if it were, it could not have persisted from the seventh century B.C., to the fourth century A.D., to the second world—but the disciplined spirit of the Greek orders, which can be felt even in the non-original Roman buildings, demands regularity and consistency, and the stronger subtle, arbitrary departures from the norm. Without the aid of such a "standardized" vocabulary, Brunelleschi would have found it impossible to define the shape of his "open blocks" or colonnades. With remarkable logic, he emphasizes the edges or "bones" of

the series without disrupting their rhythmic sequence. To single out a particularly interesting example, consider the "casing" of the aisle: the transverse arches rest on piers, attached to the nave wall corresponding to the columns of the nave arcade but a continuous architrave interlaces transverse arch and pier, linking all the bays. We could expect these bays to be covered by ground vaults, of the classical arched type (see fig. 126); instead, we find a novel kind of vault, whose vertical surface is formed from the upper part of a hemispherical dome (the vaults span half the diagonal of the square compartment). Avoiding the ribs and even the joints, Brunelleschi has created a "one-piece" vault, strikingly simple and geometrically regular, that makes of each bay a distinct unit.

At this point we may well ask: if the new architecture consists essentially of separate elements united together, in story spaces, columns, or vaults, how did Brunelleschi relate these elements to each other? What makes the interior of S. Lorenzo seem so beautifully designed? There is indeed a controlling principle that accounts for the harmonious, balanced character of his design: the secret of good architecture, Brunelleschi was convinced, lay in giving the "right" proportions—those in, proportional ratios expressed in simple whole numbers—as all the significant measurements of a building. The ancients had grasped this secret, he believed, and he tried to rediscover it by painstakingly carrying the remains of their measurements. What he found, and how he applied his theory to his own designs, we do not know for sure. He may have been the first, though, to think out what would be explicitly stated a few decades later in Leon Battista Alberti's treatise on architecture: that the architectural ratios determining medieval harmony were also govern architecture, the story must throughout the entire and are thus identical in origin. Similar ideas,

already derived from the Greek philosopher Pythagoras, had been current during the Middle Ages (see p. 120ff.), but they had never before been expressed so minutely, directly and simply. When Gothic architects "discovered" the tenets of classical theory, they did so with the aid of the theologians and the two consistently share their Renaissance movement. But even Bramante's faith in the universal validity of harmonious proportions did not tell him how to affect these ratios in the parts of one great building. It left him many alternatives, and his choice among them was necessarily subjective. We may say, in fact, that the main reason E. Lomax's failure as an exponent of simple great mind architectural construction ("value of properties") which permeates every detail.

In the revival of classical forms, Renaissance architects found a standard vocabulary (the theory of harmonious proportions provided) with the kind of system that had been mostly absent in medieval architecture. Last this comparatively inflexible order he incorporated as an architectural improvement, we might call it our "imposed" analogy is far further. It is tempting to see a parallel here with the "un-classical" flexibility of medieval architecture, proliferating in regional styles, and the equally "un-classical" attitude of their time toward language, as evidenced by its treatment of size and the rapid growth of regional vernaculars, the maintenance of current, or Western language. The revival of Latin and Greek in the Renaissance did not shut these languages on the contrary, the classical influence made them modernize, made, precise, and articulated the Latin before long the dominant position it had maintained throughout the Middle Ages as the language of intellectual discourse. It is not by chance that today we can still read Renaissance treatises in Italian, French, English, or German without much trouble, while none of a century or two before can often be understood today without a translator. It is rather the revival of classical forms and proportions enabled Bramante to transform the architectural "conscience" of his region into a stable, precise and articulate system. The new rationale underlying his buildings were spread rather fast of Italy and later to all of Northern Europe.

Among the surviving structures by Bramante, not one can be shown his original design contained by his hands. Recent research indicates that even the facade of the Peter Chapel (fig. 488) are no longer to be regarded as an exception to this rule. The chapel was begun about 1519, but Bramante later died in 1547 and it can have planned the facade in its present form. It dates from about 1520, and the tapestry window exemplifies, nevertheless, it is a most original creation, totally within the medieval facade. It partly consists of the northern of St. Charles's church (see fig. 492), provides the chapel, making the facade seem to cross the main body of the structure. The central arch linking two sections of a classical colonnade is a prime innovation; it frames the portal below, and draws attention to the door. The plan (fig. 488) shows us that the interrupted colonnade

supports two barrel vaults, which in turn help to support a third story above the central opening. Inside the chapel, we find the same motif in a barrel vault—the two barrel vaults flanking the door—and a third small dome, like that over the entrance, above the square compartment housing the altar (fig. 491). The interior surfaces are ornamented much as in E. Lomax but their effect is richer and more festive. There we also find some sculpture: large roundels on the four piers of the central story, with reliefs of the evangelists; some of them in partly visible relief, and on the walls, smaller medallion ones of the apostles. These reliefs, however, are not connected to the design of the chapel. Bramante provided the feature, but he need not have intended them to be filled with sculpture—the medallions may very well have been planned "blind," like the roundels placed below them. In any case, the medieval interdependence of architecture and sculpture seems as strong in Italy as in Northern Europe had existed in 1500. Bramante had learned the lesson from its setting, and Bramante's conception of architecture as the most convenient of medieval harmonized did not permit sculpture to play a role more weighty than the medallion in the Peter Chapel.

In the early years, when the Catholic church was nearing completion, Bramante's development as an architect entered a decisive new phase. His design for the church of St. Spiritus (fig. 493) might be described as a perfected version of E. Lomax; all four arms of the cross are alike, the nave being distinguished from the others only by its greater length, the outer structures more or

488. Bramante's Palace Michel-Rovelli.  
Rome, Italy, France



colored by an intricate sequence of arches and chapels. These chapels are the most surprising feature of S. Spirito. Bramante had always dreamed the apsidal chapel better, but now he used it to express more dramatically the various separate interior spaces and to broaden the wall areas to bulge under the constant pressure of the space. In the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, which Bramante began about the same time as S. Spirito, this new tendency reaches its ultimate conclusion (fig. 202): a domed, central-plan church, the first of the Renaissance—inspired by the classical polygonal cross—born of Roman and early Christian cross designs (figs. 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209). Financial difficulties interfered with completing the project above the ground floor, and we must not be sure of the design of the upper part, or even of some details in the plan. It is clear, nevertheless,

202. Museum of the Holy Family and the House and Shrine, 1521. Project, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence



that Bramante's here has recognized the ancient Roman principle of the "unplanned" wall; the dome was to rise on eight heavy piers of complex shape, which belong to the same mass of masonry from which the eight chapels have been "excavated." Wall and space are both changed with energy, and the plan reveals the productive balance of these pressures and counterpressures. As a conception, Sta. Maria degli Angeli was as far in advance of Bramante's previous work as it is now from similarly realized Renaissance projects. It had, in fact, no counterpart at the end of the century.

The master's "Roman" style of Sta. Maria degli Angeli may explain the great disappointment of Bramante's final years: the rejection by his old patron, the Medici, of his design for their new palace. The family had risen, since the 1490s, to such power that they were in practice, if not in theory, the rulers of Florence. For that very reason they thought it prudent to avoid any connection which might antagonize the public. If Bramante's plan for their palace followed the style of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, it probably had such imperial Roman majesty, even as the Medici could not safely afford to present an outline. They assigned the commission to a younger and much less distinguished architect, Michelozzo: actual construction began in 1499, two years before Bramante's death. Michelozzo's design (fig. 209) still recalls the harmonious Renaissance palace of later the windows on the ground floor were added by Michelozzo's twenty-four years later; but the type has been transformed by Bramante's principles (compare fig. 204). The three stories are in a gradual sequence, each complete in itself: the lower is built of rough-hewn "rustic" masonry like the Palazzo Strozzi; the second of smooth-cut stone blocks with "rusticated" (plain or, indented) joints; the surface of the third is unadorned. The top of the structure rises, like a hat, a strongly projecting cornice inspired by those of Roman temples, emphasizing the dignity of the three stories.

Although Early Renaissance painting did not appear until the early 1500s, a decade later than Donatello's St. Mark and some years after Bramante's first designs for S. Lorenzo, its inception is the more extraordinary; of all the new style was launched, unopposed, by a progressive master, Masaccio, who was only twenty-one years when the time he had been born in 1401 (and who died at the age of twenty-seven). The Early Renaissance was already well established in sculpture and architecture by then, making Masaccio's task easier than it would have been otherwise; but his achievement remains unique, revolutionary. The action of his surviving works has now to be dated fairly accurately to a flower of 1425 in Sta. Maria Novella (fig. 210), showing the Holy Trinity accompanied by the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and two donors (members of the Lippi family, whose tomb was recently discovered beneath the mural). The lower section of the fresco, filled with this mortal life, represents a skeleton lying on a sarcophagus, with the in-





202. *Museo de la Piedad (May 1902). From: Museo/Capal, the Maria del Carmen Plaster*

express the idealist: "What you are, I can say: what I am, you will become." There, as in the case of the *Mirada* stupor, we enter no longer into a new environment, but Masaccio's world is a realm of monumental precision rather than the somewhat-eclectic reality of the *Plague of Florence*. It seems hard to believe that only two years earlier, in the city of Florence, Giotto da Fabriano had completed one of the masterpieces of the International Gothic (see sculpture 191). What the *Trinity* fresco attempts to show is not the style of the immediate past, but Giotto's art, with its sense of the large scale, its conventional gravity and unproblematic volume. Yet Masaccio's renewed allegiance to Giotto was only a starting point. For Giotto, body and drapery flow in single units, as if both had the same substance; Masaccio's figures, like Donatello's, are "isolated units," their drapery falling like real fabric. The setting, usually open-air, reveals a complete command of Brunelleschi's new architectural and of scientific perspective. This hard-walled chamber is no more white, but a deep space within the figure could move freely if they wished. And—for the first time in history—we are given all the needed data to measure the depth of this painted interior: first we note that all the lines perpendicular to the picture plane converge upon a point below the front of the cross, on the platform that supports the kneeling donors; to see the floor properly, we must locate this point, which is approximately that, somewhere near the  $\gamma$  line above the floor of the church. The figures within the vaulted chamber are  $\gamma$  feet tall, slightly less than life-size, while the donors, who are closer to us, are fully life-size. The entire framework is therefore "life-size," too, since it is directly behind the donors. The distance between the pillars corresponds to the span of the barrel-vault, and both are 1 foot, the circumference of the arc over the open doorway (1 foot). That arc is subdivided by eight square-circles and nine fillets, the collection being a line with neither slope nor planity. Applying these measurements to the length of the

barrel vault behind crosses of seven-circles—the nearest cross is probably behind the entrance window had the church survived beyond the ruins. We could now show a complete floor plan of the chamber, including the positions of all the figures. However, we would find an inconsistency in the position of Christ the Father, whose feet are on a ledge attached to the back of the chamber, while his arms support the cross, close to the front piers. This is hardly Masaccio's incompetence. Rather, he was in a dilemma, caught between the rules of the new scientific perspective, and the equally rigid tradition governing the *Trinity* image, which could not be disturbed and yet retain its meaning. We can imagine his alternatives. Should he move the entire group to the rear of the chamber? It would be unstable, and crushed by the weight of the architecture; the balance and unity of the present composition would be ruined. Or bring the ledge forward, thereby sacrificing the depth of the chamber? Abandon the ledge and have Christ the Father become a deity without visible support? That would confuse us if the cross, too, floated above ground, but Mary and John could no longer be present in witness of Christ's death on Calvary. Thus Masaccio chose to "cheat" a bit for the least awkward solution. Had he been represented for it, he might well have experienced transfiguration in the presence of the Lord in support of the laws of perspective!

The largest group of Masaccio's works became stolen or so put in Rome as the *Museo di Capal* in the *Maria del Carmine*, the *Pietra Santa* (fig. 202) is the most important of these. In Florence, by the aged and noted historian "monumentalist" (fig. 198), the story of the Gospel of Matthew (xxv: 1-13) is the center. Christ instructs Peter to catch a fish, whose mouth will contain the tribute money for the tax collector on the far left, in the distance. Peter takes the coin from the fish's mouth, on the right, he gives two-thirds collection. Since the lower edge of the frame is about 14 feet above the floor of the chapel, Masaccio could not have com-



right: 1506, Raphael,  
*The Descent from the Cross*,  
c. 1507, Vatican  
Museum, Chapel  
for Maria del Carmine,  
Rome



left: 1506, Raphael,  
*Madonna Entombed*, 1507,  
Rome, st. + st.,  
The Vatican Museums,  
London (Reproduced by  
permission of the Trustees)

note the perspective with our actual eye level. Instead, he expects us to imagine that we are looking directly at the central vanishing point, which is located behind the head of Christ. Oddly enough, this line is so easy that we take note of it only if we are in an analytical frame of mind. But then, potential illusion of any sort is always an ambiguity experience; no matter how eager we are to be here in a picture, we never mistake it for reality itself, just as we are hardly in danger of mistaking a statue with a living thing. If we could see the Virgin Mary from the top of a visible ladder, the painted surface would be more visible, of course, but the illusion of reality would not be markedly improved. This illusion depends to only a minor degree on Brunelleschian perspective; Raphael's window here are exactly those employed by the Master of Mantegna and the Van Eyck: he controls the flow of light (which comes from the right, where the window of the chapel is actually located), and he uses atmospheric perspective in the subtly changing tones of the landscape. (We recall Mantegna's "picture" of such a setting, which is called, in his small relief of St. George, simply fig. 274.)

The figure in the Virgin Mary, even more than those

in the Christ figure, display Raphael's ability to merge the weight and volume of Gothic's figure with the new functional view of body and drapery. All moved in beautifully balanced contrapposto, and close inspection reveals how vertical lines transferred in the planes by the artist, establishing the gravitational axis of each figure from the head to the feet of the engaged leg. This makes the figure rather static, however; the narrative is conveyed to us by intense glances and a few emphatic gestures, rather than by physical movement. But in another branch of the Bramante Chapel, The Expulsion from Paradise (fig. 282), Raphael proves decisively his ability to display the human body in motion. The tall, narrow female figure here seems for a spatial writing; the gaze of Paradise is only indicated, and in the background are a few drapery, human shapes. Yet the soft, atmospheric modeling, and especially the forward-leaning angel, subtly transformed, rather to convey a free, unobstructed space. In composition this scene is clearly able to depict Michelangelo's *Religious collection* (fig. 282). Raphael's grandfatherly calm and flow, though less dependent on ancient models, are equally striking examples of the beauty and power of the nude human form.

while he had a master painter's temperament, Masaccio was equally trained in panel painting. His large polyptych, made in 1421 for the Confraternity of the Pisa, has since been dispersed among various collections. Its center panel shows a *Madonna Deliberata* (fig. 492), of the more austere Florentine type introduced by Cimabue and adopted by Giotto (see figs. 481, 483), and may be fruitfully compared with other personifications of maternal devotion—including the gold-ground one still present: a large, high-backed throne dominates the composition and on either side are adorning angels (see only figs.). The kneeling angels in Giotto's *Madonna* have become late pupils, seated on the lowest step of the throne, and the Christ Child is no longer kneeling or feet resting a bunch of grapes (a symbolic act alluding to the Passion) and the thurible, the grapes referring to wine, which represents the Father's blood. It is no surprise, after the Florentine shows, that Masaccio replaces Giotto's theme but that Giotto's throne with a solid and serene stone rest to the style of Brunelleschi, so that he can perspective expertise more especially the two infants. We are perhaps now prepared by the models to find such distance and precision in painting the light on the surfaces. Within the picture, sunlight comes from the left—see the brilliant plane of the curtain that the softer glow of the setting sun (point of the shadow on the throne) point us to determine its direction). There are consequently no harsh contrasts between light and shade, rather half-shadows intervene, producing a soft scale of transitional tones. The light creates the full descriptive function, while acting as an independent force that imparts a constant tenacity—and a common mood—upon all the forms of Giotto's *Madonna's* successor of natural light as a personal force member that of the Florentine contemporaries, but he lacked their technical means to exploit it fully.

Masaccio's early death left a gap that required filling for some time, leaving the younger contemporaries only Fra Filippo Lippi (born c. 1450) whose name had done contact with him. Fra Filippo's earliest dated work, the *Madonna Deliberata* of 1475 (fig. 493), evokes Masaccio's earlier *Madonna* in several important ways—the lighting, the heavy throne, the massive three-dimensional figure, the dignity, like even the Virgin's legs. Nevertheless, the picture lacks Masaccio's monumentality and severity; in fact, it seems knowledge claimed by composition. The background is a domestic interior (note the Virgin's feet on the right), and the virgily patterned mantle throne displays a proper back and the small inserted with the hem, back a quantity of velvet, detail, as well as the other undisciplined perspective, indicate an artistic weakness (see distance from Masaccio's); they also suggest that Fra Filippo must have seen Florentine paintings (perhaps during his visit to northeastern Italy in the mid-1460s). Finally, we must not forget that even before of the *Madonna*, the painter's manner is uncertain, which is evident in the figure and even more strikingly in parts of the drapery (such as the curly, back edge of the Virgin's



493. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Madonna Deliberata* 1475.  
Pencil, 21 x 27 1/2". National Museum, Florence

head down and the curved folds of her mantle descending to the left), notwithstanding her own turn to the right). These effects are reminiscent of the initial workshop of Donatello and Ghiberti—compare the dancing Salome in *The Feast of David* (fig. 475) and the maids in the lower left-hand corner of *The Entry of David and Goliath* (fig. 481). It is not surprising that these two artists should have so strongly affected Florentine painting in the decade after Masaccio's death. Age, experience, and prestige gave them authority unmatched by any painter then active in the city. Their influence, and that of the Florentine masters, enabled Fra Filippo's early *Madonna* to return to a particularly significant way, for the Filippo first and only early and placed a decisive role in among the course of Florentine painting during the second half of the century (see next page).

If Fra Filippo departed more as Donatello than as Ghiberti, the opposite is true of his slightly older contemporary, the Sienese. He, too, was a third ("Fratello" means "brother") but, unlike Fra Filippo, he took the

498 The Madonna, The Annunciation  
c. 1490-95. Pieter A. Matisse, France



series seriously and rose to a responsible position within his order. When, during the years 1491-92, the monastery of St. Maurice in France was rebuilt, Pius Angeline contributed to it with numerous frescoes. The large scenes, common (fig. 498) from this cycle has been dated about 1490 by some scholars, about 1495 by others—either date is plausible, for this artist, like Ghiberti, developed slowly and his style underwent no sudden changes during the 1490s. Pius Angeline preserves the contemporary Mannerist—in dignity, direction, and spatial order—that Pius Filippino had rejected. But his figures, much as we may admire their twisted tenderness, never achieve the physical and psychological self-awareness that characterizes the Early Renaissance images of man.

In 1496 gifted painter from Venice, Francesco Veronesio, had settled in Florence. We can only guess at his age; he was probably born about 1470, training and previous work, he must, however, have been in sympathy with the spirit of Early Renaissance art, for he quickly became a flourishing Florentine-by-choice, and a master of great importance in his new home. His *Madonna and Child with Saint John* (not in color plate) is one of the earliest examples of the new type of altar panel that was to prove considerably popular from the mid-fifteenth century on, the so-called *Sacra Conversazione* ("sacred conversation"). The scheme includes an enthroned Madonna, flanking architects, and flanked by saints who may converse with her, with the beholder, or among themselves. Looking at Veronesio's Venetian-style panel, we can understand the wide appeal of the *Sacra Conversazione*. The architecture and the space it defines are especially clear and suggestive, yet distant about the everyday reality and the figures, while achieving the formal cohesiveness of their setting, are linked with each other and with us by a thoroughly human awareness. We

are admitted to their presence, but they do not invite us to join them; like operators in a theater, we are not allowed "on stage." In Florentine painting, by contrast, the pictorial space seems a direct extension of the beholder's everyday environment; compare color plate 495. The basic elements of our panel were already present in Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco; Veronesio's *Sacra conversazione* have studied carefully, for instance, Ghiberti's as he white-painting around the Madonna, repeating the planar and geometric of Masaccio's Virgin. Veronesio's perspective brings its worthy of the older master, although the slender proportions and selected angles of his architecture are less strictly Renaissance. His figures, too, are balanced and dignified like Masaccio's, but without the same weight and bulk. The slim, sturdy bodies of the male saints, with their tightly individualized expressions, show Veronesio's influence just by 498 in the use of color, however. Veronesio uses color like the great Florentine master; unlike Masaccio, he uses color as an integral part of the work, and the *Sacra Conversazione* is quite as remarkable for its color scheme as for its composition. The bluish-cerulean, its harmony of pink, light green, and white set off by strongly placed spots of red, blue, and yellow, modulates the decorative brightness of Verone's panel painting with the demands of perspective space and natural light. Ordinarily a *Sacra Conversazione* is an indoor scene, but this one takes place in a kind of loggia flooded with sunlight streaming in from the right; the shadows are cast on the floor behind the Madonna. The surfaces of the architecture reflect the light so strongly that even the shadowed areas glow with color. Veronesio had achieved a similar quality of light in his *Madonna of 1491* (color plate) and *Sacra Conversazione*; here the latter master's discovery is applied to a far more complex set of forms, and integrated with the

man's exquisite color sense. The influence of his Italian ancestry can be felt throughout Florentine painting of the second half of the century.

When Domenico Veneziano arrived in Florence, he had an acquaintance in young men from southwestern Italy, who called Piero della Francesca, who became his most important teacher and one of the truly great artists of the Early Renaissance. Surprisingly enough, Piero left Piero only a few years, never so young. The Florentine came to have regarded his work as somewhat provincial, and from their point of view they were right. Piero's style was much stronger than Domenico's, reflected the style of Masaccio; he retained this allegiance to the founding father of Italian Renaissance painting throughout his long career, the died in 1492, whereas Florentine style developed after 1490 in a different direction. Piero's most important achievement is the fresco cycle in the choir of St. Francesco in Arezzo, which he painted from about 1450 to 1465. Its many scenes represent the legend of the True Cross (that is, the origin and history of the cross used for Christ's crucifixion). The subject was to figure apt and eloquent (it shows the Emperor Valens, the mother of Constantine the Great, discovering the True Cross and the resurrection of Christ) was that beside Christ had three faithful followers by virtue of the Points. On the left, they are being killed out of the ground and on the right, the True Cross is intended by its power to bring dead youth back to life.

Piero's style with Domenico Veneziano is readily apparent from his works. The beauty of this style, although less luminous than in Domenico's, has a far more serious, is chiefly hard, looking early morning sunlight is much the same way. Since light came the most as a low angle, it is directed almost parallel to the picture plane, it gives birth to planar characteristics: normal direction of every shape and to lead drama to the

narrative. But Piero's figures have a hard quality that recalls Masaccio, or even Giotto, more than Domenico. Their mass and volume seem to belong to a lost heroic race: beautiful and strong—and dead. Their mass is conveyed by planes and geometry, not by facial expression. Above all, they have a gravity, both physical and emotional, that makes them seem like a Greek sculpture of the Iron Age (two years ago they did Piero's work as these remarkable images? Using his own testimony, we may say that they were born of his passion for perspective. More than any artist of his day, Piero believed in scientific perspective as the basis of painting in a rigorously mathematical sense—the line of its kind, the demonstrated how it applied to perspective bodies and architectural shapes, not to the human form. The mathematical content permeates all his work. When he drew a head, an arm, or a piece of drapery, he saw them as variations or components of spheres, cylinders, cones, cubes, and pyramids, rendering the visible world with some of the impersonal clarity and permanence of architectural forms. He may well have the subject matter of the abstract art of our own time, for they, too, work with systematic simplifications of natural forms. Of the medieval artist, in contrast, had used the opposite procedure, building natural forms on geometric well-known; we go on to the next step, saying that Piero's work is greater today than ever before.

In mid-fifteenth-century Florence there was only one painter who shared—and even have helped to inspire—Piero's devotion to perspective: Paolo Uccello. His *Battle of San Romano* (top right), painted about the same time as Piero's frescoes in Arezzo, shows an extreme preoccupation with geometric shapes. The ground is covered with a grid-like design of dashed rectangles and pieces of circles—a display of perspective studies neatly arranged to include one fallen soldier. The landscape,

148 Piero della Francesca, *The Discovery and Raising of the True Cross* c. 1465. Fresco, St. Francesco, Arezzo





200. Andrea del Correggio: *The Last Supper*, c.1498-99, Parma, S. Apollonia, (Florence)

201. Antonello Gattuso: *Paul at Lystra*, (right of) National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Private Collection)



too, has been subjected to a process of strenuous abridgement, resulting the foreground. Despite these strenuous efforts, however, the panel has none of the crystalline order and clarity of *Strozzi della Primavera's* work. In the hands of Luccini, perspective produces strongly disquieting, fantastic effects: what enters its planes is not its spatial construction but its surface patterns, decoratively enfolded by spots of brilliant color and the facile use of gold. Born in 1500, Luccini had been trained in the earlier style of painting; it was only in the 1520s that he was "converted" to the Early Renaissance outlook by the new science of perspective. This he superimposed on his earlier style like a new jacket. The result is a fascinating and highly unstable mixture: the so steady, this panel we realize that surface and space are more at war than the mounted soldiers, who get mingled with each other in a swirl of implausible ways.

The third dimension held no difference, however, for Andrea del Correggio, the most gifted Florentine painter of *Strozzi della Primavera's* own generation (he was born about 1495). Less subtle but more honest than the master's imitations, *Correggio's* figures something of the master's incomprehensibility in his *Last Supper* (fig. 200) one of the frescoes he painted in the refectory of the convent of S. Apollonia. The man is set in a fairly postmodern scene designed as an extension of the real space of the refectory: its is medieval representations of the subject, Jesus sits in isolation on the rear side of the table, opposite Christ. The right symmetry of the architecture, emphasized by the colored ledge, induces a similar order among the figures and threatens to disprove them; there is no little communication among the apostles—only a glance here, a gesture there—that a breaking silence breaks over the scene. Correggio, too, must have felt confined by a scheme imposed on him by the rigid demands/needs of tradition and perspective, for he used a fairly original device to break the symmetry and leave the drama of the scene. Five of the six guests

on the wall behind the altar are filled with wildcat episodes of violent death, but above the heads of the three Judas and Chino, the marble panel has raised its partly still explosive threat of lightning arms around the altar head. When Leonardo met the ancient columns of Bramante's marble structure, he hardly anticipated that it would build such expressive difficulties.

Some five years after the Last Supper, between 1495 and 1497 (the year of his death), Groppe produced the remarkable stone stone in figure form. It is positioned in a rather ideal—so to speak for display, not protection—and its center probably wanted in every arrangement for some kind of the biblical form, since David is here depicted in a rather victorious. This figure is fundamentally from the episode of the Last Supper. David's volume and structure something have given way to graceful movement, conveyed back by the pose and the wind-blown hair and drapery; the modeling of the entire figure has been minimized, so that the David seems to be in relief rather than in the round, the forms now defined mainly by their outlines. The dynamic form style has important strains, but they are far from those of Bramante. During the 1490s, the artistic climate of Florence changed greatly. Groppe's David is early evidence of the outbreak that was to transform the second half of the century.

Jan. 1495. Lorenzo Groppe, *David*.  
Florence: Uffizi, 1495-1500.



#### CENTRAL AND NORTHERN ITALY, 1490-1500

In the founding fathers of Early Renaissance art and their immediate heirs (discussed not by art in the middle years of the century, a younger generation began to assert itself). At the same time, the work planned by Florentine masters in other regions of Italy—see small Donatello's statue in Padua—was beginning, when some of these regions, notably the northwest, produced distinctive versions of the new style, drawing-inspiration from the privileged position it had enjoyed before.

In architecture, the death of Bramante in 1491 brought to the fore Lorenzo Groppe (1491-1500) whose name was preserving architect had been long ignored, his Bramante's own. Little he was there, although seems to have been interested in the arts only as an antiquarian and dealer; he studied the monuments of ancient Rome, compared the various Roman architectural styles in sculpture and painting, and began a third teacher, far more influential than the other two, an architect. After about 1495, he was close to the leading circle of his day (the master the Florentine is dedicated to Bramante and refers to "our dear friend") Bramante and began to practice art and planning, eventually he became a professional architect of outstanding ability. Highly educated in classical literature and philosophy, motivated by a complete knowledge of the past and the state of the world.

The design for the Palazzo Medici (fig. 100) was by

Alberti's collapse of the slightly earlier Medici Palazzo (fig. 101). Again we note the heavy cornice and the three-story scheme, but the articulation of the facade is more strict and more self-consciously classical. It consists of three superimposed orders of pilasters, supported by wide architraves, in imitation of the Colosseum (see fig. 102). But Alberti's pilasters are so far that they remain part of the wall, and the entire facade seems to be one surface on which the artist projects a linear diagram of the Colosseum's surface. If we are to grasp the logic of this typically abstract and theoretical design, we must understand that Alberti has not built—perhaps for the first time in Italy—what became fundamental to Renaissance architecture: how to apply a classical system of articulation to the exterior of a non-classical structure. Whether Bramante ever coped with the same problem is difficult to say; with his interest design for the front Chapel window, his specific case is perhaps general in character. Alberti's solution acknowledges the primacy of the wall, reducing the classical system to a network of carved lines.

For the first church exterior Alberti tried a radically different alternative, Sagrada Medicea (Medicea, head of the cross of Medicea, engaged his second eye to form the double-church of St. Vincent's into a "temple of Rome"

FIG. 1. LAURO BARTOLLA (AFTER),  
S. FEMMINO.  
Engraving designed after Alberti



and a burial site for himself, the villa, and the townhouse of his youth. Alberti viewed the older building as a Renaissance shell, the outer container of content, deeply reworked within, worked above and containing stone sculpture (fig. 20). On the facade are three arched niches, the larger one flanking the central portal, the other two more distal, intended to mirror the sculptural program inside and the villa. But these niches are flanked by columns, in a scheme clearly derived from the triumphal arches of ancient Rome (see fig. 24). Unlike the pilasters of the Palazzo Rucellai, these columns are not part of the wall, although partly included in it, they project so strongly that we see them as separate entities. No notice, too, that they are not on separate blocks, rather than on the platform supporting the walls, and that they would have nothing to support if the moldings had not been made to project above each capital. These projections make the vertical divisions of the facade more conspicuous than the horizontal ones, and we regard each column as supporting some important feature of the upper story. Yet Alberti planned such a feature (an arched niche with a window cushioned by pilasters) only above the portal; the secondary niche is filled with grilles of the first. Perhaps our artist would have modified this aspect of his design in the end, but the whole composition was never finished, and the great dome, proposed as its crowning feature, was never built. If the classical system of the Palazzo Rucellai is in danger of being recovered by the wall, that of S. Femmine retains too much of its ancient Roman character to fit the shape of a Renaissance facade. (See, for contrast, the medieval approach to this wall in fig. 22.)

Only toward the end of his career did Alberti find a fully satisfactory answer to his problem. In the majestic facade of S. Andrea at Mantua (fig. 20), designed in 1490, he has superimposed the triumphal arch motif—now with a huge arched niche—upon a classical temple front, and proposed this combination onto the wall. So effectively enough, he again uses the pilasters that acknowledge the primacy of the wall surface (but these pilasters, unlike those of the Palazzo Rucellai, are clearly old, borrowed from their surroundings). They are of two sizes: the larger ones are linked with the antique entablature and the strongly outlined pediments, and form what is known as a “colossal” order that all three stories of the facade wall, balancing evenly the horizontal and vertical impulses within the design. No intent was evident in creating the lower columns of the facade that to make its height equal to its width, even though this height is appreciably lower than that of the nave of the church. Thus the upper portion of the wall wall protrudes above the pediments. Even this part is behind the facade, it is obviously inserted beneath the canopy. Alberti's composition is more disturbing in photographs, what must be right from a point high above street level is now distortion. While the facade is thus physically distant from the main body of the structure, externally there is complete continuity with the interior of the church, where the same colossal order, the same proportions, and the same triumphal arch motif reappear on the nave walls (see the plan, fig. 21); the facade often assumes “open-air” of the interior. Comparing the plan with Bramante's for St. Peter (fig. 26), we are struck by its revolutionary consequences. That the church here occupies no ground,



the influence of medieval design, for Albert's design had no towers, dome, or choir, only a nave terminating in an apse. The sides are replaced by chapels alternately large and small, and there is no transept; the column piers and the arches of the large chapels represent a kind of imposture upon the nave in so wide as the facade. Albert has been drawn upon for inspiration of the massive vaulted halls in ancient Roman baths and basilicas (see page 121), yet he incorporates his classical models so fully in his Gothic design, that no longer entirely an absolute authority that must be quoted literally but serve as a valuable store of motifs to be adapted as well. With this knowledge attained toward its source, he was able to create a structure that truly deserves to be called a "Christian temple."

Nevertheless, St. Andrew, which occupies the site of an early church built by Constantine's son to the emperor with consequent limitations on the designer's freedom, does not conform to idealistic design of sacred buildings defined in Albert's treatise on architecture. He explains there that the plan of such structures should be either circular, or of a shape derived from the circle (square, hexagon, octagon, etc.), because the circle is the perfect as well as the most sacred figure, and therefore a direct image of Divine reason. This apparent state of affairs, on the face of the book, gives validity of mathematically determined proportions (see page 121), but how could he reconcile it with the famous evidence? After all, the standard form of both ancient temples and Christian churches was longitudinal. But, he reasons, the basilican church plan became traditional only because the early Christians imitated a great Roman institution. Since pagan basilicas were associated with the de-

ifying of justice (which originates from God), he admits that their design was more subservient to sacred architecture, but since they cannot strip the secular beauty of the temple, their purpose is human rather than divine in speaking of temples. Albert ultimately disregarded the standard form and other custom on the Pantheon (see page 120, 121), the round temple of Trajan (see page 121), and the domed mausoleum (which he mistook for a temple). Moreover, he seems that not the early Christians themselves acknowledged the sacred character of these structures by converting them to their own use? How he could point to such monuments as the Constantinian (see page 121-122), the Pantheon (which had been used as a church ever since the early Middle Ages), and the Baptistry in Florence (supposedly a former temple of Minerva).

Albert's ideal church, then, demands a design so harmonious that it would be a combination of directly and would arouse peace contemplation in the worshiper. It should stand alone, divorced from the surrounding everyday life, and light should enter through openings placed high, for only the sky should be seen through them. That such an idealized central-plan structure was developed to the requirements of Catholicism must mean no debt, however to Albert, a church, he believed, must be a visible embodiment of "divine proportion," and the central plan alone possessed attainment of this aim.

When Albert formulated these ideas in his treatise, about 1485, he could have cited only Bramante's new basilica—and reinforced—St. Maria degli Angeli as a modern example of a central-plan church (see page 121). Toward the end of the century, after his treatise became widely known, the central-plan church gained general acceptance; between 1500 and 1525 it became a major

121: 100. Laura Bassani's church, S. Andrea. Designed 1525. Mantua

121: 101. Plan of St. Andrea, Mantua (transverse, dome, and choir are from Albert's)





fig. 100. Exterior, Sta. Maria della Consolazione, Pavia.  
Sta. Maria della Consolazione, Italy, Pavia

ink. Interior, Sta. Maria della Consolazione, Pavia



erupting supreme in High Renaissance architecture. It is no mere coincidence that Sta. Maria della Consolazione in Pavia (figs. 100, 101), an early and distinguished example of this trend, was begun in 1519, the year of the first printed edition of Alberti's treatise. Its architect, Giuliano da Sangallo, must have been an admirer of Bramante's—many features of the design recall the First Chapel—just the basic shape of the structure conforms closely to Alberti's ideal. Except for the dome, the entire church would fit neatly inside a cube, since its height up to the dome equals its length and width. By setting into the corners of this cube, as it were, Giuliano has formed a Greek cross in plan he patterned for its symbolic value. The dimensions of the four arms stand in the simplest possible ratio to those of the others: their length is one-half their width, their width one-half their height. The arms are barrel-vaulted, and the dome rests on three walls, not the dark ring of ribs from above but upon vaults the supporting arches, making the dome seem to float, ungrappled, like the pendulous domes of Byzantine architecture (compare fig. 101). There was for no doubt that Giuliano wanted his dome to accord with the original intention of the Dome of Florence; the single round opening in the center and the twelve on the perimeter clearly refer to Christ and the apostles. Bramante had anticipated this feature in the First Chapel, but Giuliano's dome, assuming a perfectly symmetrical structure, assigns its symbolic value far more strikingly.

Bramante left no room for Pavia in 1519, for his own church had an effect similar to that of Bramante's death. But when his plans took Bramante's place in architecture, there was no young architect of that stature to take Bramante's "The consequence" of his church was to bring into greater prominence the other sculptors remaining in the city. The new artists who appeared on the scene between 1522 and 1525 grew up under the influence of these men; it was they, rather than their elders, who brought about the change. Donatello must have been quite elderly upon his death. While from Cellini, the only sculptor of real significance in Florence at the time of Bramante's departure was Luca della Robbia (figs. 102-103). He had made his reputation in the 1490s with the marble statue of his "Cecilia, or virgin" (fig. 102), in the Cathedral. The panel reproduced here (fig. 103) shows the beguiling mixture of sweetness and gentle characteristics of all of Luca's work. In style, we realize, too very little to do with Donatello; instead, it recalls the dimension of those of Piero (see fig. 104), with whom Luca may have worked as a youth. We also sense a touch of Cellini here and there, as well as the powerful influence of Giovanni Boccaccio (see fig. 105). But Luca, despite his great gifts, lacked something for growth. He never, so far as we know, did a free-standing statue, and the Florence remained his most significant achievement. That the day of his long career, he devoted himself almost exclusively to sculpture in terracotta—a cheaper and less demanding medium than

surface—which he covered with enamel-like glass to make its surface and make it impervious to weather. His finest works in this technique, such as the lunette figure (p. 20), have the charm of the Flemish panels. The white glass for the figures and the frame creates the impression of mobility, with a sharp line for the background of the lunette. Other visitors are confined almost entirely to the mouth of the cave. The master himself, however, stood only while he saw or set a change of his work; sleep, Latin, the quality of the modeling, the movement and the simple harmony of relief and thus often gave way to an abandonment of their ideal form. At the end of the century, the little Buddha sleep had become a factory, repeating great thousand panels and great absorption for village churches by the cave.

Because of Later's almost complete withdrawal from the business of making carving, there was a real shortage of capable marble sculptors in the Florence of the early 15th century. Fortunately, however, this gap had been filled by a group of men, none of them old in their careers, from the hinterland towns northwards and east of Florence. That region had long supplied the city with numerous and variously sized, because the exceptional circumstances gave them special opportunities, the most gifted of these craftsmen developed into artists of considerable importance. The oldest, Bernardo Rossellino (p. 24), seems to have begun as a sculptor and architect in Arezzo. He established himself in Florence about 1430, but received no commissions of real consequence until some eight years later, when he was entrusted with the tomb of Lorenzo (p. 24, p. 25). This great monument and monument had played a role in the city's efforts to save the reputation of the century (p. 24, p. 25). When he died in 1462, he received a great funeral "in the manner of the ancient," and his monument, too, was probably originally the government, since he had been born in Arezzo, however, Rossellino from the workshop of his father, and his reputation may have helped to secure



1430. Rossellino's *Madonna, Angelo, Angelo* from the *Corona*, c. 1430. Marble, 2 ft. 6 in. x 12 in. Cultural Museum, Florence

the commission for Rossellino, where they knew from his earlier activity there. One wonders what chance Rossellino would have had if Donatello had been available, although the Rossellino monument is not Donatello's Renaissance work, nor even the earliest large-scale work



1430. Rossellino's *Madonna, Angelo, Angelo* from the *Corona*, c. 1430. Marble, 2 ft. 6 in. x 12 in. Cultural Museum, Florence



fig. 1. Bernardo Rossellino, Front of Lorenzo Bruni's tomb, 1527-28. Marble, height 27' Group of marble, the base, Florence

of a humanist. It can claim to be the first memorial that fully expresses the spirit of the new era. (Schools of Bruni's funeral orations are everywhere; the deceased reclines on a bier supported by Roman eagles, his head cushioned in laurel and his hands enfolded in his history of Florence rather than a prayer book—a fitting tribute to the man who, more than any other, had helped to establish the new historical perspective of the Florentine Early Renaissance. On the classically aware sculptor, see

erupted giant display an inscription very different from those on medieval tombs (instead of recording the name, rank, and age of the deceased and the date of his death, it refers only to his lifetime accomplishments).<sup>12</sup> At Leonardo's passing, history givers, eloquence to man, and it is said that the Muse, Greek and Latin alike, weened both back their hair."<sup>13</sup> The religious aspect of the tomb is restricted to the laurel, where the Medici is entined by angels. The entire monument may thus be viewed as an attempt to reconcile two contrasting attitudes toward death—the introspective, commemorative one of the early classical pages 2 to 24, and the historical concern with earthly and temporal, Bernardo Rossellino's design is admirably suited to such a program, balancing architectonic and sculptural within a compact, self-contained frame; work. In placement itself, the two pillars supporting a round arch resting on a strongly accented architrave, say, gothic, which, who captured it especially. It is derived from the entrance to the Palazzo (see fig. 20), which accounts for its use in church portals such as that of S. Andrea in Mantua (fig. 29). While Bernardo Rossellino may have adopted it for the Bruni tomb as purely aesthetic grounds, it is possible that he also meant to convey a symbolic meaning—the deceased on his bier, passing at the gateway between one life and the next. Perhaps he even wanted us to associate the motif with the Platonism, the "temple of the immortal" for pagans and Christian alike; more dedicated to all the gods of the Roman world, it had been rededicated to all the new gods when it became a church, and in the High Renaissance it was to receive the remains of yet another breed of immortals—such famous artists as Raphael.

The sculptural style of the Bruni tomb is not easy to define, since its component parts say a good deal in opposition. Broadly speaking, it reflects the transition of "liber-

20. Bernardo Rossellino, Entrance to the Palazzo, 1488-90. Marble, height 27'. Victoria & Albert Museum, London





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*Estrophi ad Corintha. Per Antonio Viviani 1795. Carta, 12<sup>1/2</sup> x 18<sup>1/2</sup>. Galleria dell'Accademia, Firenze*

*Calisto and  
Cybele, after Poussin,  
about 1670, 1671, or  
1672, oil on canvas,  
The Hermit, Munich*





*Collection of James F. Smith, Esq. The Descent from the Cross.  
1840. Paint, 11' x 11' (1/4). Philadelphia, Pa.*



ture and lower della Robbia; others of Donatello are free and intense. Bernardo Rossellino rarely employed assistants here, as he did in his subsequent commissions. During the later years his workshop was the only training ground for ambitious young marble sculptors such as his only gifted brother Antonio (from 1471) and other members of the same generation. Their share in Bernardo's sculptural projects is hard to identify, however, for their personalities were not distinct until they began to work independently. One hint we get is clear: a comparison of Bernardo's own style as a sculptor. In any event, all the heads, altarpieces, and Madonna tablets produced by the younger men between 1471 and 1476 have a common ancestor in the Bolognese movement, whatever other elements we may discern in them.

Like Bernardo Rossellino and his artistic descendants concentrated their efforts on sculptural standards of the kind as he had labeled about Florence, few standing statues are—only one or two possible exceptions—actual fountain works. This predominantly one form of large-scale sculpture in the period that was not intended for an architectural context—the marble portrait bust. The great Roman tradition of realistic portrait sculpture, as result, had died out in late antiquity, its revival was long and slow; in Donatello's early century there and admired for their portraits, as we saw in the Palazzo, that the earliest examples we know of date from the 1450s, and some are by Donatello. It seems far more likely, therefore, that the Renaissance portrait bust originated among the younger marble sculptors from the circle of Bernardo Rossellino. The attractive example shown in figure 30 was carved in 1471 by Antonio Rossellino. It represents a highly educated physician, Giovanni de' fan Medici, whose personality—at once austere and kindly—has been observed with extraordinary precision. Comparing it with Roman heads such as figure 28a, 22c, 23a (figs) we cannot say the Renaissance is working. In fact, these heads, however realistic they may seem at first, all were destined to some degree that always physically forms not Christian church, who realized an individuality far beyond any attained in ancient times. He is bound to his Roman predecessors only by the idea of portrait sculpture as the result as an effusive—and evocative—substitute for the artist's real presence. Ultimately, the accuracy of human form is to be found among the heads of rulers such as that of Lorenzo Medici, for it was in such sculpture that realistic portraiture had first been revived, often with the aid of death masks. Although our piece was carved during the artist's lifetime, its austere and dehumanizing every minute makes it look like a death-mask portrait suddenly brought to life. Fortunately, Antonio Rossellino did not permit this preoccupation with the details of facial topography to distract his concern with the sitter's position as a human being.

The popularity of portrait busts after a 14th-century crisis seemed far wider to be displayed in the homes of individual art patrons. The collecting of sculpture, widely

practiced in ancient times, apparently ceased during the Middle Ages, the time of hoards and looted loots—those who could afford to collect the personal pleasure was to gems, jewelry, goldsmiths' work, illuminated manuscripts, and precious fabrics. The taste was reestablished in Renaissance Italy in an aspect of the "revival of antiquity." Humanism was aware that collected ancient sculpture, especially small bronzes (such as fig. 28b), which were numerous and of consistent size, before long contemporary artists began to turn to the spreading vogue, with portrait busts and with small figures of their own "in the manner of the ancients." A particularly fine piece of this kind (fig. 31) is by Antonio del Pollaiuolo (c. 1470), who represents a sculptural style very different from that of the marble busts we discussed before. To avoid any golden-age conservatism, probably in the Gilberti tradition, he was deeply impressed by the late style of both Classical and Etruscan, as well as by ancient art. From these sources, he created the distinctive manner that appears in our Donatello and Antonio. To create a free-standing group of two figures in relief groups, even on a small scale, was a daring idea in itself, even more astonishing in the way Pollaiuolo

30. Antonio del Rossellino: *Medici and others*.  
1. Copy from height of 1471 (see text).  
National Museum, Florence.



152. Antonio del Pollaiuolo  
*Study of Two Naked Men  
 Engaged in a 1490-95*  
 The Metropolitan Museum  
 of Art, New York  
 (Joseph Pollak Bequest, 1927)



he endowed his perspective with a centrifugal impulse: both seem to radiate in every direction from a common center, and we see the full complexity of their movements only when we turn the images before our eyes. Despite its movement action, the group is in perfect balance. To stress the central axis, Pollaiuolo, as it were, pushed the upper part of Antonio onto the lower part of his adversary. There is no provision for this image among earlier mature groups of any size, ancient or Renaissance; our artist has simply given a third dimension to a composition from the field of drawing or painting: the himself was a painter and sculptor as well as a human sculptor, and we know that about 1490 he did a large picture of Hercules and Antares, now lost, for the Medici Palace (our ancestor also belonged to the Medici). Five of his paintings have survived, and only a single engraving, the *Death of Two Naked Men* (fig. 152). This print, however, is of great importance, since it represents Pollaiuolo's most elaborate perspective design. In itself—on strictly pictorial ties—the art is less convincingly satisfied, but that matter is not so significant: the primary purpose of the engraving, obviously, was to display Pollaiuolo's mastery of the male body in action. About 1490-95, when the print must have been produced, this was still a novel problem, and Pollaiuolo contributed more than any other master to its solution. An interest in movement, created with slender proportions and an emphasis on outline rather than on modeling, had been shown by Castagno's David; for example (see fig. 149), who in three respects is clearly the progenitor of the *Two Naked Men*. Pollaiuolo also drew upon the action poses he found in antique types of ancient painter-vase painters (fig. 148). But he realized that a full understanding of bodily movement demands a limited knowledge of anatomy, down to the last muscle and vein. While we do not know for sure, he may well have been the first artist to dissect human bodies for firsthand knowledge of their

structure to produce these movements even in natural attitudes. The two naked men do indeed have an oddly "Renaissance" appearance, so if their skin had been stripped off to reveal the play of muscles underneath, and so in a somewhat lesser degree, do the two figures of our next scene. Equally novel are their facial expressions, as stressed in the bodily movements. We have already encountered painted features in the work of Donatello and Verrocchio (see figs. 147, 145, 146), but the emotional aspects they convey did not arise from, or accompany, the extreme physical action of Pollaiuolo's engaging scene. The importance of this integration of motion and emotion is strikingly evident in figure 153, which shows one of the movements from a fictive group of the *Lamentation* by Niccolò dell'Arca, about 1470-80. We know of no direct link between that work and Pollaiuolo—Niccolò came from Siena and spent most of his life in Bologna—but it would not have been created without his influence. Again, the facial expression itself is not unprecedented, but coupled with the vehement forward rush, the movement of the entire figure—especially so, as it does in the *Study of Two Naked Men* (fig. 152).

Although Pollaiuolo, during the late years of his career, did two monumental bronze reliefs for St. Peter's in Rome, he never had an opportunity to create a large-scale free-standing statue. For such works we must turn to his slightly younger contemporary, Andrea del Verrocchio (c. 1478-88), the greatest sculptor of his day and the only one to show some of Verrocchio's range and abilities. It is useful as well as ironic—we have words of his in marble, terracotta, silver, and bronze—to contrast elements from Antonio Bonifazi and Antonio del Pollaiuolo (see a unique synthesis, the way often repeated painter and the teacher of Verrocchio de' Fieschi, something of a middleman, even more, in his inevitably suffered slightly compressed, the most popular work in Florence, because of its location in the courtyard of



113. Giovanni Stanetti: *Nata, the domestic slave*, a study for Stanetti, *Merse*, the Mariella Vini, Bologna

the Palazzo Vecchio as well as the personal charm, is the *Puteo with Dolphin* (fig. 102). It was brought to the notice of all eyes when the dolphin is spouting a jet of water, as if responding to the tug it has to make—for one of the Medici villas near Florence. The same putto spirit in the piece designates the male, winged children that so often accompany more weighty subjects in ancient art. One particularly spirit of various kinds (such as the spirit of love, in which case we call them cupids), usually in a gay and playful way. They were considered during the Early Renaissance both in their original identity and as child angels. The dolphin sculpture 'Puteo with the classical head' compares the putto and dolphin in fig. 102. Artistically, however, he is close to Polignone's *Mercurio* and deeper than in ancient art, despite the larger size and greater sense of volume. Again the form fits out in every direction from a central axis, but here the movement is graceful and continuous rather than jagged and jerky; the extended-out leg, the dolphin, and the arms and wings fit into an upward spiral, making the figure seem to revolve before our eyes.

By a strange coincidence, the crowning achievement of Stanetti's career, as of Donatello's, was the latest expression movement of a Florentine army commander: Renaissance Culture (fig. 103). In his will, Colonna

had requested such a statue and, by way of encouragement, had left a sizable fortune to the Republic of Florence. He obviously knew the Campanello monument and wanted to create the next better the himself. Nevertheless, we must have regarded Donatello's work as the prototype of his own career. Yet he did not simply imitate his illustrious model; he reinterpreted the theme too subtly, perhaps, but no less impressively. The figure, graceful and upward rather than robust and proud, is imbued with the same sense of ascending motion that we see in the statue of Polignone; in this last reveals every vein, muscle, and bone, in strong contrast with the rigid surfaces of the ancient figure (figuring it). Since the form is also smaller in relation to the other than Campanello's, Colonna seems the subtle like the very embodiment of beautiful dominance. Legs rigidly straight, one stretched thus forward, he carries the same before him with the great concentration of Donatello's *St. George* (see fig. 102), but his lip is now contemptuously curled.

102. Andrea del Verrocchio: *Puteo with Dolphin*, c. 1480. Bronze, height 27" (width 15"). Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Another *Giustiniani* and *Colonna* are portraits in the specific sense of the term, both depicting an embodiment of the personality which each artist associated with successful leadership in war. If *Giustiniani* conveys stability, purpose and solidity of character, *Colonna* radiates an almost lightning mass of power. As an image of victorious self-assurance, he recalls the *Capo Grande* (see fig. 21) rather than the *Demetriade* monument. Perhaps *Verrocchio* treated the head of the *Capo Grande* (who was well remembered in Florence as the patron of Donatello) and decided to translate the wonderful uniqueness of the statue into the style of his own day. In any case, *Berthelme Colonne* got a great deal more than he had bargained for in the end.

Before we resume our discussion of Florentine painting, we must consider the growth of Early Renaissance art in Northern Italy. The International style in painting and sculpture lingered there until the mid-century, and architecture retained a strongly Gothic flavor long after the adoption of a classical vocabulary. Yet about strongest North Italian architecture and sculpture be-

come 1490 and 1500, as there are hardly any others, none of major consequence in either field. Indeed, we shall know again painting in Venice and its dependent territories, for during these years work a great tradition was born here that was to flourish for the next three centuries. The Republic of Venice, although more oligarchic, and unique in its outward orientation, had many in touch with Florence. It is not surprising, therefore, that she, rather than the Duchy of Milan, should have become the leading center of Early Renaissance art in Northern Italy. Florentine masters had been carrying the new style to Venice and the neighborhood of Padua since the 1480s. For Filippo Lippi, Verrochio, and Campagna had all worked there at one time or another. Still more important was Donatello's ten-year sojourn. Their presence, however, worked only rather timid local responses until, shortly before 1490, the young Andrea Mantegna emerged as an independent master. Born in 1431, he had been trained by a minor Paduan painter, but his early development was decisively shaped by the impressions he received from locally available Florentine works and—via this avenue—by personal contact with Donatello. Next to Mantegna, Mantegna was the most important painter of the Early Renaissance. And he, too, was a progressive genius, fully capable of original and exciting contributions on his own. Within the next decade, he reached artistic maturity, and during the next half-century—he lived at the age of seventy-five—he broadened the range of his art but never departed, in essence, from the style he had formulated in the 1480s. His greatest achievement of that time, the *Bosses in the Chains of the Emigrant in Padua*, was almost entirely destroyed by an accidental bomb explosion in 1591—4 years previous to the death of the *Composante* of this case page 1591. The same was reproduced in figure 21b. Its donor had to the *Demetriade* is the most dramatic of the cycle, because of its daring "world's-eye view" perspective, which is based on the beholder's actual viewpoint (the central vanishing point is below the bottom of the picture, somewhat to the right of center). The architectural setting consequently looms large, as in Mantegna's *Prison* (see fig. 21c). In these features, a large emphasis, although not scope of the specific Roman monument, looks so self-evident every detail that it might as well be. Here Mantegna's devotion to the visible features of antiquity, almost like that of an archaeologist, shows his close association with the learned humanists of the University of Padua who had the same reverence for every word of ancient literature. No Florentine painter or sculptor of the time could have transmitted such an attitude to his. The same lesson for authenticity can be seen in the costume of the Roman soldiers (compare fig. 12a). It even extends to the use of "wet" drapery (compare an imitation of Chion's Greek sculpture referred to by the Roman (see fig. 12b)). But the lower figures, bent and heavily constrained, and especially their dramatic interaction, clearly derive from Donatello. Mantegna's

111. Andrea del Verrocchio, *Demetriade* (Monument of Colonne) c. 1475-80. Bronze, height 2.11'.  
Campagna del Monumento Padua, Venice



subject hardly demands this agitated staging; the saint, as the way to his crucifixion, shows a painful and acute sense that he walks. But the large crowd of bystanders, many of them expressing by gesture and gesture how deeply the miracle has stirred them, generates an intense, almost emotional tension that strips this not physical violence of its far light. The great spiral part of the tower nearly defines the silhouette below. No very good luck, a sketch for our fresco has survived (fig. 32), the earliest instance we know of a drawing that permits us to compare the preliminary and final versions of such a design. Viewing the drawings by various masters, none, it seems, is related to a known picture in the same way. This sketch differs from the master's Polhemite drawings on the wall from fig. 32 in its tentative, unworked quality; the composition has not yet taken full shape, still growing, as it were, the image in our drawing is "unfinished" both in conception and in the sense that the forms are not drawn in a quick, sketched style. We note, for example, that here the perspective is closer to normal, indicating that the artist worked out the exact scheme only on the wall. Our drawing also offers proof of what we suspected in the case of Mantegna: that Early Renaissance artists actually concerned their compositions in terms of male figures. The group on the right is still in that first stage, and in the others the outlines of the body show clearly beneath the costume. But the drawing is more than only a document: it has work of art in its own right. The very question of its "handwriting" gives it an secondary and rhythmic force that are necessary here in the fresco. Many of its essential qualities are not the lot in the same master's engravings. Both of the final, more than thirty years later (fig. 33), although the artist recalls the intense and expressive features of Polhemite's sketch of the naked Man on wall.

In the evidence of these works, we would hardly expect Mantegna to be much concerned with light and color. The panel reproduced in colorplate 34, painted only a few years after the Paduan fresco, proves that he was, in the foreground, to be seen, worked the fantastic array of classical statues including, this time, the artist's signature as Greek. The scene, too, looks more like a crowd than a living body. But beyond we were wonderfully atmospheric landscape and a deep blue sky dotted with the softness of white clouds. The space seems to be bathed in the warm radiance of late afternoon sunlight, which creates a gently undulating mood, making the position of the dying victim doubly poignant. The background of our panel would hardly be conceivable without the influence, direct or indirect, of the Van Eyck's tempera coloration in, left. Some works of the great Flemish masters had surely reached Florence as well as Venice between 1490 and 1500, and must have been equally admired in both cities; but in Venice they had more immediate effect, evoking the interest in typical, light-filled landscapes that became an important part of Venetian Renaissance painting. In the work of Giovanni Bellini



34. Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before the Crucifixion*, c. 1490. Fresco, Chapel Chapel, Church of the Crucifixion, Padua (destroyed wall)



35. Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before the Crucifixion*, c. 1490. The drawing, "Pencil", Collection G. M. Gifford-Harris, (Donington House, Newbury, Berkshire, England)

in 1490-1500, Mantegna's fresco in fact, we can trace the further growth of the tradition. Bellini was slow to master his finest pictures, such as St. Francis in Ecstasy (colorplate 35), late from the last decade of the century or later. The scene is here so small in comparison to the setting that he seems almost hesitating, yet his master



304 Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Madonna and Saint John*, 1790.  
Rome, at 902/1790, S. Elisabetta, Venice

regiment before the beauty of the visible world was our own impulse to the view that is opened out before us, simple and intimate at the same time; the two left his wooden platform behind and stands themselves on holy ground, like Moses in the 1300's province (see page 315). Bellini's position was less fortunate than those of Mantegna; the colors are softer and the light more glowing, and he shares the tender regard of the great Florentine for every detail of nature. Unlike the Northmen, however, he can define the believer's spiritual relationship to the landscape—the most fundamental of the foreground are intimately clear and firm, the architecture rendered for the sake of scientific perspective.

As the human picture of the city of Venice, Giovanni Bellini produced a number of formal altar paintings of the *Barra-Conversione* type. His compositional pattern is well exemplified by the *Madonna and Saint John* of 1790 in S. Elisabetta (fig. 304). Compared to Giovanni Battista's *Barra-Conversione* (catalogue 315, the

architectural setting is a good deal simpler but no less impressive; we stand in the nave of a church, near the crossing (which is partly visible, with the apse filling almost the entire panel). The figures appear in front of the apse, however, under the great vaulted canopy of the crossing. The structure is not a real church, for windows are open and the entire scene is flooded with gentle sunlight, just as Giovanni Battista had planned for *Agnes* in a semi-outdoor setting. The Madonna's white, light-backed throne and the brown-stained angel on its lower step are viewed through many intermediaries, as they are from Mantegna's *Madonna* of 1426 (see fig. 301). What differentiates this altar immediately from its Florentine ancestor is not merely the simple spectrum of the design but its wonderfully calm, meditative mood (instead of "conversion," we sense the figures' deep communion that makes all rhetorical gesture unnecessary). We shall encounter this quality again and again in Venetian painting. Here, from the way the apse master has built the entire scene in a delicate aerial haze, we see it as through a diffusing filter of atmosphere: all harsh contrasts are dissolved, light and shadow blend in almost imperceptible gradations, and everything with a new richness and depth. In this magical moment, Giovanni Bellini becomes the first face of the two greatest painters of the 16th-century, entering the grandeur of Mantegna with the poetic serenity of Leo van Eyck.

We now return once more to Florence. The trend forecast by Castagno's David continues unbroken, graceful movement and spiritual linear movement for the stable monumentality of the Mantegna style is almost gone in the final quarter of the century, in the art of Sandro Botticelli (1465-1510). Trained by Fra Filippo Lippi (whose *Madonna* of 1492 already showed weaknesses of linear movement) and strongly influenced by Pollaiuolo, Botticelli came to become the favorite painter of the seconded Medici circle, those painters, poets, scholars, and poets surrounding Lorenzo the Magnificent, the head of the Medici family and, for all practical purposes, the ruler of the city. For our members of this group, Botticelli did *The Birth of Venus* (catalogue plate 316, probably his most famous picture). In kindred with Pollaiuolo's *Birth of Eve Naked* that is anatomically clear in body, the shadow modeling and the emphasis on outline produce an effect of low relief rather than of solid, three-dimensional shapes. In both we see a lack of concern with deep space—the architectural block forms a screen behind the figure; the earth, like the grove on the right-hand side of the *Venus*, but the differences are just as striking. Botticelli evidently does not share Pollaiuolo's passion for anatomy; his bodies are more attenuated, and devoid of all weight and muscular power; they seem to float even when they touch the ground. All this seems to deny the basic values of the founding fathers of Early Renaissance art, with the picture distinct look (outlined) the bodies, observed though they be, retain their vagueness; they are greater

pages that will discussion, page 101 rejecting full freedom of movement.

To understand this position, we must consider the meaning of our picture, and the general use of classical subjects in Early Renaissance art. During the Middle Ages, classical forms had become divorced from classical subject matter. Artists could only draw upon the ancient repertory of poses, gestures, expressions, etc., by changing the identities of their models: philosophers became apostles, Cypher turned into Adam, Hieronymus became John. When medieval artists had occasion to represent the pagan gods, they based their pictures on literary descriptions rather than visual models. This was the situation, by and large, until the mid-fifteenth century. Only with Polignola—and Mantegna in Northern Italy—does classical form begin to regain classical content. Bramante's last paintings of the Labors of Hercules (about 1480) mark the earliest instance—as far as we know—of important subjects from classical mythology depicted in a style inspired by ancient monuments; and *The Birth of Venus* contains the first monumental image since Roman times of the nude goddess (a pose derived from classical sources of Venus, see fig. 114). Moreover, the subject of the picture is clearly meant to be serious, even solemn. How could such images be justified in a Christian evaluation, without subjecting both artist and patron to the accusation of impiety? In the Middle Ages, classical subjects had at times been interpreted didactically, however remote the analogy, as allegories of Christian per-

cepts. Europe attracted by the truth, for instance, could be declared to signify the soul redeemed by Christ. But such puffed constructions were hardly an adequate excuse for representing the pagan gods with their ancient beauty and strength. To face the Christian faith with ancient mythology, rather than merely relate them, required a more sophisticated argument. This was provided by the Neo-Platonist philosophers, whose foremost representative, Marsilio Ficino, enjoyed tremendous prestige during the later years of the fifteenth century and after. Ficino's thought, based in much on the teachings of Plato, was the very opposite of the earlier system of medieval scholasticism. He believed that the life of the universe, including that of man, was linked to God by a spiritual circuit continuously ascending and descending, so that an evolution, whether from the Bible, Plato, or classical myth, was not, finally, he prohibited that beauty, love, and harmony, being phases of the same circuit, were one. Thus Neo-Platonism could invoke the "celestial Venus" (Plato), the nude Venus born of the sea, as in our picture intermingling with the Virgin Mary, as the source of "divine love" (drawing the equivalent of divine beauty). The celestial Venus, according to Ficino, dwells purely in the sphere of Mind, while her twin, the ordinary Venus, engenders "human love." Once we understand that Botticelli's picture has this great religious meaning, it seems less astonishing that the two nude gods use the left foot as much like angels, and that the personification of Spring on the right, who redoubles Venus' action, recalls the traditional relation of St. John to the Sonnet in the Baptism of Christ (compare fig. 101). As Jupiter is a "father is God," the birth of Venus evokes the hope for "fatherhood" from which the Renaissance takes its name. Thanks to the Rhetoric of Neo-Platonist doctrine, the number of possible associations to be linked with our painting is almost limitless. All of these, however, like the celestial Uranus itself, "dwelt in the sphere of Mind," and Botticelli's deity would hardly be a fit model for them if she were less eternal.

Neo-Platonist philosophy, and its application in art, were extremely rare examples to become popular outside the culted and highly educated circle of the ducal court. In 1490, the captives of the sack in the street were confronted by the most Christian tyrannically, an ardent advocate of religious reform, who granted a huge following with his sermons attacking the "cult of paganism" among the city's ruling class. Botticelli himself became a follower of Savonarola and reportedly burned a number of his "pagan" pictures, in his last will: he seems to have stopped painting exactly what came to be known as traditional religious themes but with an essential change in style.

Calceopius (1), a pupil of Botticelli's contemporary, Piero di Cosimo, illustrates a view of pagan mythology diametrically opposed to that of the Neo-Platonism. Instead of "spiritualizing" the pagan gods, it brings them

fig. 114. Botticelli's Venus appears. *Birth of Venus and the Graces*, c. 1485. Panel, 19 1/2 x 27 1/2. The Louvre, Paris.



down to earth as beings of flesh and blood. In this otherwise theory, man had strayed from his barbaric state through the discoveries and inventions of a few exceptionally gifted individuals, gratefully remembered by posterity. These men were finally accepted the status of gods. In ignorance subscribed to only a few beliefs but to travel back to Hellenistic times without losing all of the implications expressed by ancient authors. The Christian theory was not moved until the late fifteenth century: it prohibits a gradual evolution of man from the animal level, which thus conflicts with the captured essence of Creation. This could be ground over, however, by making a gay idol out of the achievements of these pagan "valiant heroes," to avoid the impression of complete antithesis—exactly what Piero di Cosimo did in our picture. In title, *The Discovery of Honey*, refers to the central episode, a group of men keeping themselves about an extraordinary tree. They have discovered a source of honey, and are making as much noise as possible with their pots and pans to induce the bees to cluster on one of the branches. The bees will then collect the honey, from which they will produce meat. Behind them, in the right, some of their companions are about to discover the source of another fermented beverage: they are clashing stones to collect wild grapes. Beyond is a barren rock, while on the left there are gentle hills and a town. This contrast does not imply that the bees are only destined to merely fortify the civilization, the goal of the future, with untrained natives. Here the "valiant hero" is, of course, Bechthor, who appears in the lower right-hand

corner, a tiny grin on his face, next to his lady-love, another "discovery" (appearance), Bechthor and his companions do not in the least resemble the classical creation of ancient mythology. They have an oddly old, dusty air, suggesting a far-loving family that once glories. The brilliant sunlight, the rich colors, and the fascinating landscape make the scene a still more plausible extension of everyday reality. We can well believe that Piero di Cosimo, in contrast to Botticelli, admired the great Florentine masters, and this landscape would be inconceivable without the strong influence of the Pontormo *Adoration* (compare fig. 42).

Not only Piero was inspired by the realism of the Florentine *Adoration* (Ghirlandino, another contemporary of Botticelli, shared the attitude *Ghirlandino's* cycle are so filled with portraits that they almost serve as family chronicles of the wealthy patricians who sponsored them. Among his most affecting individual portraits is the part of an old man with his grandson (fig. 194). Lacking the pastoral delicacy of Florentine portraiture, it nevertheless reflects their greater attention to surface texture and facial detail. But no Northern painter could have rendered the Ghirlandino's tender human relationship between the little boy and his grandfather. Psychologically, our panel plainly belongs to Italian art.

Rome, long neglected during the papal rule in Antiquity, became once more in the late fifteenth century an important center of art patronage. As the papacy regained its political power on Italian soil, the papal

210. Pietro Perugino, *The Discovery of the Bees*, 1485. From: *British Chapel, The Vatican, Rome*







1490, Luca Signorelli  
The Descent into Hell  
1494-1495, Fresco  
S. Maria Chapel, Arezzo Cathedral

of medieval St. Peter began to heavily both the Vatican and the city, in the conviction that the prominence of Christian Rome must include those of the pagan past. The most ambitious pictorial project of these years was the decoration of the walls of the Sistine Chapel about 1490. Among the scenes he carried out this large cycle of Old and New Testament scenes was numerous ones of the important figures of Central Italy, including Botticelli and Ghirlandajo, although the fresco depicts, on the whole, subjects that were more important work. There is, however, one exception to this rule: The delivery of the River Styx, 1490 by Piero di Cosimo must look as his finest achievement. Born near Perugia in Umbria (the region southeast of Florence), Perugino maintained close ties with Florence. His early development had been decisively influenced by Verrocchio, so the statuesque balance and solidity of the figures in the delivery of the Keys still suggest. The grandly symmetrical design conveys the special importance of the subject in this particular setting (the authority of St. Peter as the first pope—and that of all his successors—rests on his having received the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven from Christ himself). A number of contemporaries, with personally individualized features, witness the solemn event. Equally striking is the vast expanse of the background, in two Roman triumphal arches subtly modeled in the Arch of Constantine (building a domed structure in which to inscribe the ideal church of Alberti's *Temple of Urban* in 1486). The spatial clarity, the mathematically exact perspective of this view, are the heritage of Piero della Fran-

cesco, who spent much of his later life working for Urbinate clients, notably the Duke of Urbino. And also from Urbino, shortly before 1490, Perugino received a pupil whose taste was observed by even—Botticelli, the most classic master of the High Renaissance.

Like Signorelli is linked to Perugino by a similar background, although his personality is radically more dramatic. Of provincial Tuscan origin, he had been a disciple of Piero della Francesca before coming to Florence in the 1470s. Like Perugino, Signorelli was strongly impressed by Verrocchio, but he also admired the energy, experimentation, and innovative pressure of Michelangelo's studio. Continuing these influences with Piero's calm solidity of form and mastery of perspective foreshadowing, Signorelli achieved a style of epic grandeur that has made a lasting imprint upon the mind of Michelangelo (he marked the climax of his career just before 1500 with the first anatomical drawing, representing the end of the world, on the walls of the S. Maria Chapel in Arezzo Cathedral—especially the most dramatic of these, *The Descent into Hell* (fig. 101). What most strikes us is not Signorelli's use of the nude body as an expressive instrument—even though he far surpasses his predecessors in this respect—but the deep sense of tragedy that pervades the scene. Signorelli's Hell, the most extreme of Bosch's (compared fig. 49), is illuminated by the flat light of day, without significant qualities of texture or perspective resources. The dramatic results there become dignity and the heroic, too, are humanized even in Hell, the Renaissance faith in man does not lose its force.

### 3. *The High Renaissance in Italy*

It used to be taken for granted that the High Renaissance followed upon the Early Renaissance as naturally and inevitably as noon follows morning. The great master of the sixteenth century—Leonardo, Bramante, Michelangelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Titian—were thought to have shared the spirit of their predecessors, but to have expressed them so completely that their names became synonyms for perfection. They represented the climax, the classic phase, of Renaissance art, just as Plinius seemed to have brought the art of ancient Greece to its highest point. This view could also explain why these two classic phases were so clear: if art is assumed to develop along the pattern of a bell-curve, its highest point cannot be expected to last more than a moment.

Over the years, art historians have come to realize the shortcomings of this scheme. When we apply it literally, the High Renaissance becomes an extremely brief, for example, that we wonder whether it happened at all. Moreover, we hardly increase our understanding of the Early Renaissance if we regard it as a "not-yet-perfect High Renaissance," any more than an Archaic Greek statue can be satisfactorily viewed from a Plinian standpoint. Nor is it very useful to insist that the subsequent post-classical phase, whether Mannerism or "Late Renaissance," must be discarded. The image of the bell-curve has now been abandoned, and we have gained a two-colored, but also life-affirming, picture of what, for lack of another term, we still call the High Renaissance.

In some fundamental respects, we shall find that the High Renaissance was indeed the culmination of the Early Renaissance, while in others it represented a departure. Certainly the tendency to view the artist as a sovereign genius, rather than as a devoted craftsman, was more strongly than during the first half of the sixteenth century. Plato's concept of genius—the spirit entering into the poet that causes him to compose it as a "divine frenzy"—had been broadened by Marsilio Ficino and his fellow Neo-Platonists to include the scientist, the sculptor, and the painter. Manual craftsmanship thought to be set apart from ordinary mortals by the divine inspiration guiding their efforts, and worthy of being called "divine," "immortal," and "eternal" (before 1500, creating as distinct from making, was the privilege of God alone). This cult of genius had a profound effect on the career of the High Renaissance. It opened three to four additional goals, and prompted their usual persons to support such enterprises. But since these additional aims went beyond the humanly possible, they were apt not to be frustrated by success as well as inherent diffi-

culties, leaving the artist with a sense of having been satisfied by a subconscious fate. At the same time, the artist's faith in the divine origin of inspiration had become only so subjective, rather than objective, standards of truth and beauty. If Early Renaissance artists had feared by what they believed to be universally valid rules, such as the mathematical ratios of musical harmony and the laws of scientific perspective, their High Renaissance successors were less concerned with external order than with visual effectiveness. They created a new drama and a new classic to engage the emotions of the beholder, whether motivated or not by classical precedent. In fact, the works of the great High Renaissance masters immediately became classic in their own right, their authority equal to that of the most sacred monuments of antiquity. But here we encounter a contradiction: if the creation of genius is viewed as unique by definition, they cannot be successfully imitated by later ones, however worthy they may seem of such imitation. Unlike the leading figures of the Early Renaissance, the leading artists of the High Renaissance did not set the past but it broadly based "belated style" that could be practiced on every level of quality. The High Renaissance produced accordingly few minor masters; it dealt with the men who had created it, or men before it. Of the six great personalities mentioned above, only Michelangelo and Titian lived beyond 1520. External conditions after that date were undoubtedly less favorable to the High Renaissance style than those of the first two decades of the century. Yet the High Renaissance might well have ended soon after without the pressure of circumstances; its harmonic grandeur was inherently unstable, a balance of divergent qualities. Only these qualities, not the balance itself, could be transmitted to the artist who created history after 1520. In pointing out the limited and preclusive nature of the High Renaissance we do not mean to show its immediate impact upon later art. For most of the next three hundred years, the great personalities of the early sixteenth century loomed so large that the achievements of their predecessors seemed to belong to a forgotten era. Even when the art of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries was finally rediscovered, people still acknowledged the High Renaissance as the towering giant, referring to all painters before Raphael as "the Primitives."

One of the strongest aspects of the High Renaissance—and one important reason why, unlike the limitations set forth above, it is slightly dubious to be called a period—is the fact that the key monuments were all produced be-

years ago and again, despite the great differences in age of the men creating them. Bramante, the cleric, architect in 1494, Raphael in 1511, and Titian about 1518, on the occasion of being the earliest High Renaissance master belongs to Leonardo's *Vinci*, not to Bramante. Just as early as the little Tuscan town of Vinci, Leonardo was trained by Verrocchio. Continuous in Florence, most artists valued him, at the age of thirty he went to work for the Duke of Milan—as a military engineer, and only accidentally as an architect, sculptor, and painter—having behind him behind the most ambitious work he had then begun, a large Adoration of the Kings for which he had made many preliminary studies. His design shows a geometric order and a precisely constructed perspective space that recall Florentine painting in the work of Masaccio, rather than the style prevailing about 1480. The most striking—and indeed revolutionary—aspect of the point is the way it is painted, although Leonardo had not even completed the underpainting. One detail (fig. 100) is taken from the arm to the right of center, which is more nearly finished than the rest; the lines seem to materialize softly and gradually, almost quite detaching themselves from a dusky mass. Leonardo, unlike Verrocchio or Botticelli, thinks not of outlines, but of three-dimensional bodies made visible, in varying degrees, by the incidence of light. In the shadows, these shapes remain incomplete; their contours are merely implied. In this method of modeling visible phenomena, "light and dark," the lines no longer stand strongly side by side but parallel of a new pictorial unity, the barriers between them having been partially broken down. And there is a comparable emotional continuity as well: the gestures and faces of the crowd converge with reaching eloquence

the reality of the miracle they have come to behold. We will recognize the influence of both Perugino and Verrocchio in the subtle responsiveness of these figures, but Leonardo may also have been inspired by the beautiful two chapels in the Portinari Adoration, then newly installed in Florence (see fig. 101), from after arriving in Milan. Leonardo did the Virgin of the Rocks (fig. 102), another altar piece, which suggests about the Adoration would have looked like it if it had been completed. Then the figures emerge from the uncertainties of the genre, and define a mature master atmosphere that intensely calls their names. This has been called classical, more precisely than earlier efforts in Florentine and Venetian painting, lends a greater warmth and intimacy to the scene. It also creates a more dramatic quality, and makes the picture seem a genre scene rather than an image of sacred past and miracle. The subject—the infant St. John entering the infant Christ in the presence of the Virgin and an angel—is superior in many ways, without immediate precedent: the crowded, rocky setting, the pool in front, and the phantoms, eerily shown and mysteriously revealed, all hint at symbolic meanings that are sometimes hard to follow. And so what best, or least, or perhaps are more important relationships among the four figures? Perhaps the key is the composition of gestures—protecting, pointing, and fleeing—toward the center of the group. Florence painting in contrast, the gesture and a more enduring light.

Despite their originality, the Adoration and the Virgin of the Rocks are not yet fully clear, in conception, from the aims of the Early Renaissance. But Leonardo's *Last Supper*, born by a dozen years, has always been recognized as the first clear statement of the ideas of High



100. LEONARDO DA VINCI.  
Adoration of the Kings.  
(Detail: left of center).  
Oil on wood (about 1481-82).  
Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Renaissance painting (fig. 124). Ultimately, the latter managed to determine a few years after its completion; the artist, dissatisfied with the limitations of the traditional fresco technique, experimented in an oil-painting medium that did not adhere well to the wall. We thus need some effortful imagination in original splendor. Yet what remains is more than sufficient to account for its tremendous impact. Viewing the composition as a whole, we are struck at once by its balanced stability, only affirmed as we discover that this balance has been achieved by the recombination of competing, even conflicting, elements such as no previous artist had attempted: a comparison with Castagno's *Last Supper* (fig. 125), painted half a century before, is particularly instructive here: the spatial setting is both more secure than in space to the real interior of the refectory, but Castagno's architecture has a strongly oppressive effect on the figures while Leonardo's, despite its far greater depth, does not. The reason for this becomes clear when we realize that

in the earlier work the perspective space has been conceived autonomously—it was there before the figures entered, and would equally not contain grouped figures. Leonardo, in contrast, began with the figures' composition, and the architecture had merely a supporting role from the start. The central vanishing point, which governs our view of the interior, is located behind the head of Christ in the exact middle of the picture, and thus becomes charged with symbolic significance. Significantly this is the symbolic function of the more opening in the front wall, its projecting pediment acts as the architectural equivalent of a halo. We thus need to see the perspective framework of the scene almost entirely in relation to the figures, rather than as a pre-existing entity. Here what is this relationship we can easily see by viewing the upper third of the picture: the composition that takes on the character of a focus, the grouping of the apostles is less dense, and the entire triangular stage of Christ becomes merely passive, instead of acting as a physical and spiritual focus. The latter, presumably, has just spoken the fateful words, "One of you shall betray me," and the disciples are sitting. "Lord, is it I?" We actually see nothing that contradicts this interpretation, but to view the scene as one particular moment in a psychological drama hardly does justice to Leonardo's intentions. There were still beyond a third rendering of the biblical narrative, for he created together all the elements on the far side of the table, in a space quite inadequate for so many doors. He clearly wanted to condense his subject physically by the compact, monumental grouping of the figures, and spiritually by presenting many levels of meaning at one time. Thus the gesture of Christ is one of submission to the Father's will, and of offering: it is a host or Christ's main act as the *Last Supper*; the imitation of the Eucharist ("And as they were eating, Jesus took bread . . . and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take and eat: this is my body. And he took the cup . . . saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood . . ."). And the apostles do not merely react to the words, each of them reveals his own personality, his own relationship to the "host": those that Jesus is no longer separated from the rest, his dark, defined profile sets him apart well enough; they exemplify what the artist wrote in one of his notebooks, that the highest and most difficult aim of painting is to depict "the imitation of man's soul" through gestures and movements of the body—a detail not to be interpreted as referring to momentary emotional states but to man's inner life as a whole.

In 1492, the duchy of Milan fell to the French, and Leonardo, after brief trips to Mantua and France, returned to Florence. He must have found the cultural climate very different from his recollections of it; the Medici had been expelled, and the city was badly a republic again, and their culture. For a while, Leonardo seems to have been active mainly as an engineer and architect, but in 1513 the city commissioned him to



124. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin of the Rocks*.  
c. 1495–1508. Panel, 75 × 107 1/2". The Louvre, Paris



above: 1494, *Leonardo da Vinci*,  
*The Last Supper* c. 1494-98, Milan  
See: Museo della Scienza, Milan



left: 1795, *Pierre Paul Rubens*,  
*Showing after Napoleon's Capture*  
in "*The Death of Napoleon*"  
c. 1795, The Louvre, Paris

do a mural for the council chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio, with some famous events from the history of Florence as its subject. Leonardo chose the Battle of Anghiari, where the Florentine forces had once inflicted a signal victory. He completed the cartoon in full-scale drawings and had just begun the mural itself when, in 1506, he returned once more to Milan at the request of the French, abandoning the commission. The cartoon for *The Battle of Anghiari* survived far more than a century, and entered numerous fates. Today we know it only through Leonardo's preliminary sketches and through copies of the cartoon by later artists, notably a

splendid drawing by Pierre Paul Rubens (fig. 193). Leonardo had started with the historical accounts of the engagement, as his plans originated, however, the abundant forced recovery and created a monumental group of soldiers on horseback that represent a condensed, violent image of the spirit of battle, rather than any specific event. He connects with "the intention of man's will"—in this case, a savage fury that has seized not only the men but the animals as well—to even more violent force than in the *Last Supper*. *The Battle of Anghiari* stands at the opposite end of the scale from Uccello's *Death of San Romano* (catalogue p. 28, where



101. Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*, c. 1503-15.  
Paris, 91.1.12. The Louvre, Paris

nothing has been retained except the lighting itself. Yet Leonardo's basic vision is not one of uncontrolled vision; its dominance is held in check by the imaginal outline that stabilizes this working state. Once again, however, he has achieved by the manipulation of competing claims.

While working on *The Book of Amos*, Leonardo painted his most famous portrait, the *Mona Lisa* (fig. 101). The delicate, almost ghostly vision in the *Mona Lisa*'s face is here so perfected that it seemed almost true to the artist's contemporaries. The forms are built from layers of glazes or greasiness such that the entire gaze seems to glow with a gentle light from within. But the face of the *Mona Lisa* comes not from this painterly subtlety alone; even closer, merging in its psychological fascination of the other's interiority. Why, among all the smiling faces ever painted, has this particular one been singled out as "enigmatic"? Perhaps the reason is that, as a portrait, the picture does not fit our expectations. The features are too individual for Leonardo to have simply depicted an ideal type, yet the absence of idealization is no strong that it loses the other's character. Once again the artist has brought two opposites into harmonious balance. The work, too, may be read in two ways as the ruler of a momentary mood, and as a time-

less, symbolic expression (sometimes like the "Vergine nuda" of the monks; see figures 100, 102, 103 and compare to, finally, the *Mona Lisa* embodies a quality of momentariness which was to Leonardo the essence of enlightenment. Even the landscape in the background, composed mainly of rocks and water, suggests elemental primitive forces.

In the later years of his life, Leonardo devoted himself more and more to the sciences (astronomy, art and science, no small, were first united in Brunelleschi's discovery of systematic perspective), Leonardo's work is the climax of this trend. The artist, he believed, must know not only the rules of perspective but also all laws of nature, and the eye was to him the perfect instrument for gaining such knowledge. The extraordinary scope of his own inquiries is attested in the hundreds of drawings and notes which he hoped to incorporate into an encyclopedic art of man. His original intention as a scientist is still a matter of debate, but in one field his importance remains undisputed: he created the modern scientific illustration, an essential tool for anatomists and biologists. It shows such as the *Anatomy of the Heart* (fig. 102) combines his own visual observations with the analytic clarity of a diagram, or—in a paraphrase Leonardo's own words—light and shade.

Contemporary reports show that Leonardo was concerned in architecture. Architectural scenes seldom occurred him too, however, these have problems of structure and design. The numerous architectural projects in his drawings were intended for the most part, to fulfill his plans. Yet these sketches, especially those of his Milanese period, have great historic importance, for only

102. Leonardo da Vinci, *Anatomy of the Heart*,  
c. 1510. Handwritten Royal Library,  
Windsor Castle (Knox Copyright Research)



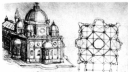


Figure 128. Bramante's *Tempietto del Bramante* (left) and its plan (right).  
 Figure 129. Bramante's plan of the Tempietto del Bramante (left) and its perspective drawing (right).

Figure 129. Bramante's plan of the Tempietto del Bramante (left) and its perspective drawing (right).

Figure 130. Plan of the Tempietto del Bramante, with projected courtyard buffer before.

as there yet we trace the transition from the Early to the High Renaissance in architecture. The domed centrally planned churches of the type illustrated in figure 128 had particular interest for us, the plan recalls Bramante's idea. Martin degli Angelis took fig. 128 but the new relationship of the spatial units is more complex, while the relation with its cluster of domes, is more concentrated than any Early Renaissance structure. In conception, this design stands halfway between the dome of Florence Cathedral and the most ambitious expression of the renaissance-temple, the new church of St. Peter's in Rome (compare figs. 184, 229, 230). It gives evidence, too, of Bramante's close contact, during the 1490s, with the architect Cosimo Bramante, who was then also working for the Duke of Milan. Bramante went to Rome after Michel told us the French, it was in Rome, during the last fifteen years of his life, that he became the creator of High Renaissance architecture.

The new style is shown fully formed in Bramante's Tempietto at St. Peter in Montorio (figs. 246, 247), designed some after 1500. This chapel marks the start of St. Peter's construction and was planned to be surrounded by a circular, colonnaded courtyard. The Tempietto would thus have appeared less isolated from its environment than it does today, for Bramante intended it to be set within a "middle" interior space—a conception as bold and novel as the design of the chapel itself. Its columns, "little temples," were not abstract: in the three-story platform, and the seven Ionic orders of the colonnade. Classical temple architecture is more closely related than in any fifteenth-century structure. Equally striking is Bramante's application of the "rectangular-rail" principle, in the Tempietto itself and in the courtyard, not since Bramante's idea. Martin degli Angelis here we see such deeply measured scales, "measured" from heavy masses of masonry. These centers are counterbalanced by the convex shape of the dome and by strongly projecting moldings and cornices. As a result, the Tempietto has a monumental weight that belies its modest size.

The Tempietto is the earliest of the great achievements





191. Brunetti Bramante, Original Plan for St. Peter's, Rome, 1520 (after Bramante)



192. Plan of St. Lorenzo, Florence, reproduced in the notes made on Figure 191

that made Rome the center of Italian art during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Most of these belong to the decade 1500-1515, the papacy of Julius II. It was he who decided to replace the old Basilica of St. Peter's, which had long been in precarious condition, with a church so magnificent as to commemorate all the achievements of ancient imperial Rome. The task naturally fell to Bramante, the foremost architect in Italy. His original design, of 1520, is known to us only from a plan (fig. 191), and from the model commemorating the start of the building campaign (fig. 192) which shows the exterior in rather impressive perspective. There are sufficient, however, to have run the works, Bramante especially was to follow his aim: "I shall place the Pantheon on top of the Basilica of Constantine." To surpass the two most famous structures of Roman antiquity by a Christian edifice of unexampled grandeur—nothing less would have satisfied Julius II, a possessor of no ambition, who wanted to unite all Italy under his command and thus to gain a temporal power matching the spiritual authority of his office. Bramante's design is indeed of truly imperial magnificence: a huge dome, hemispherical like that of the Pantheon, across the crossing of the



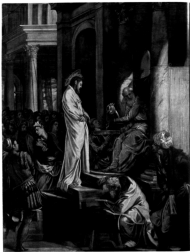
193. Vasarian Model Showing Bramante's Design for St. Peter's, 1520, British Museum, London

hemispherical arms of a Greek cross, with four lower domes and tall corner towers filling the angles. This plan fulfills all the demands laid down by Albert for sacred architecture (see page 52-53) harmoniously on the circle and the square. It is so rigidly symmetrical that we cannot tell which area was to hold the high altar. Bramante envisioned four identical apses like that on the model of 1520, dominated by the same superiority of severely classical forms we saw in the Tempietto's dome, half-pilaster, colonnades, pediments. These simple geometric shapes, however, do not preclude the church from the "unspoiled wall" rigor against the plan shows its continuous surface, with great, gently sloping "shells" of masonry that have been well described by one critic as giant pieces of soap hollowed by a water-eroder agent. The actual size of these "shells" can be visualized only if we compare the measurements of Bramante's church with those of earlier buildings. St. Lorenzo in Florence, for instance, has a length of 108 feet, less than half that of the new St. Peter's (see fig. 192). Figure 192, which reproduces the plan of St. Lorenzo in the same scale as Bramante's plan (fig. 191), proves that Bramante's reference to the Pantheon and the Basilica of Constantine was no idle boast. Its plan dwarfs these monuments, as well as every Early Renaissance church made use of. The Greek cross has about the dimensions of the Basilica of Constantine. How did he propose to build a structure of such overwhelming size? On stone or brick, the materials favored by medieval architects, would not do, for technical and economic reasons; only construction in concrete, as used by the Romans but largely forgotten during the Middle Ages, was strong and cheap enough to fill Bramante's needs (see page 120). By reviving this ancient technique, he opened a new era in the history of architecture, for concrete per-





Engraving by Francesco Basso, *The Madonna and the Long Hair*.  
About 1735. Rome, 1' 1" x 1' 2". Villa Gallery, Florence.



*Resurrection by Francesco, Christ Before Pilate 1666-68,  
Genoa, about 1670-72, Academy of San Marco, Venice*



152. Michelangelo: David (copy in marble), height 67", Academy, Florence

the church (fig. 541) is largely shaped by his ideas. But this must be considered in the context of Michelangelo's career as a whole.

The concept of genius as divine inspiration, a supernatural power granted to a few rare individuals and acting through them, is nowhere exemplified more fully than in the life and work of Michelangelo. Every detail, not only his ultimate vision but in this light his later self, shaped in the tradition of Neo-Platonism, accepted the idea of his genius as a living reality, although it seemed to him at times a curse rather than a blessing. The elements that bring continuity to his long and weary career in the knowledge power of his personality, his faith in the subjective rightness of everything he created. Conventions, standards, and traditions might be observed by lesser spirits; he could acknowledge no authority higher than the demands of his genius.

Unlike Leonardo, for whose painting was the subject of the cure because it embodied every visible aspect of the world, Michelangelo was sculptor—more specifically, a

153. Michelangelo: Moses (copy in marble), height 6' 2", St. Peter's in Vatican, Rome



trained designer of far greater flexibility than the building methods of the medieval masons. The possibilities of the material, however, were hardly explored for some time to come. The construction of St. Peter's progressed at a slow pace that in 1524, when Bramante died, only the five crossing piers had actually been built. For the next three decades the campaign was carried on tentatively by various artists until Bramante, who modified his design in a number of ways, it was and became placed in the history of St. Peter's began only in 1546, when Michelangelo took charge; the present appearance of

upper left: Michelangelo,  
"The Rising Slave" (c.1513-15, Marble,  
height 84"). The Louvre, Paris

lower left: Michelangelo,  
"The Seated Slave" (c.1513-15, Marble, height 84").  
The Louvre, Paris



series of marble statues—in the work. Art, for him, was not a science but “the making of man,” analogous (however important) to divine creation (hence the limitations of sculpture that Leonardo da Vinci saw as essential to him in Michelangelo’s case, truly the “science” of man, three-dimensional bodies from non-existent matter could satisfy the urge within him for a discussion of his presence, as page 105). Painting, he believed, should include the qualities of sculptural forms, and architecture too, most perhaps of the organic qualities of the human figure. Michelangelo’s faith in the image of man as the supreme vehicle of expression gave him a sense of kinship with Classical sculpture closer than that of any Renaissance artist. Although great masters he admired (Greece, Mantegna, Donatello, and Jacopo della Quercia more than the rest) he knew as a youth in Florence. Yet his mind was decisively shaped by the cultural climate of Florence dur-

ing the 1480s and 90s, under the firm Florence of Morello Ficino and the religious reforms of Savonarola profoundly affected him. These conflicting influences established the tensions within Michelangelo’s personality, his violent struggle of inward for sense of being a noble soul himself and with the world. As he converted his statues to be hidden released from their marble prisons, so the body was the earthly prison of the soul—sable, surely, from prison overthrown. This struggle of body and spirit endures in figures with their extraordinary power, outwardly calm, they were stirred by an overwhelming psychic energy that has no release in physical action.

The unique quality of Michelangelo’s art was fully present in the David (fig. 104) the tallest monumental statue of the High Renaissance. Consecrated to the action in 1504, when he was twenty-one, the huge figure was designed to be placed high above the ground, an art

of the battlement of the Cathedral. The city fathers chose instead to put it in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, as the pre-eminent symbol of the Florentine republic (see fig. 102). It has since been replaced by a modern copy. The new wall undermined their decision. The head of Giotto being restored, Michelangelo's David looks challenging—surely victorious here for the champion of a just cause. Alleged with good reason, he has, in the words of Donatello's St. George (see fig. 494), although he never takes him to the older master's throne David as well. But the style of the figure proceeds in almost every different from sturdy directness of Donatello's model. Michelangelo had just spent several years in Rome, where he had been deeply impressed with the creative-charged, muscular bodies of Hellenistic sculpture. Although the Lucerne (fig. 103), clearly to become the most famous work in this style, had not then been discovered, other Hellenistic master were accessible to him. Their heroic mode, their superhuman beauty and power, and the swelling volume of their forms became part of Michelangelo's vocabulary and, through him, of Renaissance art in general. For the David's great thrust to make for an ancient master in the Leonardo and similar works (compare fig. 104), the body "sweeps out" the spirit's agency, while the David, as one side and more, shows the action-to-escape as other extreme of Michelangelo.

The first gesture in the Moses (fig. 105) and the two "sons" (figs. 106, 107), came about a decade later. They were part of the vast sculptural program for the tomb of Julius II, which would have been Michelangelo's greatest achievement had it materialized in not an originally planned. The figures Moses, meant to be seen from below, has the enormous force which the artist's contemporary called *terribilità*—a concept alien to the sublime. His pose, both watchful and meditative, suggests a man capable of wise leadership as well as towering wrath. The "sons" are more difficult to interpret: they seem to have first belonged to a scene representing the sons, shocked by the death of their greatest parent; later, apparently, they came to signify the virtues compared by Julius II. Be that as it may, Michelangelo has conceived the two figures as a contrasting pair, the so-called Young Son (fig. 106) yielding to his bonds, the Adulterous Son (fig. 107) struggling to free himself. Perhaps their allegorical meaning featured less when than their expressive content, so evocative of the Neo-Platonic image of the body as the earthly prison of the soul.

The tomb of Julius II remained undisturbed when the pope interrupted Michelangelo's return on the project in an early stage, half-finished, half-completing the reluctant compromise the selling of the Sistine Chapel (fig. 108). Driven by his desire to resume work on the tomb, Michelangelo completed the entire ceiling in four years, 1511-15. His product is a masterpiece of truly spatial importance. The ceiling is a huge organism with hundreds of figures dynamically distributed within the painted architectural framework, dwarfing the Renaissance



108. Interior of the Sistine Chapel showing Michelangelo's Ceiling Fresco and altar apse (right). The fresco, Rome

model below by its size, and will more by its compelling inner unity. In the central area, surrounded by five pairs of figures, are scenes from Genesis, from the Creation of the World to the first seal of the Chapel to the Gradualism of Noah. The theological scheme linked the choice of these scenes and the rich program accounts: peering above the nude youths, the constellations, the prophets and sages, the scenes in the apse—has not been fully explained, but we know that it holds the early history of man and the coming of Christ, the beginning of time and the end of the Last Judgment on the wall above the altar, although it was painted a quarter of a century later, even less than intended from the start. We should leave few words regarding Michelangelo had for the program, he would ensure subject to discussion, and the subject matter of the ceiling as a whole for his own mind as perfectly that his own desire cannot have conflicted strongly with those of his patrons. When greater scenes could be told than the Creation of the World, Noah's Ark, and his ultimate resurrection with the Lord? It depicted scenes of the Sistine Ceiling would fit a book, we shall have to be content with one of the few major scenes in the entire program. Of these, the Creation of Adam (fig. 109) must have struck Michelangelo's imagination more deeply, it shows not the physical molding



above: 1511, Michelangelo, *The Creation of Adam*, detail of the Sistine Ceiling (1484-91)

below: 1528, Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment*, detail, with self-portrait (1534-41)



of Adam's body that the passage of the divine spark—the soul—and thus achieves a dramatic juxtaposition of Man and God mediated by one other artist, Joseph del Sarto (whose apprenticeship is now by 1510, but without the dimensions of Michelangelo's design that combine the earth-bound Adam and the figure of God looking through the sky). This relationship becomes even more meaningful for when we realize that Adam stands not only toward the Creator but toward Eve, whom he sees, yet refuses, in the shadow of the Lord's left arm. The Fall of Man and the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden (1498-1501) (3) shows the work, which was typified the individualism. Michelangelo has been called a great sculptor—perhaps unjustly. If he invents his painter's "sculpted" colors, it is to give his figures the quality of painted sculpture and integrate them with their architectural setting. His narrative scenes are the potential counterpoint of relief, rather than Renaissance "reliefs." Within his limited range of tones, the variety of subtle gradations is astonishing—he does not simply color the areas within the contours but builds up his forms from broad and vigorous brush strokes in the tradition of Cimabue and Masaccio. The *Expulsion* is particularly close to Masaccio's (c.1401) (see fig. 100). The sculpture also permits us to glimpse the profound feelings and psychological complexity that mark sections of the ceiling. These wonderfully animated figures, moving in regular intervals, play an important role in Michelangelo's design: they form a kind of chain linking the Genesis scenes, yet their significance remains uncertain. Are they images of human souls? Do they represent the world of pagan antiquity? Whatever the answer, they seem to bring to the viewer a sense of being on the "other" than the Tomb of Adam (1) (see fig. 101) and the symbolic bond is strengthened by the wealth of expressive detail Michelangelo has poured into these figures.

When Michelangelo returned to the Sistine Chapel in 1534, and twenty years later, the Western world was

enhancing the spiritual and political unity of the Hall, remained (see page 98). We perceive with shocking directness how the model has changed as we turn from the robust stability of Michelangelo's sitting figures to the weaker values of the Last Judgment. Standing, seated and kneeling alike, tumbled together in tight clumps, pushing far away before a wretched God (fig. 121), seated on a cloud (just below the Lord) is the figure of God-the-Father, holding a human skin to represent his redemption (he had been raped). The face on that skin, however, is not the artist's but Michelangelo's own. In this greatly weakened self-portrait too we feel that it was accepted only to modest protest that art has left its personal confessions of guilt and self-doubt.

The interval between the Italian Ceiling and the Last Judgment coincides with the papacies of Leo X (1511-1521) and Clement VII (1523-34); both were members of the Medici family, and gathered to employ Michelangelo in Florence. His activities appeared on B. Lomazzo, the Medici architect. A prototype after Bramante's construction, any design for the ceiling (see page 124), Leo X decided to build a matching structure—the New Sacristy—to house the tombs of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Lorenzo's brother Giuliano, and two younger members of the family also named Giuliano and Giuliano. Michelangelo took early charge of this project and worked on it for fourteen years, considering the architecture and two of the tombs, those for the lesser Giuliano and Giuliano (fig. 124). The New Sacristy was thus conceived as an architectural-cultural ensemble; it is the only work of the union where his career remains in the strong planned specifically for him. The design of the rear tomb still shows some kinship with such Early Renaissance tombs as that of Leonardo Bruni (see fig. 122), but the difference is great: here there is no inscription, the effigy has been replaced by two allegorical figures (day on the right, Night on the left), and the statue of Giuliano, in classical military garb, bears no resemblance to the deceased. ("A thousand years from now, nobody will want to know what he really looked like," Michelangelo is said to have remarked.) What is the meaning of this tomb? The question, put countless times, has never found a satisfactory answer. Michelangelo's plan for the Medici tomb underwent so many changes of forward program while the work was under way that the present state of the monument can hardly be the final solution; rather, the dynamic process of design was continuously halted by the artist's departure for Rome in 1523. Day and Night were certainly designed for horizontal surfaces, not the curved, sloping top of the present sarcophagus. Perhaps they were not even intended for this particular tomb. Giuliano's tomb is not unique and too shallow a monument has accordingly. Other figures and reliefs were planned, but never executed. Were their outlines intended or accidental? Despite all this, the tomb of Cleopatra remains a compelling visual unit. The great vertical of the column is held in place by a network of verti-

cals and horizontals whose slender, sharp-edged forms heighten the massiveness and weight of the column. Giuliano, the ideal image of the prince, has younger and more passive counterparts of the Medici, the reclining figure—constant is reminiscent of the "cicero" (Derived from cicero, their gods' constant tip, B. L., they embody the quality of action-to-impose more masterfully than any other works by Michelangelo) is the bounding nature of Day, and in the described slant of Night, the slant of body and soul is expressed with extraordinary precision.

Concurrently with the New Sacristy, Michelangelo built the Laurentian Library, adjoining B. Lomazzo, to house for the public the vast collection of books and manuscripts belonging to the Medici family. In the vestibule (fig. 125) his full powers as a creator of new architectural forms are displayed for the first time. By the stand-

121. *MONUMENTAL, Tomb of Giuliano and Giuliano, Medici (1526-34). Marble, height of sarcophagus 50". New Sacristy, B. Lomazzo, Florence*



Figure 540. Michelangelo's Vestibule of the Laurentian Library, Florence ( begun 1525; mostly designed 1527-32)



Figure 541. Structural System of the Library Vestibule before Restoration



side of the 15 pairs, based on the classical model of Dorians, everything here is wrong: the pediments above the door is broken; the pilasters of the columns appear disconnected; the columns belong to no recognizable order; the vault brackets remain nothing. More paradoxical, however, from the point of view of established practice, are the recessed columns: though structurally logical—the columns support heavy piers, which in turn support the roof beams (Fig. 541)—the flowers upon a ball-and-rod rule of architectural propriety—that is the classical post-and-beam system (the columns as pilasters) and intention

must project from the wall on which they have been superimposed, no longer their separate identity. The system could be reduced to a linear pattern (as in the Palazzo Vecchio, Fig. 302) but no one before Michelangelo had dared to do it by incorporating columns into the wall. The entire design demonstrates what Vasari, the artist's friend and biographer, had it in mind later to state that Michelangelo's architecture "breaks the bonds and chains of . . . antique usage." The purpose of these innovations is, of course, expressive rather than functional; the walls push inward between the columns to make of the vestibule a kind of "compression chamber" where the beholder experiences an almost physical stress. The stress is heightened by the black stone of the empty niches and by the right-hand staircase, which flows downward and upward so smoothly that we wonder if we dare leave the current by crossing the steps.

During the last thirty years of his life, architect Francesco Michelangelo's main preoccupations. In 1527-30, he received the most ambitious commission of his career: to enlarge the Campidoglio, the top of the Capitoline Hill, into a square with a monumental frame-quality of this venerable site, near the symbolic center of ancient Rome. In fact he could plan this grand work with little full advantage of the opportunity. Although not completed until long after his death, the project was carried out essentially as he had designed it—also some imposing side areas over built, and a model for countless others. Pope Paul III took the initiative by transferring the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius (see Fig. 177) to the Campidoglio, and Michelangelo designed to have the statue become the focal point of the entire scheme,



placed at the apex of a gently rising axial mound. These rules of the plan are defined by palace façades, so that the visitor, after ascending the flight of steps on the south side, finds himself enclosed in a huge "vestibule court."<sup>12</sup> The effect of the monumental character rendered by photography. From the front view, an imposing broad axial colonnade's design (fig. 344) emerges in very simplicity: it shows the complete bilateral symmetry of the scheme, and the energetic sense of progression along the main axis toward the Senators' Palace, but it obscures the shape of the plan, which is not a rectangle but a trapezoid with flanking faience-terrace sloping towards the east. This geometry was imposed on Michelangelo by the existing site, the Senators' Palace, and the Conservators' Palace

on the right, were older buildings which had to be preserved behind newly designed interiors, and they were placed at an angle of the mound of 90 degrees. But he turned into an event what would have functioned a few imaginative centuries (the discovery of the Renaissance the human) Palace took larger than it is, dramatically dominating the scene. The whole conception has the visual effectiveness of a stage set—more than in the organizing the "New Palace" on the left is a more stark front with nothing behind it. Yet this façade and its twin on the opposite side are not shallow screens but vigorously three-dimensional structures (fig. 345) with the most "monumental" juxtaposition of voids and solids, of horizontals and verticals, of any piece of architecture



344. MICHELANGELO:  
The Cortile Imperiale  
Imposing to Cesare  
Capra, 1910  
Galleria Nazionale  
della Scopia, Rome



345. MICHELANGELO:  
The Conservatori Palace,  
Campidoglio Rome.  
Designed c. 1546

since Roman antiquity. They share the striking feature of an open portico, which links the piers and supports as a consequent is related to the creation of a column. The columns and entire forms of the portico are inserted within a rational order of pilasters, which supports a heavy cornice supported by a balustrade; the entire design is based on the classic pier-and-frieze principle. We have encountered these elements on the facade of the Pisan Chapel and Alberti's S. Andrea, and in the Temples of Bramante (see figs. 466, 467, 468) but it remained for Michelangelo to unite them into a coherent system. For the Vatican Palace he employed the rational order and balustrade above a tall basement which emphasizes the massive quality of the building. The single entrance at the top of the huge double-arched gateway seems to gather all the spatial forces set in motion by the oval ground and the domed blocks, and thus provides a dramatic climax for the interpenetrating the planes.

With the Campidoglio, the rational order became firmly established in the repertory of monumental archi-

tecture. Michelangelo himself used it again on the exterior of St. Peter's (fig. 525), with equally impressive results. The system of the "Conservators' Palace," with windows now replacing the open loggia, and an attic instead of the balustrade, could have been adapted perfectly to the jagged corner of the plan, unlike Bramante's, many-layered elevation (see fig. 472) the rational order emphasized the compact body of the structure, thus setting off the dome more dramatically. The same device for compactness and organic unity that Michelangelo employed the interior, without changing its essential character (fig. 527). He integrated the complex spatial sequence of Bramante's plan (see fig. 471) into one closed-and-open, and defined its logic now by modifying the exterior of the system and projecting a portico for it. This part of his design was never carried out. The dome, however, although built largely after his death, reflects his ideas in every important respect. Bramante had planned his dome as a stepped hemisphere above a narrow drum, which would have seemed to press down

right: 1481, Michelangelo.  
St. Peter's, Rome,  
view from the west.  
Left: by Michelangelo for  
Giuliano della Porta, 1520.

Left: 1520, Michelangelo.  
Plan for St. Peter's.





Collection of the Church of the Holy Spirit, Rome, 1498.  
Mosaic, 1498-1500. Author: Sandro Botticelli, Florence, Italy.





Portrait of Henry VIII, King of England, Hans Holbein the Younger, 1545.  
Oil on wood, 111 x 146 cm, National Gallery, London

on the church below. Michelangelo's expresses the opposite sensation, a powerful thrust that drives upward from the main body of the structure. The high dome, the strongly projecting buttresses accented by double columns, the ribs, the raised corner of the apse, the tall lantern—all contribute veridically to the sense of the buttresses. We may recall the Florence Cathedral dome (see fig. 104), from which Michelangelo borrowed not only the double-shell construction but the cruciform profile. Yet the effects are incomparably different: the smooth planes of Bramante's dome give no hint of the internal stresses, while Michelangelo finds a sculptured shape for these controlling forces, and relates them to those in the rest of the building (the impulse of the paired external piers below is taken up by the double columns of the drum, continues in the ribs, and subsides in the lantern). The logic of this design is so persuasive that the dome built from stone is said not to acknowledge it.

Michelangelo's magnificent assurance in handling such projects as the *Campidoglio* and St. Peter's seems to belie his portrait of himself as a long exile in the *San Giuliano*. It is indeed difficult to reconcile these contrasting aspects of his personality. But he, perhaps, sensed the end of his life, that greater fulfillment in architecture than in shaping human bodies? In his last piece of sculpture, the *First Adam* (fig. 105), he is groping for new forms, as if his earlier work had become meaningless to him. The group is a fragment, discarded partly by the poet himself, for was still struggling with it a few days before he died. This theme—especially its emotional content—suggests that he considered it for his own needs. These two figures have in them all High Renaissance rhetoric; closely hovering, they make the dramatic images of medieval art. Like the master's self-portrait, the *First Adam* escapes an intensely personal realm, its pain for mankind is addressed to all human existence, but to God.

If Michelangelo exemplifies the solitary genius, Raphael belongs just as surely to the opposite type: the artist as a man of the world. The contrast between the two was as clear to their contemporaries as it is to us. Although each had his posthumous, both enjoyed equal fame. Today our sympathies are too evenly divided—

to the man the women crowd and go  
talking of Michelangelo.

(J. S. Eliot)

We do a lot of us, including the authors of historical novels and historical biographies, while Raphael is usually dismissed only by historians of art. The younger master's career is too much of a romantic story, his work too popular with nonspecialist collectors, to merit the high honors of Michelangelo. As an innovator, Raphael seems to contribute less than Leonardo, Bramante, and Michelangelo, for these artists whose achievements were basic to his. Yet he is the central painter of the High Renaissance; our conception of the entire style rests



105. *First Adam*, marble. Michelangelo's *First Adam*. Marble, height 77 in. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum)

more on his work than on any other master's. The genius of Raphael was a unique power of synthesis that enabled him to merge the qualities of Leonardo and Michelangelo, creating works in which logic and dramatic, pictorially rich and sculpturally solid. This power is already



149. Raphael, *Madonna del Cardellino* (c. 1505).  
Fresco, 20 x 27 1/2". Pinacoteca, Florence

present in the first works he made in Florence (1504-5) gets after completing his apprenticeship with Perugino. The meditative calm of the *Madonna del Cardellino* (fig. 149) still reflects the style of his teacher (compare fig. 148), but the forms are simpler and arranged in harmonious planes; the Virgin, pure and tender, makes no hint of the *Mona Lisa* without suggesting any of her mystery.

Michelangelo's influence on Raphael asserted itself somewhat later. In full force can be felt only in Raphael's Roman works. At the time Michelangelo began to paint the Sistine Ceiling, Julius II summoned the youngest artist from Florence and commissioned him to decorate a series of rooms in the Vatican Palace. The first room, the Stanza della Segnatura, may have formed the pope's library, and Raphael's cycle of frescoes on its walls and ceiling refers to the four domains of learning—divinity, philosophy, law, and the arts. Of these, *The School of Athens* (fig. 150) has long been acknowledged as Raphael's masterpiece and the perfect embodiment of the ideal spirit of the High Renaissance. Its subject is "the Athenian school of thought," a group of famous Greek philosophers gathered around Plato and Aristotle, each in a characteristic pose or activity. Raphael must have

already seen the Sistine Ceiling, then nearing completion. He evidently knew in Michelangelo the expressive uses, for example, of the physical power, and the dramatic grouping of his figures. Yet Raphael has not simply borrowed Michelangelo's mastery of gesture and pose; he has absorbed it into his own style and thereby given it a different meaning. Body and spirit, action and emotion, are now balanced harmoniously, and every member of the great assembly plays his part with magnificent purposeful clarity. The total conception of the school of Athens suggests the spirit of Leonardo's *Last Supper* rather than that of the Sistine Ceiling. This subtle turn of the way Raphael makes each philosopher reveal "the intention of his mind," distinguishes the relations among individuals and groups, and links them in formal rhythm. Also Leonardo's is the controlled, symmetrical design, and the interdependence of the figures and their artistic natural setting. But compared with the fall of the *Last Supper*, Raphael's classical edifice—its lofty dome, but not vault, and colossal masonry—shouts for more of the compositional freedom, inspired by Bramante, it seems like an advance view of the new St. Peter's. Its geometric precision and spatial grandeur bring to a climax the tradition begun by Masaccio (not by Giotto, continued by Domenico Veneziano) and Piero della Francesca, and transmitted to Raphael by his teacher Perugino.

Raphael never again set so splendid an architectural stage. To create pluralist space, he relied increasingly on the movement of human figures, rather than perspective rules. In the *Galatea* of 1513 (fig. 151) the relief is again classical—the beautiful nymph Galatea, newly pursued by Polyphemus, betrays in Greek mythology—but here the gay and amorous aspect of antiquity is softened to accommodate the eastern idealism of *The School of Athens*. In composition recalls *The Birth of Venus* (compare fig. 145) a picture Raphael knew from his Florentine days, yet their very contrasting emphases their profound similarity. Raphael's full-bodied, dynamic figures take on their expressive spiral movement from the negative counterparts of Galatea in Botticelli's picture; the movement is so generated by the figure's relationship to these form without, so that it never detaches itself from the surface of the image.

Early in his career Raphael had already shown a special talent for portraiture. It is another talent to be given for symbols that he combined the masters of fifteenth-century portraits (such as fig. 147) and with the human ideal of the High Renaissance (which, in the *Mona Lisa*, nearly overcame the artist's individuality). Raphael did not follow an conventionalized formula; surely Pope Leo X (compare fig. 152) looks here no less sincere than he did in reality. His calm, benevolent features have been recorded in concrete, almost physical detail. Nevertheless, the portrait has a commanding presence, his sense of power and dignity emanating more from his inner being than from his material self. Raphael, we feel, has not belittled the pope's personality but



enveloped and focused it, as if he had been fortunate enough to observe Leo X in his final hour. The two are divine, who look like balanced strongly although they are studied with equal care, evidence to contrast the sovereign quality of the main figure. Even the physical treatment shows a similar gradation: Leo X has been set off from his companions, his reality heightened by increased light, color, and texture.

The distinction between Early and High Renaissance art, so marked in Florence and Rome, is far less sharp in Venice. Giorgione (1478-1510), the first Venetian master to belong to the new, somewhat younger, left the circle of Giovanni Bellini only during the final years of his short career. Among his very few mature works, *The Tempest* (c.1508) and its twin the most individual and the most original. One that glows like there is little more than a particularly charming reflection of Bellini's quietude, fresher than the St. Francis in Ecstasy (c.1508) and the St. Jerome (c.1510). The difference is one of mood—and this mood, in *The Tempest*, is subtle, pervasively so. Bellini's language is meant to be seen through the eye of St. Francis, as a grace of God's creation. Giorgione's figures, by contrast, do not interpret the scene for us; belonging there when he means, they are passive witnesses—victims, almost—of the thunderstorm about to engulf them. Who are they? Is he the young soldier and the nude mother

above: 1511. Raphael, *The School of Athens*, fresco, Vatican Museums, Rome.

below: 1508. Giorgione, *Tempest*, fresco, Villa Barbaro, Rome.





with her hair loose, refused to disclose their identity, and the subject of the picture remains unknown. The present tale is a confusion of embarrassment, yet it is not inappropriate, for the only "action" is that of the viewer. Whatever its intended meaning, the scene is like an enigmatic tale: a dream of pastoral beauty soon to be swept away. Only parts had hitherto captured this art of evocative beauty; now, it entered the repertoire of the painter, the *Pasquet* became what was to become an important new tradition.

Giorgione died before he could explore in full the resources, latent world he had created in *The Pasquet*. He bequeathed this task to Titian (1490–1576), an

artist of comparable gifts who was decisively influenced by Giorgione, and who dominated Venetian painting for the last half-century. Titian's *Madness of about 1510* (catalogue no. 1) is freshly painted, inspired by an ancient author's description of such a event. The landscape, rich in contrasts of cool and warm tones, has all the poetry of Giorgione, but the figures are of another breed: active and muscular, they move with a joyous freedom that recalls Raphael's *Galatea*. By this time, many of Raphael's compositions had been engraved (see fig. 2), and from these reproductions Titian became familiar with the Roman High Renaissance. A number of the elements in his *Madness* also reflect the influence of classical art. Titian's approach to antiquity, however, is very different from Raphael's: he translates the master of classical motifs as part of the natural world, inhabited not by animated spirits but by beings of flesh and blood. The figure of the *Madness* is dressed beyond everyday reality just enough to persuade us that they belong to a long lost golden age. They move as to show their blood's state in a way that makes Raphael's *Galatea* seem cold and remote by comparison.

The quality of Titian's animation reappears in many of Titian's religious paintings, such as the *Madness of about 1510* (fig. 3). Although we recognize the composition as a variant of the *Madness* (see catalogue catalogue no. 1, fig. 10), Titian has thoroughly transformed it by replacing the familiar frontal view with an oblique one. The Virgin is now observed in a great barrel-vaulted hall upon an elevated site, a High Renaissance prototype of the architecture in Bellini's *Madness of about 1510* (fig. 11). Because the view is diagonal, upon the scene the most of the background. The disproportion between upper and lower levels made later. Except for the kneeling women, every figure is in motion—turning, leaning, prostrating; the effect with the flag seems almost to lead a charge up the steps. Yet the design remains harmoniously well-contained despite the strong demand of drama. Brilliant sunlight makes every color and texture sparkle, in keeping with the joyous spirit of the scene. The only hint of tragedy is the cross of the Passion held by two angels, taken by clouds from the participants in the *Madness* (see catalogue no. 1, fig. 11) that seem waiting (perhaps) to the scene.

After Raphael's death, Titian became the most sought-after portraitist of the age. His prodigious gifts, evident in the *Madness* (see catalogue no. 1, fig. 11), are even more striking in the *Madness of about 1510* (fig. 12). The dramatic intensity of this portrait, with its soft outlines and deep shadows, still reflects the style of Giorgione. Lost in thought, the young man seems quite unaware of us, this slight individuality in his features contrasts with the poetic appeal of *The Pasquet*. The wealth and power of the man, however, give us a sense of Giorgione. In Titian's hands, the possibilities of oil technique—rich, creamy highlights, deep, dark tones that are yet trans-

fig. 3. Titian, *Madness of about 1510*, oil on canvas, 1510, 10' x 12' 6", Church of the Holy Spirit, Venice





top: Titian, *Marc'Antonio de' Oliva*,  
c. 1540, 32 1/2 x 27", The Louvre, Paris

pattern and delicately modulated—now are fully refined; the separate brush strokes, hardly visible before, become increasingly fine. *Marcanon* is the right point of this development when we turn from the *Man with the Olive* to the group portrait *Paul III and His Grandsons* (fig. 154), painted a quarter century later. The subtle, caressing strokes have evolved the entire surface with the spontaneity of a first sketch—some parts of it are, in fact, unsketched—even though the formal composition is derived from Raphael's *Leo X in Raphael's* (fig. 155). In the three-quarter view of Titian's anatomy group of human character also comes out: the tiny figure of the pope, dominated with age, dominates the tall adolescents with serene authority. Composing these portraits (figs. 153 and 154), we see that a change of personal technique is no more such a phenomenon. It always reflects a change of the artist's aim. This correspondence is even clearer in Titian's *Portrait of Marc'Antonio de' Oliva* (fig. 153), a masterpiece of Titian's old age. The changes emerging from the over-darkening now consist solely of light and color, despite the heavy aspects, the dominating surfaces have lost every trace of material solidity and seem translucent, as if from within. In consequence, the violent physical action has been structurally suspended. What lingers in our minds is not the drama but the strange mood of serenity—now grounded by deep religious feeling.



above: Titian, *Paul III and His Grandsons*,  
1546, 18 1/2 x 27", National Museum, Naples



right: Titian, *Marc'Antonio de' Oliva*,  
c. 1540, 32 1/2 x 27", The Louvre, Paris

## 4. Mannerism and Other Trends

What happened after the High Renaissance? Fifty years ago the question would simply have been answered: after the High Renaissance came the Late Renaissance, which was dominated by shallow imitations of the great masters of the previous generation, and lasted until the Baroque style emerged at the end of the century. Ad- though today we take a far more positive view of the artists who reached maturity after 1550, and generally discard the term Late Renaissance as misleading, we have still to agree on a label for the twenty-five years separating the High Renaissance from the Baroque. Art- ists are labeled implies that the period has one style, and nobody has succeeded in defining such a style. But if there is no single style in the years 1550-1575, who should this span be regarded as a period at all, except in the negative sense of an interval between two highpoints, as the Renaissance turned the Middle Ages? Perhaps this difficulty can be resolved by thinking of the period as a time of crisis that gave rise to several competing tendencies rather than one dominant ideal—in art a time that of great convulsions, not unlike the present, and thus particularly fascinating to us.

Among the various trends to set out after the High Renaissance, that of Mannerism is the most discussed today. But to accept and acknowledge the term remains problematic: its original meaning was negative and derogatory, designating a group of malcontented, century painters in Rome and Florence whose self-consciously "artificial" iconomorphs was derived from certain aspects of Raphael and Michelangelo. More recently, the word and rather loose formulation of their work has been interpreted as a special form of a wider movement throughout "later renaissance," however subjective or historicist, above the two cultures of nature and the ancients; some scholars have broadened the definition of Mannerism to include even the later work of Michel- angelo himself—which is rather like calling Platonist a Christian. The first signs of dispute in the High Renaissance appear clearly before 1550, in the work of some young painters in Florence. By 1550, Rome-Florence, the most creative members of this group, expressed the new attitude with full conviction in *The Discourse from the Cross* (c.1547-50, cat.). Nothing has prepared us for the shocking impact of this landscape of suffering from spread out against the dark sky. The figures are agitated yet rigid, as if compressed by a sudden, icy blast; even the draperies, hunched, sharp-edged planes, the architecture and the light, brilliant but cold, reinforce the negative emotion of the scene. Here is what accounts for a

revolt against the classical balance of High Renaissance art: a profoundly disquieting, wiffler, visionary style that indicates a deep-seated inner anxiety. Florentine mannerism that Rome committed suicide is probably untrue, yet seems plausible enough as we look at the picture. Pontormo, a friend of Rosso, had an equally strange personality. Intropective and shy, he shut him- self up in his quarters for weeks on end, inaccessible even to his friends. His wonderfully sensitive drawings, such as the study of a Young Girl (fig. 596), well reflect these facets of his character: the other, steadily gaining im- portance, seems to detach from the outer world, as if moved by the trauma of some half-remembered ex- perience.

fig. 596 Pontormo, Study of a Young Girl c.1570.  
Sagunto drawing, Uffizi Gallery, Florence



The "anti-classical" style of Roman and Pannofani, the first phase of Italian Mannerism, was soon replaced by another aspect of the movement. This was less overtly anti-classical, less laden with subjective emotion, but equally far removed from the confident, stable world of the High Renaissance. Pannofani's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 291) suggests neo-psychological turmoil: the artist's appearance is stout and well groomed, aided by a delicate Lombraccio gleam. The distortions, too, are objective, not arbitrary. For the picture records what Pannofani saw as he gazed at his reflection in a convex mirror. Yet why was he so fascinated by this view "through the looking glass"? Earlier painters who used the same device as an aid to observation had "blurred out" the distortions (as in figs. 288, 289, 290), except when the mirror image was combined with a direct view of the same scene (see fig. 293). Pannofani, however, celebrates his painting for the mirror itself, even employing a specially prepared convex panel. Did he perhaps want to demonstrate that there is no single, "correct" reality, that distortion is as natural as the normal appearance of things? Characteristically, his scientific detachment soon changed into its very opposite. Vasari tells us that Pannofani, toward the end of his brief career (he died in 1526 at thirty-seven), was obsessed with alchemy and became "a bearded, long-haired, ragged, and almost savage or wild man." Certainly his strange imagination is evident in his most famous work, the *Madonna with the Long Neck* (reproduced and quoted after it had returned to his native Parma from several years' exposure in Rome). He had been deeply impressed with the ethereal grace of Raphael's art (compare fig. 281), but he has transformed the ideal master's figure into a remarkable new breed: stout limbs, elongated and ivory-smooth, torso with effusive languor, embodying an ideal of beauty unknown from nature as any Byzantine figure. Their setting is equally arbitrary, with a pigment—and apparently perspective—eye of Columbus looking toward the tiny figure of a prophet. Pannofani seems determined to present us with measuring stuffings in this picture by the standards of ordinary experience. Here we have approached that "artificial" side for which the term Mannerism was originally coined. The *Madonna with the Long Neck* is a vision of unearthly perfection, its odd elegance to be compelling just for the reason it Romanizes.

Used to a sophisticated, even raffish taste, the elegant phase of Italian Mannerism appeared particularly to make eccentricities pictures in the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of France, and soon became international (see page 292). The style produced splendid portraits, like that of *Eleonora of Toledo*, the wife of Cosimo I de' Medici, by Ottavio (not painter) Agnolo Bronzino (fig. 292). The sitter here appears as the member of an exalted social class, not as an individual personality, congealed into immobility behind the barrier of her luxuriant court costume. Eleonora seems more able

291. Pannofani, *Self-Portrait*, 1524. Panel, diameter 27 1/2". Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



292. Agnolo Bronzino, *Eleonora of Toledo and Her Son Cosimo* (at Medici's side), 1545. 48" x 32 1/2". Uffizi Gallery, Florence





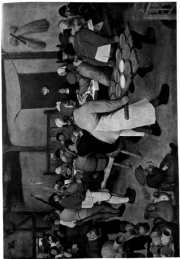
230 Titian: *The Last Supper*, 1548-49, 12' x 17', St. George Museum, Venice

to Rembrandt's *Madness*—compare the heads—then to ordinary flesh and blood.

In Venice, Mantegna appeared only toward the middle of the century. In leading exponent, Titian (1518-92) was an artist of prodigious energy and inventiveness, combining qualities of both the unadorned and elegant phases in his work. He reportedly wanted "to paint like Titian and to design like Michelangelo," but the resemblance to these two masters, though real enough, was no greater in Rembrandt's case. In Raphael's *Christ Before Pilate* (plate 42), one of his more large canvases for the Scuola di San Marco, the focus of the Confidentiality of St. Mark, contrasts tellingly with Titian's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (fig. 222), the best landmark, the growing crisis, and the sudden light and shadow show what Titian's need to the other side, and indeed the entire composition results the *Madness* with *Members of the Future Church* (see fig. 221). For the total effect is unmistakably Mantegna: the frenetic construction of the flicking, central light, and the glorified Christ, great size and exultation among the upturned Michelangelian figures, seated as of Rembrandt's *Descent*. Even more spectacular in Titian's last major work, *The Last Supper* (fig. 223), the canvas depicts in every possible way the classic values of Leonardo's version of the subject, painted about exactly a century before. Christ, so he says, still occupies the center of the composition, but now the table is placed at right angles to the picture plane in exaggerated perspective; the small figure in the middle distance is dis-

tingled mainly by the brilliant halo. Titian's has gone to great lengths to give the scene an earthly setting, showing the scene with abundance, evidence of food and drink, and domestic animals. But this scene only is contrast dramatically the natural with the supernatural, for there are also celestial elements—the center from the Meeting of Jesus miraculously turns into clouds of angels that converge upon Christ just as he offers his body and blood, in the form of bread and wine, to the disciples. Titian's male scenes have been to make visible the institution of the Eucharist, the transubstantiation of earthly into Divine food, by thirty years as the human drama of Judas' betrayal, no important to Leonardo (Judas was, he was isolated on the near side of the table, but his role is so insignificant that he could almost be mistaken for an attendant).

The last—and perhaps the greatest—Mantuan painter was also trained in the Venetian School, Francesco Tintoretto (1560-1633), nicknamed El Greco, came from Crete, which was then under Venetian rule. His earliest training must have been a Cretan artist still working in the Byzantine tradition. Soon after 1580 El Greco arrived in Venice and quickly absorbed the lessons of Titian, Tintoretto, and other masters. A decade later, in Rome, he came to know the art of Raphael, Michelangelo, and the Central Italian Mannerists. In 1590 he went to Spain, settling in Toledo for the rest of his life. Yet he remained so close to his own homeland (although the spiritual atmosphere of the Counter-Reformation, which was especially intense in Spain, may



1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.



*Colonna di Sant'Antonio. The Valley of the Masters, about year 1400.  
Cortina, 17' 4" x 10' 2". Gemälde Christi, St. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome*

account for the studied orientation of his mature work, contemporary Spanish painting was too provincial to inspire him. His style had already been formed before he arrived in Toledo, now still to some degree his home. The background—until the very end of his career, he signed his pictures in Greek. The larger and more representative of El Greco's major commissions is *The Burial of Captain Don Juan* (fig. 36b, cat. no. 493). In this intense and richly detailed work, Santo Tome's interior is transformed into a place that is, perhaps and is, Augustinian rather than apostolic as his funeral and themselves formed the body into its grave. The burial took place in a joy, but El Greco represents it as a contemporary event, portraying among the attendant hosts of the local nobility and clergy the shining display of color and action in the street and vestments could hardly be surpassed by Titian himself. Clearly above, the crowd's head is still, shrouded figures like the angels in Titian's *Last Supper* is carried to heaven by an angel. The central assembly filling the upper half of the picture is painted very differently from the lower half: every face—clouds, faces, drapery—is set apart in the swirling, harmonic movement toward the distant figure of Christ. Here, even more than in Titian's art, the various aspects of Mannerism flow into a single artistic vision. Its full impact, however, becomes clear only when we see the work in its original setting (fig. 36b).

Like an enormous window, it fills one entire wall of its chapel. The bottom of the canvas is a few inches above the floor, and as the chapel is only about 40 feet deep, we must look sharply upward to see the upper half of the picture. El Greco's violent foreshortening is intended to achieve an illusion of boundless space above, while the lower compressed figures appear as on a stage (their feet cut off by the molding just below the picture). The large stone plaques also belong to the ensemble, representing the front of the sarcophagus into which the two saints lower the body of the dead. It thus explains the action within the picture. The technique, then, guarantees three levels of reality: the grave itself, supposedly set into the wall as its eyelid and closed by an actual stone slab; the contemporary environment of the sixteenth-century burial; and the vision of celestial glory witnessed by some of the participants. By doing this, El Greco's task here was analogous to Masaccio's in his *Trinity* (cat. no. 19, fig. 492), the contrast measures the dynamic evolution of Western art since the Early Renaissance.

From El Greco's technique tracing some of his mastery of perspective. We generally know little of his other tendency to the street, but in his monochrome portrait of *Pope John*, *Herbert Patterson* (fig. 36c) the artist was important scholar and poet, was also a friend who painted El Greco's genius in several works. This portrait is an artistic dramatization of Titian's *Man with the*

fig. 36b. Chapel with *The Burial of Captain Don Juan*, Santo Tome, Toledo. (After complete restoration.)

fig. 36c. *St. John's Day*, after Herbert Patterson, c. 1640-45. 17 1/2" x 27 1/2". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston







above: *Titian*, *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail), c. 1532, Venice (St. Mark's Basilica)

right: *Titian*, *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail), c. 1532, Venice (St. Mark's Basilica)

Oliver (see fig. 199) and the portraits of Pontormo (see fig. 198), yet the mood is one of neither revolt nor wild distress. Pontormo's frail, expressive hands and the pallid face, with its sensitive mouth and burning eyes, convey a spiritual ardor of compelling intensity. Such, we like to think, were the values of the Counter-Reformation—vigilant and unflinching at the worst times.

If Mannerism produced the perceptions that today seem most "modern"—El Greco's face in greater tone than it ever was before—its dominance was not uncontested in the sixteenth century. Another trend that also emerged about 1550 anticipated so many features of the Baroque style that it might be labeled Proto-Baroque. Correggio's *Apollonius* (see fig. 200), the most important representative of this trend, was a phenomenally gifted North-Italian painter who spent most of his brief career in Parma. He absorbed the influence of Leonardo and the Venetians as a youth, then of Michelangelo and Raphael, but their taint of classical balance did not



attain him. His largest work, the fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin in the dome of St. Mark's Cathedral (fig. 201), is a masterpiece of Mannerist perspective, a vast, luminous space filled with soaring figures. Although they move with such selfless grace that the force of gravity seems not to exist for them, they are healthy, energetic beings of flesh and blood, not disembodied spirits, and they frankly delight in their weightless ascent. For Correggio there was little difference between spiritual and physical ecstasy, so we see by comparing the *Assumption of the Virgin* with his *Apollonius* and in (fig. 202) one realize in a sense illustrating the laws of the Classical Gods. The nymph, swimming in the embrace of a circular light, is the direct line of the brilliant angels in the fresco. Luchino's gleams, combined with a Venetian sense of color and texture, produce an effect of exquisite transparency that betrays Titian's in his *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (see complete p. 17). Correggio had no immediate successors but was having influence on the art of his century, but toward whom his work began to be widely appreciated. For the next century and a half he was admired as the equal of Raphael and Michelangelo—while the Mannerists, or important followers, were largely forgotten.

A third trend in sixteenth-century painting in Italy

are to be associated with the towns along the northern edge of the Lombard plain, such as Brescia and Verona. A number of artists in that region worked in a style based on Giorgione and Titian, but with a stronger interest in everyday reality. One of the earliest and most sensitive of these North Italian painters was Giovanni Bellini, from Brescia, whose *St. Matthew* (fig. 244) must be contemporary with Pinturicchio's *Madonna with the Long Neck*. The broad, full manner of painting reflects the dominant influence of Titian, yet the great Venetian master would never have placed the Evangelist in so thoroughly domestic an environment. The humble scene in the background shows the saint's mother to be fairly old, and makes the presence of the angelically beautiful miraculously. This tendency to visualize sacred scenes among

domestic buildings and simple people had been characteristic of "late Gothic" painting. Bellini must have acquired it from that source. The warm, soft lighting, too, recalls such Northern pictures as the *Annunciation* by Giotto (see fig. 124) (fig. 244). But the main source of illumination in Giorgione's panel is the divine radiance of the Christ Child, and Bellini uses an ordinary oil lamp for his similarly magical illumination.

In the work of both Veronese's (fig. 245) North Italian painter takes on the splendor of a pageant. Born and trained in Verona, Veronese became after Titian's death the most important painter in Venice; although nearly as like each other in style, both based their work on public. The contrast is strikingly evident if we compare Veronese's *Last Supper* and Vermeer's *Christ in the House of Levi* (fig. 246).



fig. 244 Giovanni Bellini,  
*St. Matthew and the Angel*, 1490, oil, 10 1/2 x 16 1/2".  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Metropolitan Fund, 1911)

fig. 245 Paolo Veronese,  
*Christ in the House of Levi*, 1574,  
oil, 17 1/2 x 27". Academy, Venice



*Last Day* (fig. 353), which deals with a similar subject, Vasari accounts for differences in the representation. The constitutional composition leads back to Leonardo and Raphael, the theme itself of the scene reflects Titian's work of the 1520s (compare fig. 352), and at last the picture leads us to a High Renaissance work from fifty years too late, "an artistic one essential: the devoted ideal conception of man underlying the work of High Renaissance masters. Vasari's picture is a sumptuous banquet, a true feast for the eye, but not "the intention of man's soul" (fig. 353). Finally, we are not even sure which event from the life of Christ he originally meant to depict, but to give the viewer its present title only after he had been seduced by the religious influence of the imagination, on the charge of filling his picture with "buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs, and similar vulgarities" amounted to its sacred character. The account of this trial shows that the cultural thought the painting represented the Last Supper: Vasari's insistence never made clear whether it was the Last Supper, or the Supper in the House of Simon. To him, apparently, this distinction made little difference in the end, he wanted an ecclesiastical miracle, the Supper in the House of Levi, which permitted him to leave the offending incident in place. He argued that they were no more objectionable than the reality of Christ and the disciples that in Michelangelo's Last Judgment, for the cultural failed to see the message: "... in the Last Judgment it was not necessary to paint Germans, and there is nothing in those figures that is not spiritual." The inscription, of course, considered only the integrity of Vasari's art, not its accordance with spiritual rights. He argued without to elude the justice of the charge, his insistence on his right to introduce directly observed details, however "vulgar," and his indifference to the subject of the picture, spring from an attitude so strongly "interventionist" that it was generally accepted until the nineteenth century. The painter's domain, Vasari now seems to say, is the visible world, and here he acknowledges no authority other than his own.

Italian writers of the fourteenth century fail to match the effectiveness of the painter. Perhaps Michelangelo's overpowering personality also changed the trend in this field, but the death of challenging new work is a more plausible reason. In any case, the most interesting sculpture of this period was produced outside of Italy, and in Florence, after the death of Michelangelo, the leading sculptor was a Neoflemish. The ecclesiastical phase of Manierism, represented by the style of Rome and Florence, has no sculptural counterparts; the work of the Spanish Alonso Berruguete most closely approaches it. Berruguete had been associated with the founders of the ecclesiastical trend in Florence around 1520, his *St. John the Baptist* (fig. 356), one of the oldest carved female pieces left for the study of Toledo Cathedral, still reflects this experience. The capricious, animated body, clerical head, and hand, which are more small the otherworldly representations of Roman's

Emmanuel (see sculpture 42). St. John must have felt a sense of kinship with Berruguete's art.

The second, elegant phase of Manierism appears in countless sculptural examples in Italy and abroad. The best-known representative of the style is Benvenuto Cellini (1568-1572), the Florentine goldsmith and sculptor who owes much of his fame to his pioneering autobiography. The gold-cast statue for King Francis I of France (fig. 356), Cellini's only major work in precious metal to escape destruction, still displays the virtuosity and inventiveness of his art. To build confidence is obviously the lower function of this baroque construction piece. Because such scenes from the sea and pepper from the land, Cellini placed the four-shaped ornament under the godheadship of Neptune, while the pepper, in a tiny triumphal arch, is watched over by a personification of Earth. On the base are figures representing the four seasons and the four parts of the day. The entire object thus reflects the cosmic significance of the Medici-Torresio (compare

fig. 356. Alonso Berruguete, *St. John the Baptist*, c. 1520. Wood, 21 1/2 x 27 1/2". Toledo Cathedral, Spain.



By 1471, but on this miniature scale Cellini's program was not playful irony; he wants to impress us with his capacity and skill and to share us with the grace of his figures. The allegorical significance of the group is simply a pretext for the display of virtuosity. When he tells us, for instance, that Neptune and Earth each have a lion and a straight leg to signify mountains and plains, we not only marvel at the complete absence of these lion crouches (despite his brazenly admission for Michelangelo, his elegant figures on the seabed are so, done good, smooth, and helped in Partecipazio's caricature [plate 46]). Partecipazio also strongly influenced Francesco Primaticcio. Cellini visited at the court of Francis I, a man of many talents. Primaticcio brought the intense passion of some of the most works in the royal collection of Renaissance, combining painted scenes and a rich sculptural stone framework. The entire scene in figure 44 obviously refers to the same artist: even the admiring Cellini's inscription. Although the first machine was not furnished with any specific allegorical significance—these rich scrolls the tables in the forest's clearing—they perform tasks for which they were specially designed: they reinforce the place that contains the setting. These whimsy carvings epitomize the studied "moderation" of second-phase Mannerism.

Cellini, Primaticcio, and the other Italian employed by Francis I made Mannerism the dominant style in mid-sixteenth-century France, and their influence went far beyond the royal court. It must have reached a gifted young sculptor from Rome, Giovanni Stanetti's nephew, who was in Italy about 1545 for further training and request to become, under the patronage name of Giovanni Bologna, the most important sculptor in Florence during the last third of the century. His two-thousand-figure group, *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (figs. 47a, 47b), was particular admired, and still has its place of honor near the Palazzo Vecchio. The sculpture draws from the legends of ancient Rome, upon an old choice for memory: the city's founders, an adventurous band of men from across the sea, as the story goes, first easily find wives among their neighbors, the Sabines, and returned at last to a sick, having learned the entire Sabine wife into Rome for a peaceful future, they left upon their way home, took the women away by force, and then married the future of their race. Considering the nature of the theme, Giovanni Bologna's wide range as to the female figures's famous remark on women's position in the restricted time of a day working on its head legs: "It is not done well, but you are surprised that it is done at all." Actually, the artist may not deserve such criticism, for one of his contemporaries informs us that Giovanni Bologna carved the group with no specific subject in mind, it claims those artists who looked for stability as a monumental subject in marble. The subject itself seemed to him the most elaborate task, those figures of contrasting character united in a common action. Their characters were depicted among the furthest consciousness of the day,



fig. 46. Giovanni Cellini, *The Subjection of Pompeii* (1542-43). Bronze, 107 x 112 x 124 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



fig. 48. Francesco Primaticcio, *Street Theater* (c. 1540-42). Fontainebleau

who finally settled on the Rape of the Sabine Women as the most suitable title. Here, there, is another artist who is concerned about subject matter, although his concerns had a different motive than Primaticcio's. Giovanni Bologna's self-imposed task was to create in marble, on a massive scale, a monumental composition that was to become an Italian masterpiece of style; this last influence here attempted only to focus and on a much smaller scale (height 52 x 124). He has solved this purely formal problem, but only by imposing the group



fig. 176 Giovanni Stanetti, *The Ages of the Human Race*. Completed only. Marble, height 11' 7". Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence



fig. 177 Giovanni Stanetti, *Loggia of the Uffizi, Florence*, view from the street, figure 176a

from the world of human experience. These figures, spinning around as if confined inside a tall, narrow cylinder, produce a well-rehearsed choreography that under the emotional meaning of which remains obscure. We witness their discipline but we feel no trace of genuine passion.

The concept of Mannerism as a period style, we recall, had been coined for painting. We have encountered this difficulty in applying it to sculpture. What is useful to understand architecture with? And this, what questions must we look for? These questions have arisen only recently, as it is not surprising that we cannot yet answer them very precisely. Some buildings, in fact, would be called Mannerist by almost everyone today; but this does not give us a viable definition of Mannerism as an architectural period style. Such a structure is the Uffizi in Florence, by Giorgio Vasari. It consists of two long wings—originally intended, as its name suggests, for offices—facing each other across a narrow court, linked at one end by a loggia (fig. 177). Vasari's inspiration is not far to seek: the "best" model was the, and the greater combination of justice and wit have their source in the vestibule of the Laurentine Library (see page 164) we cited Vasari's praise for Michelangelo's remarkable use of the classical vocabulary. Yet his design lacks the sculptural power and expressiveness of its model; rather, the Uffizi loggia forms a screen as neighborly as the facade of the Pazzi Chapel (see fig. 161). What is more, in Michelangelo's design became nearly ambiguous—the architectural members seem as derived of energy as the human figures of several-phase Mannerism, uncertain relationships inevitably "artificial." The same is true of the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti, by Bernardo Rossellino (fig. 178), despite its display of monumental, then the three-story scheme of superimposed orders, derived from the Colosseum, has been created with an arrogant gesture of submission that "imprisons" the columns, reducing them to an oddly passive role. Their walls dispute rather than enhance the monumentalism of the masonry, the overall arrangement here reading as that of the facade of a prison cell.

If this is Mannerism in architecture, can we find it in the work of Andrea Palladio (1518-80), the greatest architect of the late sixteenth century, second in importance only to Michelangelo? Unlike Vasari, who was a painter and historian as well as an architect (his son-in-law painted the first coherent account of Italian Renaissance art, cf. Appendix, who was a sculptor-architect, Palladio stands a demonstration of the humanist and theoretical (James Harrison, Athens). Although the career centered on his native town of Vicenza, his buildings and theoretical writings were brought him international status. Palladio insisted that architecture must be governed both by reason and by certain emotional rules that were perfectly exemplified by the buildings of the ancients, the first showed Italy's true outlook and his firm faith in the creative significance of emotional reason (see page 162). They differed in how each man related

theory and practice. With Alberti, this relationship had been loose and flexible, whereas Palladio believed quite tenaciously in practicing what he preached. His architectural master consequently more practical than Alberti's—the urge to explain his large houses—while his buildings are linked more directly with his theories. It has even been said that Palladio designed only what was, in his view, sanctioned by ancient precedent. If the results are not narrowly classic in style, we may call them "classicalized" or, at least, a conscious striving for classical quality; this is indeed the usual term for both Palladio's work and theoretical attitude.

The Villa Rotonda (fig. 272), one of Palladio's most famous buildings, perfectly illustrates the meaning of classicalism. An aristocratic country residence near Vicen-

za, it consists of a square block surrounded by a dome and a porch on all four sides with identical porticoes in the shape of temple fronts. Alberti had defined the ideal church as well as a completely symmetrical, centralized design (see page 121 and fig. 263). Palladio certainly found in the same principles the ideal country house. But how could he justify a context so purely secular for the solemn model of the temple front? Surprisingly enough, he was confident, on the basis of ancient literary sources, that Roman private houses had porticoes like those common to these domes (page 125). And Palladio's use of the temple front here to give more significance, he probably persuaded himself that it was legitimate because he regarded this feature as desirable for both beauty and utility. In any case, the gardens of



272. Southwest corner, courtyard  
Court of the Palace Pitti,  
Florence, 1482-85



273. Antonio Palladio  
Villa Rotonda,  
Vicenza, 1567-1577



FIG. 176. Andrea Palladio: *S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice* (Designed only)



FIG. 177. Plan of *S. Giorgio Maggiore*

the Villa Rotonda, beautifully combined with the walls behind, are an organic part of his design. They lead the structure as air of serene dignity and festive grace that still appears to us today.

The facade of *S. Giorgio Maggiore* in Venice (fig. 176), whose plans bear little resemblance to the Villa Rotonda, adds to the same effect a new comprehension and complexity. Palladio's problem here was how to create a classically integrated facade for a basilican church. He surely knew Alberti's solution (*S. Andrea in Mantua*, see fig. 161), a temple front enclosing a triumphal arch motif; but this design, although impressively logical and compact, did not fit the cross section of a basilica, and really drove toward the problem. Palladio—again following what he believed to be the ancient precedent—found a different answer: he superimposed a full, narrow temple front on one other two and wide one to reflect the different heights of nave and sides. Theoretically, it was a perfect solution. In practice, however, he found that he could not keep the two systems as separate as his classical conscience

demanding, and still integrate them into a harmonious whole. This conflict makes ambiguous those parts of the design that have, as it were, a dual allegiance: the motifs for superimposed are Mannerist quality. The plan (fig. 177), too, suggests a duality: the main body of the church is strongly centralized—the temple is as long as the nave—but the longitudinal axis remains itself in the spacious correspondence for the main altar and the chapel beyond.

Palladio's immense authority as a designer keeps the conflicting elements in the facade and plan of *S. Giorgio* from casually clashing. In two essential details, such a piecemeal union would break apart: A more graciously applicable solution was evident just at that time in Rome by Filippo and Giovanni della Porta, two architects who had visited Michelangelo at St. Peter's and who were still using his architectural vocabulary. The church of *S. Giovanni a Porta Latina* where importance for subsequent church architecture can hardly be exaggerated, is the earlier church of the design; its design must have been closely supervised so as to conform to the aims of the brilliant new order. We may thus view it as the architectural embodiment of the spirit of the *Quattrocento* Renaissance. The planning stage of the structure began in 1521 (Michelangelo himself has promised a sketch, but apparently never finished it); the present ground plan, by Filippo, was adopted in 1544 (fig. 178). It conforms almost everywhere except with Palladio's *S. Giorgio* a temple, although compact, dominated by its mighty nave. The sides have been replaced by chapels, thus "leading" the congregation quite literally into one large, hall-like space directly in view of the altar, the attention of this "ambience" is positively directed toward altar and pulpit, as our view of the interior (fig. 179) confirms. (The painting shows how the church would look from the center if the corner part of the facade were removed; for the last, high Baroque decoration of the nave wall, see fig. 181.) We also see here an unexpected feature which the ground plan cannot show: the dramatic contrast between the dark illumination in the nave and the abundant light focused, in the eastern part of the church, applied to the large windows in the dome of the choir. Light here has been consciously exploited for its expressive potentiality—a level device, "classical" in the best sense—to give St. John a stronger emotional focus than we have yet found in two church interiors.

Despite its great originality, the plan of *S. Giovanni* is not entirely without precedent (see fig. 180). The facade, by Giovanni della Porta, is as bold as the plan, although it, too, can be traced back to earlier sources (fig. 179). The ground plan and facade architecture of the lower story are clearly derived from Michelangelo's design for the interior of St. Peter's (compare fig. 146). In the upper story the same pattern reverts to a traditional window wall, with four instead of six pairs of supports; the difference in width is bridged by two well-shaped buttresses. A large pediment crowns the facade, which retains the classic proportions of Renaissance architecture (the

97a. Giacomo Pannofini  
Plan of St Peter's, Rome, c. 1700



97b. Giacomo Pannofini  
Facade of St Peter's, Rome, c. 1700-18

height equals the width. What is fundamentally new here is the very element that was missing in the facade of St. George: the integration of all the parts into one whole. Giovanni della Porta, from three decades earlier, to his allegiance to Michelangelo, gave the same vertical rhythm to both stories of the facade; this rhythm is shared by all the horizontal members, from the broken entablature. Yet the horizontal divisions do not determine the size of the vertical members (hence no column orders). Equally important is the emphasis on the main portal: its double frame—two pediments resting on corinthal pilasters and columns—projects beyond the rest of the facade and gives strong focus to the entire design. Not since Gothic architecture has the entrance to a church received such a dramatic concentration of features, allowing the elevation of the building outside the building itself as the concentrated light towards the door overwhelms that of the windows inside.

What are we to call the style of St. Peter's? Obviously, it has little in common with Palladio, and is closer, with Florentine architecture of the time only the influence of Michelangelo. But this influence reflects two very different phases of the great master's career: the contrast between the Uffizi and St. Peter's is hardly less great than that between the vestibule of the Laurentian Library and the entrance of St. Peter's. If we place the Uffizi Museum, the same logic will not serve us for St. Peter's. As we shall see, the design of St. Peter's will become basic to Baroque architecture; by calling it "neo-Baroque," we suggest both its critical importance for the Baroque and its special place in relation to the past.



97c. Antonio Gherini and Giovanni Stanetti  
Viewing St. Peter's, stage set, National Theatre, Rome



## PART THREE / THE RENAISSANCE

### 5. *The Renaissance in the North*

South of the Alps, most fifteenth-century artists had received instruction in Italian forms and ideas. Since the time of the Master of Flémalle and the Van Eycks they had looked to Florence, rather than to Troyes, for leadership. This relative isolation ended suddenly, toward the year's end, as if a dam had burst. Italian influence flows unconfined to an ever wider stream, and Northern Renaissance art begins to replace "Late Gothic." That term, however, has a far less well-defined meaning than "Late Gothic," which refers to a single, clearly recognizable stylistic tradition. The diversity of trends north of the Alps is even greater than in Italy during the sixteenth century. For these Italian influences provide a common denominator, for this influence is itself diverse: Early Renaissance, High Renaissance, and Mannerist, all in regional variants from Lombardy, Venice, Florence, and Rome. Its effects, too, may vary greatly; they may be superficial or profound, direct or indirect, specific or general. The "Late Gothic" tradition remained operative, for longer dominant, and its encounter with Italian art resulted in a kind of Hundred Years' War among styles which ended only when, in the early seventeenth century, the Baroque emerged as an international movement. The full history

of this "war" is yet to be written (its major issues are hard to trace through all the borrowings, trends, and shifting alliances. Its course, moreover, was decisively affected by the Reformation, which had a far more immediate impact on art north of the Alps than in Italy. Nevertheless, there must be some parallel, emphasizing the basic phases of the struggle as the response of the lower class, in the long run, equally significant alternative.

Let us begin with Germany, the focus of the Reformation, where the main battles of the "war of styles" took place during the first quarter of the century. Between 1519 and 1526, it had produced such important masters as Michael Pacher and Martin Schongauer (see pp. 301, 303, 304), but these hardly prepare us for the astounding burst of creative energy that was to follow. The range of achievements of this period—comparable, in its breadth and brilliance, to the Italian High Renaissance—is measured by the contrasting personalities of its greatest artists: Matthias Grünewald and Albrecht Dürer. Born less than 1500, probably at about the same age, although we know only Dürer's birth-date (1471), these quickly became internationally famous, while Grünewald remained so obscure that his real name, Master Eckhart Master,

Fig. Matthias Grünewald.  
The Crucifixion, from the  
Isenheim altarpiece (Isenheim,  
4-1510-15, Panel, 2' 10" x 12' 1").  
Museum Untermyser, France







more or less completely to the "Late Gothic" world of Martin Schongauer (compare fig. 241). For the physical energy and solid, full-bodied volume of these figures would have been impossible without Dürer's own experience in coping such works as Mantegna's *Death of the Virgin*. At this stage, Dürer's style has much in common with Gossward's. The comparison with Schongauer's *Emperors of St. Andrew*, however, is instructive from another point of view; it shows how thoroughly Dürer has mastered his medium—the woodcut—by combining it with the linear subtleties of engraving. In his hands, woodcuts have their former status as popular art, but gain the precise articulation of a fully matured graphic style. He set in standard that most transformation of the technique of woodcuts all over Europe.

The first subject he tackled by his own image, Dürer was in this respect more of a Renaissance personality than any Italian artist. Renaissance artists work, achieving much of theirness, in a self-question, and he continued to produce self-portraits throughout his career. Most interesting, and gradually revealing, is the panel of 1498 (fig. 242) personally, it belongs to the Northern tradition (compare his own *Self's Man in a Red Tunic*, fig. 243) but the solemn, formal pose and the Christ-like idealization of the features assert an authority quite beyond the range of ordinary portraiture. The picture looks, in fact, like a unadorned self-portrait (compare 150 reflecting not a man's Dürer's reality in the universe with which he regarded his mission as an artistic scholar. One thinks of Martin Luther's "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise.")

The delicate aspect of Dürer's art is deepest perhaps in the engraving, *Adam and Eve*, of 1498 (fig. 244), which the liberal subject serves as a picture for the doctrine of two ideal modes: Apollo and Venus in a Northern form (compare figs. 176, 178). No wonder they look somewhat incongruous: within the picturesque setting and emotional inflections, Adam and Eve are constructed figures—not the male and female observed from life, but exemplars of what Dürer believed to be the perfect proportions. The same approach, now applied to the body of a horse, is evident in *Knight, Death, and Devil* (fig. 245) one of his most famous prints. But this case there is no incongruity: the knight in his beautiful armor, poised and confident as an equine statue, embodies an ideal both artistic and moral. He is the Christian knight idealized in the face of death around the University Jerusalem, as declared by the fallen Hercules threatening to eat him off, or the grotesque devil behind him. The dog, another symbol of virtue, follows his master despite the horse and rider in his path. Italian Renaissance form, mixed with the heritage of "Late Gothic" symbolism to better open or disguised, becomes as a new, characteristically Northern synthesis.

The subjects of *Knight, Death, and Devil* seem to have been derived from the *Manual of the Christian Soldier* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, the greatest of Northern in-

fig. 240. Martin Schongauer, *Adam and Eve*, 1480. Engraving. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



fig. 242. Martin Schongauer, *Self's Man in a Red Tunic*, 1498. Engraving. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





95. Hansmem Ulman, *The Four Apostles*, 1528 oil, Berlin, and by 1527, Frankfurt, Munich



96. Hansmem Ulman, *Deconstruction of Perspective from the artist's studio in geometry*, 1528, Frankfurt

manist. Ulman's own associations were essentially those of Christian humanism; they made him an early and enthusiastic follower of Martin Luther although, like Calenderla, he continued to work for Catholic patrons. Nevertheless, his new faith can be seen in the growing consistency of style and subject in his religious works after

1520. The climax of this trend is represented by *The Four Apostles* (fig. 95), a pair of panels containing what has rightly been termed Ulman's artistic testament. Its production took in 1521 in the city of Nuremberg, which had joined the Lutheran camp the year before. The four apostles are based on Protestant doctrine (Peter and Paul face one another in the foreground, with Peter and Martin behind). Quotations from their writings, inscribed twice in Luther's translation, mark the city government out to resist human error and pressure for the will of God; they grandfather Catholics and obstinate Protestants outside alike. But in another, more universal sense, the four figures represent the Four Temperaments too, by implication, the other cosmic quarters—the seasons, the elements, the times of day, and the ages of man—correcting, like the cardinal points of the compass, the Earth when it deviates from its “upright.” In keeping with their role, the apostles have a calm serenity and grandeur such as we have not encountered since Masaccio and Piero della Francesca.

That the style of *The Four Apostles* has evoked the names of these great Italians is no coincidence, for Ulman derived a great part of his last years in the theory of art, including a treatise on geometry based on a thorough study of Piero della Francesca's discussion on perspective, often far more beyond his Italian sources; he devoted, for instance, a device for producing an image by purely mechanical means, to demonstrate the objective validity of perspective (fig. 96a). Two other “tricks” (he felt as it would appear to us if we looked at it from the spot on the wall marked by a little hole), the string passing through the book substitutes for the visual rays. The man in the left attitude is to represent points in the corner of the type, the other man marks where the string passes through the vertical frame (the picture plane) and makes correct projections on the drawing board hanging to the frame. Ulman, of course, knew that such an image was the record of a scientific experiment, not a work of art; neither was he really interested in a method for making pictures without human skill or judgment. Nevertheless, his device, however clumsy, is the first step toward the principle of the photographic camera.

Ulman's hope for a mechanical art embodying the Protestant faith remained unfulfilled. Other German printers, notably Lucas Cranach the Elder (1491–1551), also tried to use Luther's doctrine as a visual force, but found no viable solution. Such efforts were doomed, since the spiritual freedom of the Reformation looked upon them with indifference or, more often, outright hostility. Lucas Cranach is best remembered today for his portraits and his delightfully incongruous mythological scenes. In his *Antiquity of Paris* (fig. 97) nothing could be less classical than the three-eyed classical female, whose virgally reticence fits the Northern background better than does the nudity of Ulman's Adam and Eve. Paris is a German knight clad in fashionable armor, unrecognizable from the middle of the court of Henry

also were the artist's prison. The playful confusion, small size, and precise, miniature-like detail of the pictures make it doubly a collector's item, situated on the level of a provincial aristocracy.

To escape from the classic ideal, but a far more important work of art, is *The Death of Saint Thibault* (fig. 288), a Bretonian picture somewhere (perhaps near Dijon and Chalon). Unless we read the text on the artist suspended in the sky, and the other inscriptions, we cannot possibly identify the subject. Alexander's money-poor father. The artist hurried to follow ancient descriptions of the actual number and kind of combatants in the battle, but disappointed him to adapt a kind's era when observing the two protagonists lost in the actual mass of their own armies that contrast, on the historical representations of the same subject, in fig. 222 (Munich), the soldiers' armor and the fortified tower in the distance are unmistakably of the sixteenth century. The picture might well show some contemporary battle,

except for one feature: the spectacular sky, with the sun conspicuously breaking through the clouds and "defeating" the moon. The actual scene shows a vast Alpine landscape, obviously combined with the Breton coast below, rather the western Breton coast level. This is strikingly similar to the vision of heavenly glory above the Virgin and Child in the Bretonian atmosphere (compare fig. 285). Alexander may indeed be viewed as a later, and later, Corboud; although he, too, was an architect, well acquainted with perspective and the Italian-English results. Alexander's paintings show the surely imagination already familiar from the work of the other master. But Alexander is also unlike Corboud. In making the human figure (intended for its spatial setting, whether natural or man-made). The tiny soldiers of the death of time have their counterpart in his other pictures, and he painted at least one landscape with no figure at all—the perfect "pure" landscape (Dijon's sketch, Italian Museum, fig. 289) is not a finished work of art).

Called through (they were), Corboud and Alexander both created the same challenge of the Renaissance so broadly faced—if not always moment—by Elton: the image of man. Their style, architectural and miniature-like, are the past for dozens of French masters, perhaps the rapid



above: 288. Unknown Bretonian artist, *The Death of Saint Thibault*, 17th cent., oil on panel, 17 1/2 x 27 1/2 inches, Musée de la Ville de Paris, Paris.

right: 289. Unknown Bretonian artist, *The Death of Saint Thibault*, 17th cent., oil on panel, 17 1/2 x 27 1/2 inches, Musée de la Ville de Paris, Paris.





fig. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Erasmus* (c. 1522, Basel, 107 1/2 x 107 1/2", The Louvre, Paris)



fig. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1528, 100, Basel, 27 1/2 x 10", The Louvre, Paris)

decline of German art after Dürer's death was due to a failure of initiative, among artists and patrons alike. The career of Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1497–1533)—the one painter of whom this is not true—confirms this general rule. Born and raised in Augsburg, a center of international commerce in South Germany (particularly open to Renaissance ideas, he left at the age of eighteen for Switzerland. By 1520, he was firmly established in Basel as a designer of woodcuts, a splendid decorator, and an internationalist. His *Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (fig. 284), painted soon after the famous scholar had settled in Basel, gives us a truly memorable image of Renaissance man: intimate yet monumental, this donor of human letters has an intellectual authority scarcely reserved for the doctors of the Church. Yet Holbein must have felt confined in Basel, for in 1525–26 he traveled to France, apparently intending to offer his services to Francis I; two years later, when Basel was in the throes of the Reformation crisis, he went to England hoping for commissions at the court of Henry VIII (Francis, recommending him to Thomas More, wrote: "There [in Basel] the arts abound to the full"). He did return in 1528, he carried English savings to buy a house for his family. But Basel, becoming increasingly fanatically Protestant, had inevitable riots, despite the neutrality of the city council. Holbein returned to London in 1530. He came back to Basel only once, in 1538, while traveling on the Continent as court painter to Henry VIII. The council made a last attempt to keep him at home, but Holbein had become an artist of international fame to which Basel was without particular claims. His style, too, had gone into international flower. The portrait of Henry VIII (c. 1540) (fig. 285) shares with Brantôme's *Portrait of Pothier* (fig. 286) the same pose, the air of unapproachability, and the precisely limited costume and jewelry. While Holbein's picture, unlike Brantôme's, does not yet reflect the Monarch's ideal of elegance—the right formality and physical bulk of Henry VIII create an overpowering sensation of the king's exalted, commanding presence—both clearly belong to the same species of court portrait. The link between them may be traced back to Jean Clouet's *Portrait of Francis VIII*, which Holbein could have seen in his travels. (For Francis I as a patron of Italian Mannerism, see page 281.) The type certainly reappeared with the return of France, when its memory can be traced back as far as Jean Fouquet (see page 261) in painted international currency between 1492 and 1510.

Although Holbein's picture makes three men in aristocratic portraits for decades, he had no English disciples of real talent. The Elizabethan genre was more literary and more distant, and the demand for portraits in the later sixteenth century continued to be filled largely by visiting foreign artists. The most notable English painter of the period was Nicholas Hilliard (c. 1547–1601), a goldsmith who also specialized in miniature portraits of gentlemen, but landscape often won by their concern to jewelry. These "portraits of

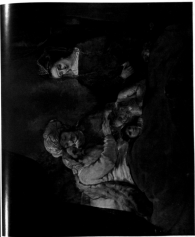


*Colophon in: From Peter Berman: The Revolt of the Commons, 17th century, Madrid*





Pieter Pieterzoon Wouwerman, *The Dutch East India Company*, 1674-1675, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Giuseppe di Giovanni. Judith Holding the Head of Holofernes. 1611. Oil on canvas. 100 x 140 cm. (Museum of Art, University of Chicago)



Collection of Jan Vermeer van Utrecht: The Artist (1665).  
Canvas, 17 1/2 x 17 1/2 inches, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

man" had been intended in simplicity (see fig. 132) and were repeated in the fifteenth century (see fig. 133); that, here, too, gradual miniature portraits, which Titian acknowledged to be his model. We see this link with the same master in the more lightning and nervous sketch of *A Young Man among Ruins* (fig. 134) that the elongated proportions and the pose of long-sleeved gown come from Italian Mannerism, probably via Pomatiello's sketch (see fig. 135). That baroque youth also strikes us as the descendant of the flamboyant aristocrats at the court of the Duke of Berry (see fig. 136). We now imagine him tripping his lady with aristocratic multiple before presiding her with the exquisite tokens of devotion.

The Netherlands in the sixteenth century had the most turbulent and painful history of any country north of the Alps. When the Reformation began, they were part of the far-empire of the Hapsburgs under Charles V, who was also king of Spain. Protestantism quickly became powerful in the Netherlands, and the attempts of the Crown to suppress led to open revolt against foreign rule. After a bloody struggle, the northern provinces (today's Holland) emerged at the end of the century as an independent state, while the southern ones brought corresponding to modern Belgium remained in Spanish hands. The religious and political strife might have had catastrophic effects on the arts, yet this, astonishingly, did not happen. Sixteenth-century Netherlands painting, in its turn, does not signal that of the fifteenth in technique, nor did it produce any products of the Northern Renaissance comparable to those in France and Britain. This region absorbed Italian elements more slowly than elsewhere, but more steadily and consistently, so that instead of a few isolated peaks of achievement we find a continuous range. Between 1500 and 1550, their most troubled time, the Netherland produced the major paintings of Northern Europe, who paved the way for the great Dutch and Flemish masters of the next century.

Two main currents, sometimes separate sometimes interwoven, characterize Netherlands sixteenth-century painting: to assimilate Italian art, from Raphael to Titian, (as an often dry and didactic manner) and to develop a rigorous supplementing, and eventually replacing, the traditional religious subjects, all the smaller themes that have so large a Dutch and Flemish painting of the European art—landscape, still-life, genre scenes of everyday life—were first defined between 1500 and 1550. The process was gradual, shaped less by the genius of individual artists than by the need to create in popular taste as church commissions became steadily scarcer. Protestant iconoclasm, which was particularly widespread in the Netherlands, took life, landscape and genre had been part of the Flemish tradition since the Master of Flémalle and the brothers Van Eyck—as remember the theme grouped on the Virgin's table in the *Mardi Altarpiece*, and taught in his workshop as the setting of the *Van Eyck Crucifixion* (fig. 138, colorplate 25). But they had received another stimulus, generated by



fig. 134. Pieter Aertsen: *A Young Man among Ruins*, 1534. Pentimenti, 71 x 57 cm.  
Vienna, K. Albert Museum, London

the principle of diaphanous symbolism and subordinated to the devotional purpose of the whole. Here they became independent, or so dominant that the religious subject could be relegated to the background. The *Man with the Pink* by Pieter Aertsen (fig. 139) is such an excellent example (shown the tiny distant figure, representing the flight into Egypt, as a mere pretext, almost hidden out to the landscape of winter in the foreground). We are told (and have no objection to formal arrangement) the subjects, piled in heaps or strong foregrounds, are sometimes constructed as with three-square ratios (note the large use of the panel). Nature is represented rather merely as a picture of the independent still life, but to continue to have three painted such pictures as a window, and to use many other allusions denoted by scientific objects and life assumed a new importance for him when he moved about 1550, from halfway to naturalism.

Titian brought the Elder 1522 (20-1 page), the only picture

1920. *Peasant Women,  
The Olive Bushes*.  
Wood, 27 1/2 x 30 1/2".  
Museum Art,  
Uppsala University, Sweden



among these Mediterranean patterns, captured landscapes and peasant life. Although his career was spent in Germany and Sweden, he may have been more than philosophically curious about the work of Rembrandt, though deeply impressed him and he is in many ways an analogue to us as the other master. What events religious conversions, his political sympathies? We know almost little, but his correspondence with his cousins and the later life of his wife seem to have sprung from a complex philosophical attitude. Brongst was highly educated, the friend of Ibsen, and patronized by the Hapsburg court. Yet he apparently never worked for the Church, and when he dealt with religious subjects he did so in an utterly unreligious way. The attitude toward Italian art is also hard to define: a trip to the South in 1894-95 took him to Rome, Naples, and the Mount of Marone, but the famous monuments attracted his other Nordicness more not to have interested him; he returned instead with a shelf of magnificent landscape drawings, especially Alpine ones. He was probably much impressed by landscape painting in France—the impression of figures and scenery, and the progression in space from foreground to background (see *Interplay* pp. 2, 3). Out of these memories came such sweeping landscapes as Brongst's massive study as the *Departure of the Pharo* (fig. 102), one of 2: an departing the month. Such scenes, we recall, had begun with natural calendar illustrations, and Brongst's concern was still domestic issues from the *Departure* page in the *First Edition* (see also the *Departure* page in fig. 101). Now, however, nature is more than a setting for human activities; it is the main subject of his pictures. Men in their natural occupations are incidental to the majestic natural cycle of death and rebirth that is the breathing rhythm of the season.

The *Peasant Wedding* (see below) gives Brongst's more domestic scene of peasant life. There are birds, cattle, folk, busy-bodies and slow, yet their very slowness gives them a strange gravity that commands our respect. Painted in that calm with intense modeling and so cast shadows, the figures sometimes have a weight and solidity that remind us of Caravaggio, often it is almost as natural perspective, and the entire composition is so monumental and balanced as that of any Italian master. Why, we wonder, did Brongst embrace this conception precisely with the intensity of a biblical event? Why is he more to see in the life of the peasant, less of the sublime and variety of city dwellers, the natural, human, the ideal, the divine of man? Brongst's philosophical detachment from religious and political functions also informs one of his last pictures, *The Blind Leading the Blind* (fig. 103). It occurs in the Gospel (Matt. 23: 24-26). Christ says, speaking of the Pharisees, "And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." This parable of human folly occurs in dramatic literature, and we know it is at least one earlier approximation, but the depth of Brongst's large and terrible image goes beyond to the theme. Perhaps he found the biblical content of the parable specially relevant to his time: the Pharisees had asked why Christ's disciples, retaining religious traditions, did not wash their hands before meals. He answered, "But that which gets into the mouth defiles a man, but that which comes out of the mouth." When this offended the Pharisees, he asked them the blind leading the blind, explaining that "whosoever is blind to us the mouth gets into the belly, and is cast out. . . . But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, . . .

sculptures." Could Strudel have thought that this applied to the sculptor rather than raging over details of religious ideas?

We have deferred our discussion of nineteenth-century governments and sculpture north of the Alps because in 1800 little Italy had no significant influence before the

1820s. France began to assimilate Italian art somewhat earlier than the other countries and was the first to achieve an integrated Renaissance style, no doubt thanks to earlier art discussion in French universities. As we might expect, sculpture still leaned to the Gothic tradition until the 1820s when the Italian style of the 15th



Left: 1825, Pierre Bonazzi, *The Return of the Shepherds*. The Return of the Shepherds (1825, 1826, 1827-28). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Below: 1825, Pierre Bonazzi, *The Return of the Shepherds*. The Shepherds Loading the Wool (1825, 1826, 1827-28). National Museum, Naples



readily used its classical vocabulary, but its center gave them models for many years. One glimpse of the choir of St. Pierre at Caen (fig. 192), built by Bernard of Sens, shows that he follows the basic pattern of French Gothic church choirs (compare fig. 191), simply translating Champagne



192. Bernard of Sens, Choir of St. Pierre, 1140-45, Caen

decoration into the vocabulary of the new language; details become variations, pinnaclements shaped the pinnacles, and the round-headed windows of the ambulatory (chapter here) become pointed. The Choirs of Chartres (fig. 193) is stylistically more complicated. Its plan, and the towers, high-pointed roofs, and tall windows, recall the Gothic Louvre (see complete fig. 191), yet the design—greatly modified by later French builders—was originally by an Italian pupil of Giotto: its language, read in its early chapters of the center portion (fig. 191), which is quite unlike its French predecessors. This space block, developed from the long of medieval courts (see page 191), has a central staircase led by four corridors; these form a closed zone dividing the interior into four square sections. Each section is further subdivided into one large and two smaller rooms, and a clove—in medieval parlance, a note or apartment. The functional grouping of these rooms, originally imported from Italy, was to become a standard pattern in France. It represents the starting point of all modern "designs for living."

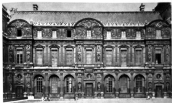
Chartres was built for Francis I, who had been 1941 to replace the Louvre with a new palace on the site. He also believed the project was more than feasible; but his architect, Pierre Lescot, continued it under Henry II, quadrupling the size of the court. This enlarged scheme was not completed for more than a century; Lescot built only the western half of the court's west side (fig. 193), the finest surviving monument of the French Renaissance in its "flower" phase, so-called to distinguish it from the state of such buildings as Chartres. This distinction is well expressed: the Italian vocabulary of Chartres and St. Pierre at Caen, is based on the Early Renaissance, while Lescot drew on the work of Bramante and his successors. The details of Lescot's facade have misled an ascending classical party, yet we would not mistake it for an Italian structure. Its decorative quality comes not from Italian forms superficially applied, but from a genuine synthesis of the traditional abilities with the



193. 1941. The Châteaux of Chartres (north front). Begun 1941

1941-1942. The Châteaux of Chartres, plan of ground portion (after De Caumont)





222. Musée Louvre. Squareside of the Louvre. Right: Paris

Renaissance palace. Indeed, of course, are the superimposed classical orders (fig. 100, 101), the pediments of window frames, and the arches of the ground floor. But the continuity of the facade is interrupted by three projecting pavilions which have supplied the chateau towers, and the high-pitched roof is also traditionally French. The vertical accents themselves are horizontal ones from the broken architraves, their effect softened by the tall, narrow windows. Equally softening is the rich sculptural decoration running along the entire wall surface of the third story. These reliefs, uniformly subject to the architect, are by Jean Goussier, the first French sculptor of the eighteenth century. Traditionally they have been much restored. To get a more precise idea of Goussier's style we must turn to the relief panels from the *Académie des Sciences* (two are shown in fig. 102, 103), which have survived intact, although their architectural framework is lost. These graceful figures recall the Mannerist of Baroque Culture (see fig. 97) and, even more, Primitivo's decoration of Primitivism (see fig. 98). Like Louvre architects, their design combines classical details of interesting purity with a delicate character that gives them a uniquely French air.

A more powerful sculptor—indeed, the greatest of the late sixteenth century—was Giovanni Stanetti, 1572-1611. In his early years he, too, learned a good deal from Primitivo, but he soon developed his own ideas by bringing the Mannerism of Primitivism with elements from those great sculptors, Michelangelo, and the Colles tradition. His most works are monumental

100-101. Jean Goussier. Reliefs from the Pavillon des Sciences. Louvre, Paris







above: Mrs. Francesco Perennino  
and Giovanni Perini.  
Tomb of Henry II, 1494-96,  
Abbey Church of St. Denis, Paris

right: Mrs. Giovanni Perini.  
Tomb of the King and Queen,  
detail of the Tomb of Henry II



models, of which the earliest and largest was the Henry II and Catherine de' Medici (fig. 101). Perennino built the architectural framework, an edifice, free-standing despite its platform decorated with bronze and marble relief. Four large bronze statues of Virtues, their style reminiscent of Fontainebleau, flank the effigy. On the top of the tomb are bronze figures of the King and Queen kneeling in prayer, inside the chapel, the effigy appears as guests, or noble couples (fig. 102). This contrast of effigy and bronze characteristics features of Gothic tombs since the fourteenth century: the plaster expressed the transient nature of the flesh, usually showing the body in an advanced stage of decomposition, with visible wounds, streaks, streaks in open sores. How could this gruesome image take stillness and form without losing its emotional significance? Perini's solution is brilliant: by idealizing the guests to increase their formal meaning. These figures—the recumbent Queen in the pose of a classical Venus, the King in that of the Dead Christ—evade neither horror nor pity but, rather, the pathos of a beauty that persists even in death. The shock effect of their postures has given way to a poignancy that is no less intense. Remembering our earlier discussion for years the classical and medieval attitudes toward death (page 124), this poignancy may be defined, the Gothic guests, which emphasize physical decay, represents the latest state of the body, in keeping with the whole "prospective" character of the medieval tomb. Perini's guests, however, are "retrospective," yet do not deny the reality of death. In the space of opportunity—what is to be achieved again, even by those deceased—see the graceless of these figures.

## 6. *The Baroque in Italy and Germany*

Baroque has been the term used by art historians for the great variety of designs that dominated style of the period (1600-1750). Its original meaning—"irregular, convoluted, grotesque"—is now largely superseded. It is generally agreed that the new style was born in Rome during the final years of the sixteenth century. What causes under dispute is whether the Baroque is the last phase of the Renaissance, or gulfed distinct from both Renaissance and modern. We have chosen the first perspective, while admitting that a good case can be made for the second. Which of the two we adopt is perhaps too important for an understanding of the factors that cause style (as our decision). And here we run into a mine of paradoxes. There it has been claimed that the Baroque style captures the spirit of the Counter Reformation; yet the Counter Reformation, a religious movement of withdrawal within the Catholic Church, had already done its work by other-Protestantism was on the advance, more important because had been recognized for the old faith, and neither side was bright but the power to upset the new balance. The priests of the Church who supported the growth of Baroque art were known for worldly splendor rather than piety. Besides, the new style generated the Protestant faith to quickly that we should guard against overestimating its Counter Reformation aspect. Usually problems in the question that Baroque is "the style of absolutism," reflecting the centralized state ruled by an emperor or absolute power, although absolutism reached its climax during the reign of Louis XIV in the last seventeenth century, it had been in its making since the reign of Louis II in France, and the Habsburgs in Germany. Moreover, Baroque art flourished in Germany (France) to less than in the absolutist monarchies, and the style officially sponsored under Louis XIV was a notably subdued, classicist kind of Baroque. We encounter similar difficulties when we try to relate Baroque art to the humanist philosophy of the period, that a link did exist in the early and High Renaissance, as when there could also be a humanist and a scientist. By during the seventeenth century, scientific and philosophical thought became too complex, abstract, and systematic for him to share; geometry, calculus, and Copernicus were could not stir his imagination. All of this means that Baroque art is not simply the result of religious, political, or institutional developments, but transcends nearly all of them, of course, but we do not yet understand them very well. Until we do, let us think of the Baroque style as one among other basic features—the surely familiar

Catholic faith, the absolutist state, and the new cult of science—that distinguish the period (1600-1750) from what had gone before.

Around 1600 Rome became the headquarters of the Baroque, as most of the High-Renaissance century before, by gathering artists from other regions to produce challenging new works. The papacy patronized art on a large scale, with the aim of making Rome the most beautiful city of the Christian world "for the greater glory of God and the Church." This campaign had begun as early as 1545; the artists that we found were late-Mannerist of noble distinction, but it were provided additional younger masters, especially from Northern Italy. These second movement for the new style. Fontana was a painter of genius, called Carravaggio after the birthplace near Milan (1597-1609), who in 1607 set the second monumental sculpture for the church of St. Luigi in France, among them. The Calling of St. Matthew (reproduction) and The style of this seventeenth-century picture is derived from both Mannerism and the High-Renaissance, as only possible understood in the "North Italian school" of artists like Verrochio (see fig. 14). But Carravaggio's solution is so uncompromising that a new term, "naturalism," is needed to designate it from the earlier kind. Hence here we meet a social system dependent so completely in terms of contemporary low life. Matthew, the tax collector, who with some armed men, evidently his agents, is what appears to be a common Italian tavern.

The Giovanni Fontana, Calling Peter (detail), 1607-1610, Italy, Palazzo Farnese, Rome





King James Hunt, *Assommoir* (Paris, 1866; Paris, Musée d'Orsay, Paris)

he points questioningly at himself as two figures approach from the right. The artists are poor people, their bare-thighed simple garments contrasting strongly with the colorful costumes of Matthew and his companions. Why do we want a religious quality in this scene? Why do we not mistake it for an everyday scene? What identifies one of the figures as Christ? Hardly it is not the hairier's hair (the only supernatural feature in the picture), an inconspicuous gold band that we might well overlook. Our eyes fasten instead upon His commanding gesture, borrowed from Michelangelo's *Creation of Adam* (fig. 22), which bridges the gap between the two groups. Most decisive, however, is the strong beam of sunlight above Christ that illuminates the face and hand in the gloomy interior, thus carrying the call across to Matthew. Without this light—an internal pit is charged with symbolic meaning—the picture would lose its magic, its power to make an artist of the Divine presence.

Even Caravaggio here gives nothing direct form to an attitude shared by certain great artists of the Counter Reformation: that the separation of light and darkness by intellectual speculation has spontaneously, through an inward experience open to all men. His paintings have a "for Christianity," connected by theological dogma, that appealed to Protestants no less than Catholics. His quality made possible his posthumous—through indirect—influence on Rembrandt, the greatest religious artist of the Protestant North.

In Italy, Caravaggio lived too well. His work was recognized by artists and commentators, hence the man in the street, for whom it was intended, a laudatory property and excitement. The simple people received meaning that their religious paintings, the preferred religious images of sacred idealism and rhetorical art. Their vision was not by artists too radical—and too talented—than Caravaggio, who took their lead from another movement among

King Christian James  
making friends (1866-67,  
Villa Ludovica, Rome)





Left: Annibale Carracci  
Landscape with the Flight into Egypt  
c. 1604, oil on canvas,  
Dresden Gallery, Berlin

Below: View, Baroque View of  
St. Peter's, Rome, from the Piazza  
to the Vatican Museums, where the  
entrance to the Vatican Museums is  
located (right)

Annibale Carracci  
View of St. Peter's, Rome  
(c. 1604, oil on canvas,  
Dresden Gallery, Berlin)

Roman painter, Annibale Carracci (1598-1609). Annibale came from Bologna, where he and two other members of his family had created an anti-Mannerist style under the name of the Carracci. In 1604-1605 he produced his most important work, the ceiling fresco in the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese, which was known as the "Farnese Gallery" and was known as the "Farnese Gallery" and was thought to be the work of Michelangelo and Raphael. The historical significance of the Farnese Gallery is indeed great, though not without controversy. It is a work of art that may no longer be considered the work of the Carracci, though it shows Annibale's style and influence. The narrative scenes, like those of the Farnese ceiling, are surrounded by painted architecture, classical sculpture, and made perfect-looking people. Yet the Farnese Gallery does not merely imitate Michelangelo's masterpieces. The style of the main subjects, the figures of the Classical Gods, is reminiscent of Raphael's figures (not by 1604) and the whole is held together by an element in which that reflects Annibale's knowledge of Correggio and the great Venetians. Carefully constructed and illuminated from below (the shadows, the nude figures and the simulated sculpture and architecture appear real), against this background the mythological are presented as simulated real pictures. Each of these forms of reality is handled with consummate skill, and the entire ceiling has an experience that was in part from both Mannerism and High Renaissance art. Annibale Carracci was a reformer rather than a revolutionary. The Carracci, men whom he was the first of them, to be that he was more willing to accept, but his approach was less single-minded, balancing rather than the work of a reform of the entire world to his own sense of the art of antiquity, and of Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian, and Correggio. As his best, he succeeded in doing these great elements, although they were always somewhat somewhat present. To his disciples, the Farnese Gallery seemed to offer two alternatives: pursuing the Raphaelian style of the mythological panels, they could serve as a different, "official" alternative, or they could take their cue from the ancient elements





Left: *Stat. Apollo (Vatican Museums, David copy, Marble, Museo Gregorio Etrusco, Rome)*

Below: *Stat. Hermes (Vatican Museums, The donor of St. Peter's, 1st cent. AD, Marble, Museo Constantino, Vatican Museums, Rome)*



present in the framework. The first choice is exemplified by Guido Reni's statue (fig. 104) a smiling figure showing Apollo in his character—the Sun—led by nature (fig. 105). Further to dynamic grace classical-like design would mean little more than a puffed reflection of High Renaissance art were it not for the glowing and dramatic light which gives it an emotional impact: that the figure should could have yellow, its very opposite is the statue smiling by Correggio (fig. 106). More architectural perspective, combined with the powerful illumination of Correggio and the intense light and color of Titian, creates the entire surface into one limitless space: the figure seems part as if propelled by cosmological winds. With this work, Correggio started what some feature a variable kind of similar vision in the settings of churches and palaces (see figs. 107, 108).

The sculptural presence of the Vatican Gallery does not do justice to the important Vatican element in Antonio Correggio's style. This is most striking in his landscapes, such as the monumental landscape with the figure into figure (fig. 109) in general mood and the soft light and atmosphere back back to Correggio and Titian (see comparison at, p. 1). The figure, however, play a far less conspicuous role here; they are, indeed, as small and horizontal as in any Northern landscape

compare (fig. 109). Not does the character of the perspective at all suggest the figure into figure—it would be equally suitable for almost any story, sacred or profane. Still, we feel that the figure could not be removed altogether (though we can imagine them replaced by others). This is not the unusual nature of Northern landscapes, but a "universal," completely cosmological. The old world, the world and fields, the back of deep, the landscape with its line, all show that man has been at home here for a long time. Hence the figure, however, does not appear lost or dwarfed into insignificance, because their presence is implicit in the orderly, monumental quality of the setting. This fairly conventional "ideal landscape" makes a vision of nature that is gentle yet warm, great but not excessive. We shall meet its dramatic aspect and again in the next two sections.

In architecture, the beginnings of the Baroque style cannot be defined as precisely as in painting. In the total architectural building program that got under way in Rome toward the end of the sixteenth century, the first

young architect to arrange the Carlo Maderno chapel, which, as when he was given the task of completing, at long last, the church of St. Peter's. The pope had decided to add a nave to Michelangelo's building (fig. 147), converting it into a basilica. The change of plan, which may have been prompted by the example of St. Carlo (see figs. 198, 199, 200), made it possible to turn St. Peter's into the Vatican Museum (fig. 147, right). Maderno's design for the facade follows the pattern established by Michelangelo for the exterior of the church—a colonnade with supporting columns—but with a dramatic emphasis on the piers. There is what can only be described as an immense effect from the piers toward the center: the spacing of the supports becomes closer, pillars turn into columns, and the facade wall projects step by step. This graduated rhythm, so much, had been found in a generation earlier, in Giacomo della Porta's facade of St. Carlo (see fig. 199). Maderno made in the dramatic principle of the facade design not only for St. Peter's but also smaller churches as well, in so doing, he repeated the traditional notion of the church facade as one continuous wall surface—a concept not yet challenged by the facade of St. Carlo—with the "Baroque design," dynamically related to the space before it. The perspective implied in this new concept was not to be abandoned until a hundred and fifty years later.

fig. 1. The Cooper Chapel,  
Eighteenth-century painting (Museum, Salzburg)



fig. 2. Counterpoint Between Piazza of St. Peter, after 1614, and Interior, Sixteenth century. Type, St. Peter's, Rome

The enormous size of St. Peter's made the decoration of its interior a completely different task—how to introduce still richness to the largest nave and tribune in which masses of thousands waited? That this problem was solved in very largely the terms of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (figs. 201-203), the greatest contemporary architect of the century, St. Peter's occupied him as intervals during most of his long and prolific career. Enlarging by deepening the huge transept canopy for the mass choir under the dome (fig. 202). The substructure is a splendid forest of arches and columns. Four massive, spiral-shaped columns support an upper platform; on its corners are statues of angels, and vigorously carved scrolls, which were high—the symbol of the victory of Christianity over the pagan world, a cross above a golden orb. The entire structure is so alive with vigorous energy that it makes us see the very openness of Bernini's style. For its most astounding feature, the enormous columns, had been treated in two categories, and even employed, on a small number scale, in the side facade of St. Peter's. Bernini could claim the best possible precedent for his own use



Key Giovanni Botticelli Fresco:  
Triumph of the House of David  
Reclining David, circa 1480, Rome

of the world. Now is this the only instance of an affinity between Baroque and ancient art, several monuments of Roman architecture of the second and third centuries A.D. seem to anticipate the style of the baroque (see figs. 111-112). A similar relationship can be discovered between Hellenistic and Baroque sculpture. If we compare Bernini's David (fig. 104) with Michelangelo's (see fig. 92a) and ask which is closer to the frequent forms of the *Laocoön Group* (see fig. 106), this one will most go to Bernini. His figure shares with the Hellenistic works that union of body and spirit, vibration and tension, which Michelangelo so impressively avoids. This does not mean that Bernini is more classical than Michelangelo; it indicates, rather, that both the Baroque and the High Renaissance acknowledged the authority of ancient art, but each period drew inspiration from a different aspect of antiquity.

But Bernini's David, obviously, is in no sense an echo of the *Laocoön Group* if we ask what makes it Baroque, the simplest answer would be: the implied presence of Goliath. Unlike earlier statues of David, Bernini's is conceived not as a self-contained figure but as "half of a pair," his entire action focused on his adversary. Did Bernini, we wonder, place a statue of Goliath to anticipate the group? He never did, but his David tells us clearly enough where to seek the partner. Consequently, the space between David and his invisible opponent is charged with energy; it is "belonging" to the statue. If we stand directly in front of this Hellenistic figure, our first impulse is to get out of the line of his

Bernini's David shows us what distinguishes Baroque sculpture from the sculpture of the two preceding centuries: its new, active relationship with the space it inhabits. It achieves self-sufficiency for an illusion—the

illusion of presence or focus that are implied by the behavior of the statue. Because it so often presents an "invisible complement" (like the Goliath of Bernini's David) Baroque sculpture has been denounced as a sort of farce, attempting vainly to present effects that are outside its province. The accusation is pointless, for illusion is the basis of every artistic experience, and it cannot very well regard some kinds of degrees of illusion as less legitimate than others. It is true, however, that Baroque art acknowledges no sharp distinction between sculpture and painting. The two may enter into a synthesis previously unknown, or, more precisely, both may be combined with architecture to form a compound illusion, like that of the stage. Bernini, who had a passionate interest in the theatre, was at his best when he could merge architecture, sculpture, and painting in his figures. His masterpiece is the Cornaro Chapel, containing the famous group called *The Ecstasy of St. Theresa* (fig. 103), in the church of Sta. Maria della Vittoria, Throna di Avila, one of the great sites of the Counter-Reformation, that described how an angel placed her heart with a flaming golden arrow: "The pain was so great that I screamed aloud; but at the same time I felt such infinite sweetness that I wished the pain to last forever. It was not physical but perfect pain, although it affected the body as well to some degree. It was the sweetest suffering of the entire world." Bernini has made this visionary experience so convincingly real as Caravaggio's *Boy with a Snake* (fig. 97 g), the angel, in a different context, would be indistinguishable from Cupid, and the saint's ecstasy is palpably physical. Yet the two figures, on their knees alone, are illuminated from a hidden window above in such a way as to seem almost immaterial in their glowing whiteness. The inhabit-

The Mountain Brethren,  
Plan of St. Carlo alle  
Quattro Fontane, Rome,  
August 1697



Fig. 100. Interior, St. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane

experiences them as moments. The "variable complex mood" Bernini captures there. David's too equally important, is the *linea* that carries the figures' movement, creating the multiplicity of their drapery. Its ascent is supported by the golden rays, which come from a source high above the altar: in an instantaneous flash on the side of the chapel, the glory of the Sacrament is revealed as a dazzling burst of light from which radiate clouds of brilliant rays (fig. 101). It is this celestial "lightness" that gives force to the thrusts of the chapel's curve and makes the mystery of the sacrament believable. To complete the illusion, Bernini even provides a hole in the ceiling for his "stage": on the side of the chapel are balconies crowding Italian faces, whom we see watching figures—members of the Cornaro family—who also witness the Eucharist. Their space and ours are the same, and this part of everyday reality, while the Eucharist, lifted to a strongly focused state, occupies a space that is not the



Fig. 101. Facade, St. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, 1694-95

second one made. The ceiling lines finally represent the infinite, undifferentiable space of Heaven. We may recall that the Council of Trent Opposed the writing after them a whole endowing them levels of reality too deep (yet), the reader will be able to analyze for himself the profound difference between Baroque and Mannerism by comparing these two chapels.

Some years later Bernini created another composed ceiling, on an even grander scale, in the choir of St. Peter's (fig. 102, far background, and fig. 103—a closer look at the vision at the very end of the church). Again the focus is a burst of heavenly light (though it is not window or stained glass that projects a mass of clouds and rays) around us. These clouds envelop the Sacrament (fig. 104) of St. Peter, which former spectators to witness, enthroned in the hands of the First Father of the Church, had the interior decoration of St. Peter in further evidence of Bernini's imagination during (fig. 105), although the role in this case was only advisory. The commission for the ceiling, however, went to Giovanni Stanetti (died, his young protégé, a talented architect, Antonio Reggi, did the stucco sculpture). As we see the new lines swirling so dramatically over its theme, then turning into sculptured figures, it is clear that the program for Bernini's





And again we sense the spirit of the Cornaro Chapel. While designing the Church of St. Peter, Bramante also conceived an "exterior monument" the magnificent and daring in front of St. Peter's (see fig. 367). It acts as an immense screen, framed by colonnades which the artist himself likened to the motherly, all-encompassing arms of the Church. The facade integrated with its grandiose setting of "enclosed" open space can be compared, for these reasons, only with the ancient Roman sanctuary at Palmyra (see fig. 393).

As a personality, Bramante represents a type we first met among the artists of the Early Renaissance—the self-assured, expansive man of the world. His great rival in architecture, Francesco Bramontini (1520-1590), was the opposite type: a sensitive and emotionally unstable genius, he died by suicide. The temperamental contrast between the two would be evident from their work alone, even without the testimony of contemporary witnesses. Both exemplify the climax of Italian architecture in Rome, yet Bramante's design for the colonnade of St. Peter's is structurally simple and unified, while Bramontini's structures are extravagantly complex. Bramante himself agreed with those who denounced Bramontini for flagrantly disregarding the classical tradition, established

fig. 367. Church of St. Peter, Rome. Design: Bramante, 1520-30, Rome. (Reproduced by permission of the Vatican Museums.)

Interior of St. Peter's, Rome.



in Renaissance theory and practice, that architecture must reflect the proportions of the human body. He understood this maxim when we look at Bramontini's first major project, the church of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (figs. 373-38). The vocabulary is not entirely lost, but the style is less and less convincing; the masterful play of masses and counter masses makes the entire structure seem static, "cut off at shape" by proportions that no previous building could have withstood. The plan is a pinched oval suggesting a domed and half-cut Greek cross, as if it had been drawn on paper, the inside of the dome too, under "constraint"—if the inside were raised, it would snap back to normal. The facade was designed about thirty years later, and the pressures and circumstances have made their maximum intensity. Bramontini merges architecture and sculpture in a way that must have shocked Bramante, or such shock had been removed since Corbuzier.

S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane established Bramontini's local and international fame. "Raising statues," wrote the head of the religious order for which the church was built, "was his final aspiration in the world. This is attested by the designers also . . . up to present copies of the plan. We have been asked for them by Germany,



Left: 1490s, Francesco Bramante:  
S. Agnese in Piazza Navona,  
Rome, 1519-20

Below: 1650s, Giovanni Battista Piranesi:  
Palazzo Senatorio, Rome,  
1762-69

Florence, Fribourg, Naples, Spanish, and even Indian. . . .” The design of Bramante’s new church, S. Agnese (1519, 1520), is more compact and equally daring in plan, a plan-Bramante, belongs unequivocally to the counter-type. Bramante may have been thinking of long nave churches such as S. Maria, because Bramante (fig. 246-49). But he did not replicate the space into a tall domed “nave” edged by an ambulatory or chapels; he covered all of it with one great dome, containing the counter-type pattern up to the slender base of the lantern. Again the counter-type rhythm dominates the entire design—the structure might almost be described as a larger version of the “temple” of S. Maria at Basilica, turned inside outside (fig. 249). A third project by Bramante is of special interest as a (high Bramante) tribute of S. Maria, Madonna had found one problem insoluble: although his new facade forms an impressive unit with Michelangelo’s dome when seen from a distance, the dome is gradually hidden by the facade as we approach the church. Bramante designed the facade of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona (fig. 250) with this conflict in mind. Its lower part is cut apart from the facade of S. Maria, but upper tower, so that the dome is a tall, slender version of Michelangelo’s, located at the upper part of the facade. The distance juxtaposition of column and pediment, given characteristic of Bramante is further emphasized by the two counter-type towers now also seen planned for S. Maria’s, which form a monumental front with the dome. Thus again Bramante joins Gothic and Renaissance features—the narrower facade and the dome—into a remarkably “stable” compound.

The wealth of new ideas introduced by Bramante was to be repeated twice in Basilica in Turin, the capital



of Italy, which became the creative center of Baroque architecture in Italy toward the end of the seventeenth century. In 1686, that city attacked Bramante’s most brilliant creation, Carlo Fontana (1643-1714, fig. 251) thus made where architectural perception simply grew.

1948: 183. Giacomo Casanova, Rome,  
Chapel of the Holy Shroud,  
Cathedral, 1788-92



1949: 184. Antonio Palladio,  
1598-1600  
St. Charles Borromeo,  
Vienna, 1583-87



all in philosophy and mathematics. His design for the facade of the Palazzo Capponi (fig. 184) repeats on a larger scale the underlying movement of St. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (see fig. 183), using a highly individual vocabulary, identifying the exterior of the building

in entirety of brick, down to the last ornamental detail. Still more extraordinary is Casanova's plan of the Chapel of the Holy Shroud—a round structure attached to the Cathedral (fig. 185). The tall dome, with its alternating windows and apertures, consists of twenty Baroque-style mouths, but beyond it we enter a realm of pure illusion. The interior surface of the dome of St. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, though decorated with light and the honeycombed classical coffers, was still unapertured (see fig. 183); but here the surface has disappeared completely in a mass of apertural ribs, and we find ourselves looking into a huge kaleidoscope. There this seemingly endless chain of space forms the center of the Holy Spirit within a bright, mirror-polished mass. Casanova's dome creates an optical symbol: meaning the House of Wisdom (see page 184, fig. 183). But the objective, geometric harmony of the Early Baroque has here become subjective, a compelling expression of the infinite. If Bernini's style at times suggests a synthesis of Gothic and Renaissance, Casanova, in his theoretical writings, takes the next, deeper step: he calls upon the "infinite" mathematics of the universe with the opposite effect of Gothic churches—as first they they appear to stand only by some kind of miracle—and he expresses equal admiration for both. This attitude, although alien to the Baroque century, corresponds exactly to his own practice: by using the most advanced mathematical techniques of his day, he achieved architectural miracles even greater than those of the seemingly weightless Gothic structures.

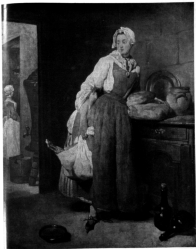
It is not surprising that the church created by Bernini



Columbian 74. Diego Velázquez: *Child of the World*, 1656. The Prado, Madrid



Colony of *Acromyrmex* (Formica) *affinis* in a colony  
in the forest of the Sierra de la Cruz, Spain



*Colombine at Jean-Baptiste's Tavern/Colombine. (Both from the Museum  
1792, 1892, 1892, 1892) The Louvre, Paris*



Michelangelo, *The Fall of Man*, fresco, Sistine Chapel, Vatican Museums, Rome, 1511. Oil on plaster, 465 x 265 cm.

and feathered by Guarini should achieve its climax north of the Alps, in Austria and Southern Germany, where such a synthesis of Gothic and Renaissance was one of a particularly warm temper. In these countries, nurtured by the Hapsburgs' fear the number of buildings remained small until near the end of the sixteenth century. Thereafter was an important step, produced mainly by visiting Italians. Not until the sixteenth century dangers came to the fore. There followed a period of intense activity that lasted more than fifty years and gave rise to some of the most imaginative creations in the history of architecture. We must be content with a small sampling of these monuments, started for the glorification of princes and prelates who, generally speaking, desired to be remembered only as great patrons of the arts. Johann Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723), the first great architect of the Late Baroque in Central Europe, is linked most directly to the Italian tradition. His design for the church of St. Charles Borromeo in Vienna (fig. 44) combines the facade of Bernini's St. Ignazio, and the piers of the Pauline nave (fig. 120), with a pair of huge columns derived from the Colosseum of Trajan (see fig. 122) which form substitutes for square corners. (The actual facade towers have become corner piers, remnants of the Gothic courtyard-square fig. 124.) With these collectible elements of Roman Imperial art embedded into the sturdy construction of his church, Fischer von Erlach impresses more boldly than any Italian Baroque architect, the power of the Christian faith in church and magnifies the splendor of monarchy.

Even more monumental, thanks to its supports, is the testimony of Maffei (fig. 45), by Johann Paulstrainer. The building forms a slightly later note than centers on the church: it occupies the crest of a promontory above the Danube, rising from the creek, as if there weren't but there is a vision of heavenly glory. The creation of the church



above fig. 44, Johann Paulstrainer,  
The Monastery of Maffei,  
Austria, begun 1700



left: St. Charles Borromeo, Salzburg,  
and Monastery, Interior,  
Monastery Church,  
Maffei, completed c. 1720





Fig. 100. Hansmann's "Fertile Ceiling" from the National Library, complex sculpture of the upper floors, Würzburg.

(fig. 101) still reflects the plan of St. Gertrude, but the otherwise dense decoration, the play of curves and countercurves, and the weightless grace of the various sculptures, give it an airy lightness far removed from the Roman Baroque. The vault and wall surfaces were thin and plastic, like cardboard easily penetrated by the expansive power of space. This tendency is carried even further by the architecture of the next generation, among whom Wilhelm Heilmann (1875–1934) stands out prominently. His largest project, the Episcopal Palace in Würzburg, includes the branch-like National Cathedral (fig. 102), a great oval hall decorated in white, gold, and pastel shades—the favorite color scheme of the nineteenth-century German members such as columns, pilasters, sculptures—are now minimized; windows and wall openings are framed by concave, ribbon-like moldings, and the entire surface is open over with irregular ornamental designs. This openness of form, varying mostly, according to Heilmann about 1900, is the hallmark of the German style free stage gift, which is here happily combined with German (late Baroque) architecture. The more house-like ceiling in often gives way to decorative openings of every sort that no longer function as a spatial boundary. These openings do not, however, reveal

architectural forms projected by dramatic forms of light, like those of Roman ceilings (compare fig. 103), but blue sky and white clouds, and an occasional winged creature soaring in the luminous space. Only strongly edged are these solid clusters of space (fig. 103). Thus the last, and most refined, stage of Heilmann's ceiling decoration is represented in its greatest studies, the recent Balthus Tugend (1904–1910). Variation by form and meaning. Tugend blended the tradition of High Baroque decoration with the paganism of Weismann. His mastery of light and color, the grace and flexibility of his work, made him famous far beyond the home territory. In the Würzburg Episcopal Palace were all their hopes. He was afterward invited to decorate the Royal Palace in Munich, where he spent his final years.

A contemporary of Balthus Heilmann, Hermann Zimmermann, created what may be the most original design of the mid-eighteenth century, the Bavarian pilgrimage church nicknamed "The War" (fig. 104). The church is so plain that its interior surface seems truly overwhelming. Like the Nazareth, its shape is oval, but since the ceiling was no period, free-standing supports, the spatial organization is more complex and fluid; despite the playful Baroque forms, we are reminded of a German Gothic *Stuhlwand* (see fig. 105). Here at last Heilmann's profane recreation of Gothic architecture has become reality.



104. Hermann Zimmermann, Interior, Pilgrimage Church "The War," Upper Bavaria, 1902–06.

## 7. The Baroque in Flanders, Holland, and Spain

Although Rome was in her heyday, the Baroque style was becoming international. Among the artists who helped bring this about, the great Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1680) holds a place of unique importance. It might be said that he finished what Michelangelo started a hundred years earlier—the breakdown of the artistic barriers between North and South. Rubens' talent was a prodigious. An ardent Protestant who fled to Germany to escape Spanish persecution during the war of independence (see page 56), the family returned to Antwerp after his death, where Peter Paul was ten years old and the boy grew up a devoted Catholic. Trained by local painters, Rubens became a master in 1610, but developed a personal style only when, two years later, he went to Italy. During his eight years in the South, he eagerly studied classical sculpture, the masterpieces of the High Renaissance (see his splendid drawing after Leonardo's *Birth of Aphrodite*, fig. 59), and the work of Caravaggio and Venetian artists, absorbing the Italian tradition far more thoroughly than had any Northerner before him. He corresponded, in fact, with the best Italian of the day on such terms, and could well have made his name in Italy—a choice not open to earlier Northern painters. When his mother's illness in 1618 brought him back to Flanders, he found the rule to be hard. But he received a special appointment as court painter to the Spanish regent, which permitted him to establish a workshop in Antwerp, whence he drew from local men and girls to represent. Rubens thus had the best of both worlds, for he was valued at court not only as an artist, but as a confidential adviser and secretary. Dependent commissions gave him access to the royal households of the major powers, where he painted sales and commissions, while he was also free to carry out, aided by a growing number of assistants, a new volume of work for the city of Antwerp, for the Church, and for private patrons.

The *Boy with the Cow* (fig. 60), the first major work since Rubens' professional return, shows although how much he owed to Italian art. The muscular figure, modeled to display their physical power and personal feeling, recalls the Statue of David and the Farnese Gallery; the lighting suggests Caravaggio's. The pose is more heroic in scale and conception than any previous Northern work, yet Rubens is also a sensitive Flemish realist in such details as the foliage, the writhing of the calves, and the only failed dog in the foreground. These varied elements, integrated with convincing anatomy, form a composition of tremendous dramatic force. The attitude of the animal is wholly new, emerging powerfully from the

limits of the frame in a characteristically Baroque way, stressing the balance but that the cow, participating in the action. In the details of the mane, Rubens' dynamism only matched its climax in his huge decorative schemes for churches and palaces. The next famous, probably, is the cycle in the Luxembourg Palace in Paris, glorifying the career of Marie de Medici, the widow of Henry IV and mother of Louis XIII. One illustration shows the youth, all dramatic and epical, the young queen kneeling in her white slip, hardly an evocative subject—perhaps transformed into a spectacle of representational splendor. The Marie de Medici walks down the steps, flanked by two women, and before them a crowd of courtiers, a triumph that is not triumph, and before them from the sea with her husband's crown (having passed the queen's crown), they approach her arrival. Everything flows together here.

Ant. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Meeting of the Queen* (fig. 61, detail, 1622-23), Louvre, Paris.





Fig. 1. Pedro Pablo Ruiz, *Queen of Sheba, Crossing a Ravine* (1881-82, Paris, 1911-12). Pinacoteca, Madrid

Fig. 2. Pedro Ruiz, *Sancho, Don Quixote and the Children of Sancho* (1881, Paris, 12 x 16). The National Gallery, London



in writing movement, beauty and truth, history and allegory—was drawing and painting, for Rubens read oil sketches like the one he prepared for composition, Leslie-Edwards wrote, he preferred to design his pictures in terms of light and color from the very start (most of his drawings are figure studies or portrait sketches). This method, acknowledged but never fully followed by the great 'Franciscans', was Rubens' most precious legacy to subsequent painters.

Around 1880, the turbulent drama of Rubens' painting work changes to a less order of formal tendencies inspired by Titian, whom Rubens rediscovered, as it were, in the Prado during a long visit to Madrid. The discovery of these techniques put to rest beautiful trust of this movement, as glowing a tribute to the pleasure of life as Titian's Bacchanal (see caption p. 12) but these subjects belong to the present, not to a golden age of the past, even though they are playfully haunted by scenes of 'pagan'. To understand the artist's purpose, we must first realize that this subject, the Bacchanal I see, had been a feature of Southern painting ever since the early days of the International Gothic. The early versions, however, clearly showed groups of bacchantes (young women in a garden—they were given names, past and simple) by combining this tradition with Titian's classical mythology. Rubens has created an emotional scene where youth and beauty become one. The picture must have had special meaning for him, since he had just married a beautiful girl of sixteen the first week that he wrote. He also brought a country house, the Château of Seneffe, and led the leisurely life of a seigneur. This change induced a new-born interest in landscape painting, which





Fig. 1. Frans Hals, *Molt Belle à l'opéra*, c.1630-35. From *Haarlem, Berlin Collection*

Fig. 2. Frans Hals, *The Women Regents of the St. Mary's House at Haarlem*, 1664. 89 x 98". From *St. Mary's Museum, Haarlem*



barrier between artist and public, and to degrade or falsify the "true worth" of the work of art. Such charges, however, are an indication of the true worth of a work of art: it is always available, and depends on time and circumstance for our immediate reactions, page 35) even those who believe in timeless values in art will concede that these values cannot be expressed in money. Because the art market reflects the dominant, rather than the more discerning, taste of the moment, works by artists now regarded as excellent may still have little commercial value; highly valued today, some come to have little or none at all. Yet the system is antiquated and the Middle Ages, when artists were paid on standards of craftsmanship, are hardly false in regarding artistic merit (except, perhaps, for Alexander the Great, who is said to have asked his ministers to the painter's atelier as a source of speculation). The market also forms a barrier between artist and patron, but there are advantages in this as well as drawbacks. To subject the artist to the impersonal pressure of supply and demand in an acquisitive society is not necessarily worse than to make him depend on the favor of patrons. The latter men will tend to become speculators, usually purchasing their marketable pictures, while artists of independent spirit, perhaps fearing public indifference and economic hardship, will paint in this place and only for support on the discerning minority. The collector's taste is seventeenth-century Holland viewed as comprising of artistic value comparable only to early Renaissance Florence, although many Dutch men were forced into becoming painters by hopes of



191. Rembrandt  
*The Murder of Samuel*  
 (fig. 100-101)  
 Stedelijk Museum, Frankfurt



192. Rembrandt, *The Night Watch*  
 (The Company of Captain  
 Jacob van Riebeeck)  
 (fig. 102-103)  
 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Rembrandt had developed a full-blown High Baroque style. The latter idealized the 17th Century as a world of colored splendor and violence, courtly yet realistic. The sudden flood of brilliant light pouring into the dark room is unapologetically theatrical, heightening the drama. Rem-

brandt was at this time an avid collector of Near Eastern paraphernalia, which serve as props in these pictures. He was now Amsterdam's most sought-after portrait painter and a man of considerable wealth. This prosperity, partly due to the rags, the raving giant may have been the

known great political known as *The High Watch* (fig. 49). The large canvas—originally it was even larger—shows a military company, whose members had each contributed toward the cost. But Randoom did not in such equal justice. Attempts to avoid a mechanically regular design, to make the picture a vigorous pattern, part of Baroque movement and lighting, in the process, some of the figures were draped into shadows, some hidden by overlapping. Legend has it that the people who gave money for had their likenesses more discarded. There is no evidence that they were; yet it seems, however, that the painting was admired even then as a work of art.

Like Michelangelo, Randoom has been the subject one might say, the "detail" of many Nationalist magazines. In these, the artist's fall from public favor is usually explained by the "catastrophe" of *The High Watch*. Actually, his fortunes declined after what few actually said completely that his romantic adventures would have no future. Certain important people in Amsterdam continued to be his faithful friends and supporters, and he received some major public commissions in the city and abroad; his financial difficulties resulted largely from poor management. Nevertheless, the years after what was a period of crisis, of inner uncertainty and external trouble. Randoom's culture changed profoundly after about 1640, his style reflects the history of the High Baroque for both ability and general trends. Such persons as those during the time of Augustus (fig. 50) are shown this new style of being. Some classic images from the earlier years remain, but they no longer create an alien, barbarous world. The golden light flowing from behind the curtain on the left creates a picture of the picture and person, in perspective in the mind of reader almost that the beholder, watching from the top of the hill, witness a spontaneous meeting with this family group—our kind of shared experience is stronger and more intimate here than in any earlier work of art.

In his later years, Randoom often adopted in a highly personal way compositions or pictorial ideas from the Northern Renaissance: one instance is *The Dutch Rider* (fig. 51). We cannot be sure that the rider is Christ—the title was given to him later—although his costume is of the kind worn by the local troops then fighting the "Turks" in eastern Europe, not in Randoom's usual setting close to the Dutch's famous engineering, English, French, and Dutch (see fig. 48), which Randoom rarely omitted, may be the key to the picture. Is not *The Dutch Rider* another Christ? Christ is Christ, surely making his way through a picture world? The changes in this case are not to imagine in the picture; but the rider's costume, with glances suggests scenes from, with such a close knowledge of their old costume, the difference between the painting and the poem make a revealing study. Christ's business, found into the composition, is balanced and stationary like an expedition (see fig. 52), slightly horizontal and off-center, is in



fig. 51. Randoom, *The Dutch Rider* (c. 1640). The Dutch Collection, New York University.

motion—upward as it were, by the light from the left. The carving path he follows will soon lead him beyond the frame. This subtle intention implies a space far wider than the compass of the picture and stamps Randoom's work as Baroque, despite the absence of



fig. 52. Randoom, *The Dutch Rider* (c. 1640). 20 x 24". The Dutch Collection, Museum, London.





above: J.M.W. Turner, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, c. 1840, oil on canvas, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad

right: J.M.W. Turner, *Christ Preaching in the Desert*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bequest of Mrs. B. B. Cummings, 1927)



the more obvious trademarks of the style. The same variety of the half-formed (fig. 18b), in the contrary the artist professed during a long career, his view of himself reflects every stage of his inner development—experimental in the London years, drastically disciplined in the 1840s; fluent and self-assured toward the end of his life, as in our example, yet still of simple elegance.

The *Return of the Prodigal Son* (fig. 19a) painted a few years before his death, is perhaps Ruskin's most moving religious picture. It is also his spiritual—a man, most searching into events. The unknown beauty seen in Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph has now shifted to a human world of bare feet and ragged clothes, recalling the Bible and scenes painted four decades before. This feeling for the poor and outcast had never disappeared entirely from Ruskin's work, although during his middle years it survived in his drawings and prints rather than in his paintings. He had a special sympathy for the Jews, as the hero of the biblical quest and as the poorest victims of persecution; they were often his models, and among his prints are scenes such as *Christ Preaching* (fig. 19b) that seem to take place in some corner of the Palestinian ghetto. The *Return of the Prodigal Son* is the ultimate fruit of these studies.

Ruskin's importance as a graphic artist is second only to Chirico, although we get no sense that a hint from this single example. But we must add a word about his technique. By the nineteenth century, the techniques of woodcut and engraving were employed mainly to reproduce other works. The master printmakers of the day, including Ruskin's preferred engraver, after-care-

board with droppers (see page 36) for Art. Art stacking is made by setting in succession with them to make an unobstructed "ground,"<sup>1</sup> through which the design is scratched with a needle, leaving bare the metal surface underneath. The plate is then heated to expand the surface so "bake" the lines into the copper. The depth of these grooves varies with the strength and direction of the tool. The thing is usually by design: when a final dimension the artist will apply a protection coating to the plate in those areas where the lines should be lost. In this instance the plate itself is in line to protect the two delicate lines, and so on. To scratch a design into the finished ground is, of course, an easier task than to scratch it into the copperplate itself. Hence an etched line is smoother and more flexible than a dropper line. An etched plate is also more durable, like engraving, it admits of a larger number of prints than a dropper plate. In fact, etching is in wide-spread usage, including widely dark shades are possible in other media. No other was captured this quality more easily than etching.

Handmade's religious pictures present an insight that was beyond the capacity of all but a few collectors. These are before us: the artist produced subjects within their own experience—landscapes, architectural views, still life, everyday scenes. These various types, we feel, organized in the latter half of the nineteenth century (see page 36) as they became fully defined, as subjects of spontaneous types. The trend was not confined to England, the first



Art. 100-1000. The Church of St. John, Rome.  
From the collection of the Art, Rome.

in comparison to some degree, but French painting was its fundamental basis and safety. There were, in fact, so many subjects which each major division contained about that no one thought only a small sampling. The Church of St. John in the City of Rome represents a new kind of landscape, which is not great popularly because its elements were so familiar, the church was under a burning gray sky, more through a misty haze atmosphere across an expanse of water—the scene is still characteristic of the Church's architecture today. No one knew better than the Church how to make the special sound of these "churches," now described



Art. 100-1000. The Church of St. John, Rome.  
From the collection of the Art, Rome.  
© 1925, by the Art, Rome.  
New York Gallery, London.

by the sea. The awareness of natural forces also dominates *The House Uncovered* (fig. 44) by Jacob van Ruisdael, the greatest Dutch landscape painter. The scene is heavily imaginary: the thunderclouds passing over a wide, deserted mountain valley, the medieval ruin, the castle that has faded in time, the ancient groves, all create a mood of deep melancholy. Nothing endures on this earth, the artist tells us—time, wind, and water gnaw at its shell, the better works of man as well as the trees and rocks. His signature on the grassy terrace as it is a final touch of gloomy irony. Ruisdael's vision of nature is reflective, so that it does the exact opposite of Andreas Vernetz's companion (fig. 43): it inspires, that was an epoch the Romantic, a century later, want to have their vintage of the sublime.

Nothing on this scene further removed from *The House Uncovered* than the phenomenally precise architectural interior of St. Francis Church, Athens (fig. 45), painted by Peter Paul Rubens at exactly the same time. Yet it, too, is meant to inspire meditation, rather than serve merely as a topographic record. These views were often freely invented. The medieval structure, stripped of all furnishings and whitewashed under Ottoman conquest, is no longer a house of worship. It has become a place for the meditative: the vaults echo in the silence, and in its crystalline spaces one can feel the vision of a group—yet. Again we are reminded that All is Vanity. Even still life can be charged with this melancholy sense of the passing of all earthly pleasures; the message may be in carefully balanced symbols as well as in heads and hands, and vessels, or be conveyed by means less direct, that

example (fig. 44) belongs to a widespread type, the "breakfast piece," showing the remnants of a meal. Food and drink are less emphasized than luxury objects—crystal goblets and silver dishes—carefully juxtaposed for their contrasting shapes, colors, and textures. How different this scene from the glacial stillness of nature's "house" (see fig. 43), that serenity was not the artist's only aim: for "Vanity," the human context of these grouped objects, is suggested by the broken glass, the half-poured drink, the unarranged silver dish, who survives as this whole has been suddenly found to shatter his dream. The serene structure has become an illusion, as it were, because the objects with a message perish. The diagonal symbolism of "Last Ghetto" painting lives on



above: fig. 44, Peter Paul Rubens  
*St. Francis Church, Athens*, 1625, Paris, 1627, 27.  
Museum, The Getty



below: fig. 45, Willem Coster  
*St. Francis Church, Athens*, 1625, Paris, 1627, 27.  
Museum, The Getty

ness in a new form. Other types of still life, such as flower pieces, can be traced directly to their renaissance origin. How much of the older meaning survives in these examples is still being debated. Was the artist of the renaissance flower piece in figure 491 aware of the rapid decay of such blossoms, most of the butterflies, moths, and insects he put into the picture, and did he intend to happen to this end? Or was he content to reflect a fact for the eye? Be that as it may, these flowers have not changed radically that they fairly leap from their vase.

The vast class of pictures termed genre is so varied as that of landscapes and still life. It ranges from scenes before a critical domestic interior, *The Son of St. Nicholas*, by Jan Steen (fig. 492), to midway between these extremes, *St. Nicholas has just paid his pre-Christmas visit to the household*, having toys, candy, and cake for the children; everybody is jolly except the bad boy on the left, who has received only a stern word. Similarly the story with which, considering it with many delightful details, it all the Dutch painters of daily life, he was the cheapest, and most good-humored, observers. To suppress his feelings, he kept an ion, which perhaps explains his keen insight into human behavior. His sense of timing and his characterization often remind us of Frans Hals (compare fig. 493), while his caricatures come from the tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (compare color plate 45). In the quiet scenes of Jan Vermeer, by contrast, there is hardly any narrative. Single figures, usually women, engage in single, everyday tasks: when there are two, as in *The Letter* (compare p. 32), they do so more than exchange glances. They exist in a timeless "real life" world, seemingly cut off by some magic spell. The cool, clear light that there is from the left is the only active element, working its miracle upon all the objects in its path. As we look at *The Letter*, we find as if a veil had been pulled from our eyes: the everyday world shines with jewel-like brightness, beautiful as we have never seen it before. The painter since Jan van Eyck has been slowly to this. But Vermeer, unlike his predecessors, perceives reality as a stream of individual facts — or perhaps more accurately, he translates reality into a moment as he puts it on canvas. We see the figure as a perspective "viewer," but also as a piece, a "field" composed of smaller fields. Rectangles predominate, carefully aligned with the picture surface, and there are no "holes," no unrelated empty spaces. These contrasting ideas give to Vermeer's work a uniquely modern quality within nineteenth-century art. Should we suspect if we have not his little about his change that he was born in Delft in 1632 and brought water there until his death at forty-three, in 1675. Some of his works show the influence of Carolus Verelst, the great teacher of Rembrandt's pupils. Other pictures suggest Rembrandt's use of the Utrecht School. None of this really explains the genius of his style, or strongly suggest that his genius was not recognized until a century ago.

Open is the last century to be surveyed in the present



fig. 492. Jan Steen, *The Son of St. Nicholas*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, Amsterdam Museum, Holland



fig. 493. Jan Vermeer, *The Son of St. Nicholas*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, Amsterdam Museum, Holland

1920-1921, *Reverend Canon*  
 (oil) 40 1/2 x 18 1/2 in.  
 102 x 47 1/2 in., Museum, Toronto

Below: Left, *Reverend Canon* by *Francisco de Goya* (oil, 1771 x 1771); *Walters' reference*, *Reverend Canon*



shapes; for Spanish Baroque painting cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of artistic events in Italy and the Netherlands. During the seventeenth century, at the height of its political and economic power, Spain had produced great rulers and artists, but no artists of

the first rank. Nor did El Greco's presence prove a stimulus to native talent. The stimulus came, rather, from Counter-Reformation art in its most forceful form: it was immediately and floridly painting. Since after Aristotle and his contemporaries in the Netherlands established the field of still life, Spanish masters began to develop their own tradition. In the example by Sanchez Coello (fig. 48), who was an early and remarkable Spanish painter of still life, we see the distinctive character of this tradition. In contrast to the lavish display of food or luxury objects in Northern pictures, we have first an order and an austere simplicity that give a new content to these vegetables. They are so deliberately arranged in a crisp and measured pattern that no viewer help wondering what symbolic significance this arrangement has to convey. In any case, the juxtaposition of bright sunlight and impenetrable darkness, of penetrating realism and otherworldliness, creates a memorable image.

Sanchez Coello may have been among the very first Spaniards to feel the influence of Counter-Reformation. During the second decade of the century, this influence became firmly established, especially in Seville, the home of the most important Spanish Baroque painter, Alonso Cano. Francisco de Zurbarán (fig. 49) took stands not far from the spirit of some of his devotional pictures, such as *St. Jerome* (fig. 48). Although Counter-Reformation in style, it is filled with an ironic pathos that is uniquely Spanish, and the very absence of theatrical color makes the image of a martyrdom more profoundly moving. Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), Zurbarán's contemporary, also painted in a Counter-Reformation vein during his early years, but his ultimate commitment grew out of his rather than imposed devotion. His *Water Carrier of Seville* (fig. 49), which he did at the age of twenty, already shows the gesture of

powerful group of individual character and dignity is seen descending stairs with the solemn spirit of a ritual. A few years later, Velázquez was appointed court painter and moved to Madrid, where he spent the rest of his life, doing master portraits of the royal family. The colors of these still show the precision-division of light and shade and the clear outlines of his Baroque period, but after fifteen years his work acquired a new fluency and richness. Meanwhile he had become a friend of Rubens, who probably helped him to discover the beauty of the master's work in the king's collection, but did not influence him directly; he had also traveled to Italy. His picture depicts "Velázquez" nature still more fully than *The Men of Menor* (fig. 10), comfortable yet, which is both a group portrait and a genre scene. It might be entitled "the artist in his studio." The Velázquez shows himself at work in a simple manner, in the center is the little Prince Marianne, who has just passed the time, among his sketches and models of faces. The three of his sisters, the king and queen, appear in the mirror on the back wall. Here they just stepped into the room, to see the scene exactly as we do, or show the mirror-reflex part of the scene—presumably a full-length portrait of the royal family—we notice the artist has been working! This ambiguity is characteristic of Velázquez' fascination with light. Unlike Rembrandt, he was concerned only to represent rather



fig. Juan Velázquez, *The Men of Menor*, 1688  
oil, 2' 10" x 3' 10" (The Prado, Madrid)



than in metaphysical inquiries, but there he portrayed more completely than any painter of his time except Vermeer. The spaces of direct and reflected light in *The Men of Menor* are almost limitless, and the artist challenges us to find them: we are expected to read the mirror image against the paintings on that wall, and against the "pattern" of the man in the open doorway. Velázquez could not have known Vermeer's work, for the latter was then only twenty-four, but he may have known works of domestic genre by other Dutch painters. Looking at the open, darkly lit work to understand its subtle insinuations the scale of the original, we wonder if he could also have known Franz Hals' companion collection (p. 12). For Velázquez' technique is far more varied and open, with delicate glimmering off the surfaces of the highlights. The colors, too, have a freedom unknown to Hals. How does Velázquez use color in working time on the thing, he tries to show not figures in motion, but the movement of light itself and the subtle range of its effects on form and color. For Velázquez, light means the visible world; but what we observe here shall we meet painters regardless of knowing the implications of this discovery.

## 8. The Baroque in France and England

Our discussion of Baroque art in Flanders, Holland, and Spain has been limited to painting; architecture and sculpture in these countries, although far less negligible, are not of central importance for the history of art, so that we could afford to leave them out of account. But in France the situation is different. Under Louis XIV France became the most powerful nation of Europe, militarily and culturally (by the late seventeenth century, Paris had replaced Rome as the world capital of the visual arts—a position it still holds today). How did this astounding change come about? Because of the Palace of Versailles and other vast projects glorifying the king of France, we are tempted to think of France as the age of Louis XIV as the expression—and one of the products—of absolutism. This is true of the climactic glories of Louis' reign, 1661–83, but by that time French seventeenth-century art already had its distinctive style. Frenchmen are reluctant to call this style Baroque (as there it is the style of Louis XIV); when they also describe this art and literature of the period as “classical.” The term, in

fact, has three meanings: as a synonym for “highly sophisticated,” it implies that the style of Louis XIV corresponds to the High Renaissance in Italy, or the age of Pericles in ancient Greece; the term also refers to the imitation of the form and subject matter of classical antiquity. Finally, “classical” suggests qualities of balance and restraint, like those of the classical style of the High Renaissance and of ancient art. The second and third of these meanings describe what could be called, more accurately, “classicism,” and when the style of Louis XIV reflects Italian Baroque art, however modified, we must label it “classical Baroque” or “Baroque classicism.”

This discussion was the official court style by 1680–83, but its origin was not political. It sprung, rather, from the persistent tradition of seventeenth-century art, which in France was more intensely linked with the Italian Renaissance than in any other Northern country (see p. 319). Classicism was also nourished by French humanism, with its intellectual heritage of reason and taste often. These factors reinforced the spread of the Baroque in France, and modified its interpretation. Rubens' *Madonny* (Fig. 436), for example, had to reflect on French art until the very end of the century; in the interim, the young painters in France were still assimilating the early Baroque. Some were oriented toward Caravaggio, and developing an increasingly original style; the importance of one of these men, Georges de La Tour's (see p. 437), has been recognized only recently. His *Joseph the Carpenter* (Fig. 437) might be mistaken for a genre scene, yet its directional light has the power of Caravaggio's *Calling of St. Matthew* (see catalogue app.). The boy Jesus holds a candle, a dramatic device with its *chiaroscuro* lights the scene with an intimacy and tenderness reminiscent of Georges' (cf. his *Jesus Carpenter* Fig. 438). Strongly enough, La Tour also shares Georges's tendency to reduce his forms to geometric simplicity. The Caravaggesque French *Portrait* (Fig. 439) by Louis Le Nôtre (1658–1719) is equally impressive. Like the great masters of seventeenth-century Holland and Flanders, it comes from a tradition going back to Pierre Bruegel the Elder (see catalogue app.). But the Netherlandish scenes of life are humorous or satirical (see Fig. 394), whereas Louis Le Nôtre endows them with a formal dignity and monumental weight (cf. most Netherlandish *Water Carriers* or *Boatmen* Fig. 440). Like Georges de La Tour, Louis Le Nôtre was also discovered in modern times, but he did not have to wait quite so long.

Why were these important painters so quickly forgotten? The answer is simple: for stylistic, technical, and

Fig. 436. Rubens in La Tour, *Joseph the Carpenter*, c. 1680 (20 1/2 x 32 1/2"). The Louvre, Paris.





Colonnade of Basilica of San Marco, Venice  
(printed below, facing page 100)

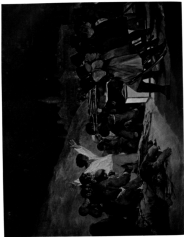




*Constable's 'Rain, Steam, and Great Bridge' (1825) is a classic example of the English Romantic style, showing a landscape scene with a large, dark, leafy tree on the left, a small building or structure in the middle ground, and a figure standing near the base of the tree. The sky is filled with dramatic, swirling clouds.*



Photograph by Jack Strasser. Woman's Name Unknown. 1974. 100% Cotton. 100% The Camera. 100%



A group of people, possibly a choir or a group of performers, standing in a line on a stage. The image is dark and grainy, with the figures appearing as silhouettes against a lighter background.



Fig. 1. Louis-Jean Maitre,  
Proctor Family,  
c. 1840-1842.  
The Louvre, Paris



Fig. 2. Ernest Feytaud,  
Expulsion and Return,  
c. 1890-1892.  
The National Gallery,  
London

members of their art, when confronted against other Euro-  
peanque painters, might be termed "classical," the  
medium was a "classicism"—and after the 1840s, classicalism  
was expensive in France. The artist who declined to bring  
this about was Théodore Frensch (c. 1820-1880). The great-  
est French painter of the century, and the earliest French  
painter to history to win international fame, Frensch  
revolutionized spirit about the same career in Rome. His  
development also was somewhat paradoxical, as we see in  
Figures 1a) and 1b): both paintings show his profound

affinity to antiquity, but in style and attitude they are  
much further apart than the same years' difference in  
date would suggest. *Expulsion and Return* is inspired by  
Titian's work, not even and by his approach to classical  
mythology (compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1572, Rome), not  
even—perhaps, here as a painter about world, although  
the medieval title of Frensch's *Expulsion and Return* is  
notably not the same subject as that of Titian's  
work. In contrast, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*  
must be seen altogether differently. The strongly modified

figures are "broken in action," like statues, and nearly all are fast destined (some Hellenistic sculptures, indeed) that Porada has not recommended of Roman architecture that he believed to be archaeologically correct. Emotion is abundantly displayed, yet it is as lacking spontaneity than

is felt to result in. Clearly, the attitude here reflected is not "Bian's" but Raphael's more genuine, that of Raphael as filtered through Friedrich Carlstadt and his school (compare figs. 10, 11). Yennian qualities have been consciously suppressed for the better discipline of

right: *Fig. 10: Thomas in Prison, the Slave of the Sabine Women, is depicted in relief.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Arch. Fund., 1891)



below: *Fig. 11: Thomas in Prison, landscape with the burial of Pharaoh (1891-1892).* The Louvre, Paris



an idealized style. Pictures were written as if a man who knew his own mind only too well, an impression confirmed by the numerous letters in which he expounded his views on friends and patrons. The highest aim of painting, he believed, is to represent noble and virtuous human actions. These must be shown in a logical and orderly way, not as they really happened, but as they constituted happened if nature were perfect. To this end, the artist must strive for the general and typical, appealing to the mind rather than the senses, he should suppress such minutiae as glowing colors, and stress form and composition. In a good picture, the beholder must be able to "read" the exact emotions of each figure, and relate them to the given scene. These ideas were not new—see, for example, Leonardo's statement that the highest aim of painting is to depict "the emotion of man's soul," and the ancient dictum, as given, from page 215, 216—that before Poussin, no one made the analogy between painting and literature so clear, nor put it into practice so single-mindedly. His method accounts for the cool and even, explicit character in *The Rape of the Sabine Women* that makes the picture so much less accessible to us than his earlier *Cephalus and Procyon*. Poussin even painted landscapes according to this theoretical view, with surprisingly impressive results. The landscape with its burial of *Albanus Pater* (fig. 124) follows the tradition of Poussin's (Poussin's "ideal landscapes") tracing both, but the spatial order of its space is almost mathematically precise. Yet the effect of emotional clarity has a certain note as particular as the language of Poussin's compositions. This mood is unusual to Poussin's theme, the burial of a Greek hero who died because he refused to convert to the faith: the landscape becomes itself a statement to focus vision. Although we may no longer read the scene as specifically, we still respond to its calm beauty.

It Poussin developed the heroic quality of the "ideal landscape," the great French landscapist Claude Lorraine (whom they thought was his stylistic superior, for, too, spent almost his entire career in Rome, and explored the country, nearby—the Campagna—more thoroughly and objectively than any Italian. Claude's drawings made us the spot, made us the extraordinarily fresh and sensitive example in figure 125, have witness to his extraordinary power of observation. These sketches, however, were only the raw material for his paintings, which he too used as topographical standards but under the poetic notion of a countryside filled with values of antiquity. (Thus, as in *A Forest (fig. 126)*, the composition can reflect with the busy, luminous atmosphere of early morning or late afternoon; the space expands inward, rather than receding away by step as in Poussin's landscapes; the site of foreign lands now each vision, of just extraordinary light the memory, hence they appeared especially in landscapes who had been only briefly—in perhaps most of all.

In Poussin's (and, inevitably, the foundations of Baroque classical in architecture was laid by a group of designers whose most distinguished member was Francesco Borromini



125. Claude Lorraine, *View of the Campagna, a distant Mount Ararat*, British Museum, London



126. Claude Lorraine, *A Forest* (fig. 126), 1665, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut

(fig. 126). Apparently the supernatural body, but other French architects had already important and architectural some aspects of the Roman Early Baroque, especially in church design, so that Poussin was not unfamiliar with the new Italian style. What he owed to it, however, is hard to determine, for most important buildings are classical, and in this field the French Baroque tradition conveyed any direct Italian Baroque influence. The *Château de Marigny* near Paris, built for a newly risen aristocratic official, shows Poussin's innate style at its best. The architect looking to the great landscape (fig. 124) has a particularly beautiful effect, where yet before. On seeing the extremely pure articulation of the walls, one first thinks of Palladio, whose classicism Poussin certainly knew and admired. But sculpture is not here

in the characteristically French way, as an integral part of governmental design, and the complex career of the building tell us that this structure, for all its classical pretensions, belongs to the Baroque.

Monarchical France was to have its share in the climactic phase of Baroque classicism, which began not long after young Louis XIV took over the reins of government in 1643. Fostered, according to the tradition, by the administrative apparatus supporting the power of the absolute monarch, in this system, almost all important thoughts and actions of the entire nation to some extent flow above, the great architect has the task of glorifying the king, creating official "royal style," in both theory and practice, says Chastillon. That this should not differ too far from the theory of the two great projects Colbert directed, the completion of the Louvre. Work on the palace had proceeded intermittently for over a century, along the lines of Louis's designs (see fig. 14); what remained to be done was to draw the square court on the east side with an imposing facade. Culture, disenchanted with the

prospects of French architecture, looked Bernini in Paris, hoping the most illustrious master of the Roman Baroque would do for the French king what he had already done so magnificently for the Church. Bernini spent several months in Paris, in 1665, and submitted three designs, all of one sort that would completely engulf the main palace, after much argument and struggle, Louis XIV rejected these plans, and turned over the problem of a final solution to a collection of others: Louis Le Vau, his court architect, who had worked on the project before; Charles Le Brun, the court painter; and Nicolas Poussin, who was a student of ancient architecture, not a professional architect. All three were responsible for the structure that was actually built (fig. 15), although Perrault is greatly credited with the major share. The design in some ways suggests the mind of an archaeologist, but one who knew how to select those features of classical architecture that would link Louis XIV with the glory of the Romans and yet be compatible with the other parts of the palace. The central pavilion is a Roman temple front, and the wings look like the flanks of that temple front repeated. The temple theme demanded a single order of free-standing columns, yet the Louvre builders were—a difficulty skillfully resolved by creating the ground story as the podium of the temple, and moving the upper two floors behind the curtain of the colonnade. The entire design combines grandeur and elegance in a way that fully justifies its fame.

The final Phase of the Louvre signaled the victory of French classicism over Italian Baroque as the "royal style." Ironically, this great exemplar proved too pure. Perrault was hailed from the architectural ranks, not Baroque theories, although not officially acknowledged, supposed in the king's inner councils, the Prince of Condé. This shift corresponded to the king's own taste. Louis XIV was interested less in architectural theory and monumental exterior design (the French structure that would make appropriate settings for himself and his court. The man to whom he really listened, as a



about 1680. François Moreau,  
Versailles, Palace of Versailles-Louvre.  
1670-75

1670. The Grand Perrault,  
East Front of the Louvre, Paris.  
1667-70





Rep. Robert W. Roth and  
Sen. William H. C. Bryant  
of the House of Representatives  
and the Senate.



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house, was not an architect, but the painter Lefebvre, wife baronne supervisor of all of the king's artistic projects. As chief dispenser of royal art patronage, he communicated so much power that for all practical purposes he was the director of the arts in France. Lefebvre had spent several years studying under Winckelmann in Rome; that the great decorative schemes of the Egyptian Baroque were also there impressed him, for they dated him in good visual memory years later. Both in the Louvre and at Versailles, his lightning superintendence utilizing the combined labors of architects, sculptors, painters, and craftsmen for assemblies of uniformed operators, such as the *Salons de Commerce* or *Verdusins* (fig. 14), reestablished all the arts in a single grand style, the glorification of Louis XIV—was in itself Baroque if it was not for that Baroque. Later on seventeenth-century Italy, on the occasion of Rome, The Salon de la Guerre seems to have kept close to the European Chapel that in the twentieth at Munich becomes the city. And, as in Munich,

Indian Heritage interests, the separate ingredients are less important than the effect of the whole.

The Palace of Versailles, just one stone's throw from the center of Paris, was begun in 1661 by Louis XIV, who designed the structure as the grandest domestic palace. It died within a year, and the same year, under Louis XIV's son, Louis XV (1715-1774), a great interior of French style (Wasson), was easily expanded to accommodate the ever-growing royal household. The Chateau de Versailles, intended by Louis XIV as the principal seat of the palace, was situated on an extremely large plot of land without modifying the architectural numbering. The original design, in fact, was a variation of the Baroque style of the Louvre, now built in a more and more of style. The whole new Louis XV palace, a single room, the Palace of Versailles, and its successor, the Palace de la Paix, of which only a part has been the magnificent interior, the most important element of Versailles is the great courtyard.





fig. 104. *Salon de la Guerre, Palace of Versailles (Napoleon 1807)*

view of the Grand Foyer for several miles (the aerial view in fig. 110 shows only a small part of it). In design, by André Le Nôtre, it is so closely connected with the plan of the palace that it becomes a continuation of the architectural space. Like the interior of Versailles, these formal gardens, with their terraces, fountains, clipped hedges, and statues, were meant to provide an appropriate setting for the king's appearances in public. They form a series of "outdoor rooms" for the splendid few and spectators that Louis XIV. so enjoyed. The spirit of absolutism is even more striking in this geometric magnificently ordered space as mere countryside, than it is in the palace itself.

At Versailles, Baroque-Mannerist reached on the interior of a house, constrained by the design of Le Vau. His own architectural style can be better seen in the Church of the Invalides (fig. 105, 106), named after the institution for disabled soldiers of which it formed one part. The plan, consisting of a Greek cross with four corner chapels, is based ultimately— with various French intermediaries—on Michelangelo's plan for St. Peter's (see fig. 127): its only Baroque element is the oval dome. The dome, too, reflects the influence of Michelangelo



above fig. 105. *Church of the Invalides, Paris, 1806-18*



right: fig. 105. *Plan of the Church of the Invalides*

(see fig. 127), and the classical vocabulary of the façade is reminiscent of the Grand Foyer of the Louvre. For the exterior as a whole is unmistakably Baroque: the façade breaks forward especially in the central area introduced by Maderno (see page 493), and square windows are closely correlated (see page 493). The dome itself is the most original, and the most Baroque, feature of Baroque-Mannerist's design: tall and slender, it rises in one continuous curve from the base of the dome to the





Mrs. Antonio Gonsioro, Charles Lebrun, 1666.  
Terracotta, height 27". Wallace Collection, London

Renaissance. But as painting, sculpture, and architecture gained the status of liberal arts, artists needed to supplement their "mechanical" training with theoretical knowledge. For this purpose, they founded "art academies," patterned on the academies of the humanists (the name is derived from the *Academia* group where Plato met with his disciples). Art academies appeared first in Italy, in the late sixteenth century; they were to have been private associations of artists who met periodically to draw from the model and discuss questions of art theory. These academies later became formal institutions that took over some functions from the guilds, but their meeting was limited and far from systematic. Such was the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, founded 1648 (when Lebrun became its director). In 1662, he established a rigid curriculum of compulsory instruction in perspective, anatomy, based upon studies of "nature" (often the pictures of all time masterpieces, including their modern successors, the art schools of today). Much of this body of doctrine was derived from Vasari's *Lives* (see page 54) but carried to extreme extremes. The academy was devoted to method for achieving its technical goals; the results of artists past and present in work categories as drawing, expression, and proportion. The artists received the highest marks, medals to say, then came Raphael and his school, and Poussin; the Flemish, who emphasized color, ranked low,

and the French and Dutch lower still. Subjects were similarly classified, from history (classical or biblical) at the top to still life at the bottom.

It is hardly surprising that this one-judged system produced no significant artists. Even Lebrun, as we have seen, was far more baroque in his practice than in his reputation from his classical theory. The almost rigidity of the official doctrine generated, moreover, a counter-pressure that carried itself as well as Lebrun's authority began to decline. Toward the end of the century, the members of the academy formed two warring factions over the issue of drawing versus color: the conservatives (or "Poussinians") against the "Rubensians." The conservatives defended Poussin's view that drawing, which appealed to the mind, was superior to color, which appealed to emotions; the "Rubensians" advanced color, rather than drawing, as being more true to nature. They also pointed out that drawing, admittedly based on reason, appeals only to the superior, whereas color appeals to everyone. This argument had revolutionary implications, for it proclaimed the layman to be the ultimate

Mrs. Peter Pons, Michelangelo, 1660-65.  
Marble, height 6' 10". The Louvre, Paris





100. Jacques-Philippe LeClerc,  
*A Pilgrimage to Calvary*,  
dated 1701 (top left)



101. Giovanni Battista Piranesi,  
*Salon de la Peinture*,  
Académie de France,  
Rome, 1768 (top right)

judge of artistic values, and challenged the Renaissance notion that painting, as a liberal art, could be appreciated not only by the educated mind. By the late Louis XIV date, in 1715, the hierarchical power of the Academy had been weakened, and the influence of Rubens and the

great Venetians was resurgent. In 1720 the "Watermen" secured a fixed monopoly when Nicolas Watteau was admitted to the Academy on the basis of a *Pilgrimage to Calvary* (top left, p. 100). This gesture indicated an aesthetic change, but did so without recourse to any established

category. But the Russians, now very accommodating, learned that Westerners like the new category of *avant-garde* elegant less as entertainments. The least when lost to show no caricature of the artist's work in general, while mainly show scenes of elegant society, as comedy scenes, or parklike settings. He characteristically intersperses nature and what he is that so that his destination can be made between the two. The *Pigeonier* in Cythere includes yet another element—classical mythology: three young couples have come to Cythere, the idealized love, to pay homage to Venus whose garlanded image appears in the far right. As the excluded day draws to a close, they are about to board the boat, accompanied by waves of nymphs, and be transported back to the everyday world. The scene at sunset with Venus' statue of three couples contemplates art, but Western, by depicting the scene on the genre of depiction, has added a program touch, a sense of the lasting nature of happiness pervades all of Rousseau's pictures, leading them a gentle, smiling, untroubled, if *l'inspiration* has completely left the figures, too, have lost the subject matter of "Rousseau," also and graceful, they move with the studied ease of actors who play their roles so expertly that they look as more than reality ever could (fig. 104). These complete in Europe from an earlier state of "unexcited" elegant transport (fig. 103).

The work of Rousseau (1814-1871) signals a shift in French art and French society. After the death of Louis XVI, the aristocratic administrative machine that

Colbert had created proved to stop. The nobility, too, was attached to the court at Versailles, now more than at royal courtliness. Many of them alone not in return to their ancestral abodes in the provinces, but to live a small in Paris, where they took elegant town houses, known as *châteaux*. Because these city sites were usually cramped and irregular they offered great opportunity for impressive extensions: the layout and shape of the rooms, because the architect's main concern, to give up on the building activity was declining, the field of "design for private living" took on new importance. The taste demanded a style of interior decoration less grandiose and comfortable than Louis's—yet intimate. Such style that would give greater scope to individual fancy was indicated by classical design. French designers created the *Brocade* for "The Style of Louis XVI," as it is often called in France in response to this need. The taste for, well, although it was called as a imitation of results including the *Stucco* movement, which meant the plaster decoration of gardens with irregular shells and stones. Rooms were influenced in materials of the previous, "Stucco" *Brocade* of Baroque and Rococo, and they could be happily united with American and English late Baroque architecture (see page 101). In France, most examples of the style, such as the *Salon de la Princesse* in the *Château de Versailles*, by Catherine Buffard (fig. 105), are smaller in scale and less exuberant than those in Central Europe. The ceiling, however, and decorative subjects in pattern and character are created to dominate

fig. 103. Rousseau, *Boy and Goddess* (c. 1810).  
Engraving, height 17". The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Department of European Paintings, inv. 10)



fig. 105. Étienne-Maurice Falconet,  
*Apollon and the Muses* (1768). The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Department of European Paintings, inv. 10)



important, however trivial. We must therefore remember that in France, Russian painting and sculpture were less closely linked with their architectural setting than in Italy, Austria, and Germany, although they reflect the same taste that produced the Habsburg-architectural characteristics of Russian sculpture as such groups like Chiodini's *Jesus and Nicodemus* (fig. 19), designed to be viewed in close range. Their sculptural treatment is another form of "miniature Baroque," a playful echo of the attitudes of Baroque architecture as conveyed by stone. The monumental commissions for French Baroque sculpture were few, but the splendid statue of Peter the Great, made for Catherine of Russia by Étienne Maurice Falconet (fig. 20), shows that they could acquire something of Baroque grandeur. This impressive example is a splendidly overgrown adaptation of Bernini's *Louis XIV* (see fig. 18).

Most Russian painting is the counterpart of Chiodini's sculpture: intense in tone and deliciously sensual in style and subject. It lacks the emotional depth that distinguishes Western art. The finest painter in this style was Jean-Baptiste Proudhon (c. 1740-1810); his Baroque compositions (57) may have suffered no comparison to them. A typical "Balthusian" (after Watteau, Proudhon) paints with a fluid breadth and spontaneous treatment of Rubens' oil sketches (see fig. 16). His figures move with a flowing grace that also hints, but with Turgot, where work by hand achieved in their transport by dog. Proudhon had the misfortune to realize his own: his pictures became condemned as the Revolution approached. After 1810 he was suspected of poverty, and he died, forgotten, in the bosom of Napoleon. Yet the style he practiced with such modesty had not then the only alternative open to him outside other French painters of his generation. He or might have been very different had he followed the example of his first teacher, Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin (c. 1699-1769), whose style can be called Russian only with reservations. His "Balthusian" had shared the way that a new interest in the French manner as well, and Chardin is the finest painter of all still life and genre in this field. His genre scenes, such as *Dead from the Market* (reproduced 30), show life in a Baroque middle-class domesticity with just feeling for the beauty hidden in the commonplace, and so offer a sense of spirit and order, that we can compare only to Vermeer. But Vermeer's technique is quite unlike any Dutch artist's. Instead of Vermeer, his Frenchwork renders the light-colored surfaces with a creamy touch that is both enervating and seductive power. His still life usually reflect the interior domestic environment, reflecting the "object aspect" of their Dutch predecessors. In the example shown in figure 17, we see only the common objects that belong to a kitchen or marketplace: a saucer, a copper pot, a piece of raw meat, stacked burning coals. Yet how important they seem, made so firmly placed in relation to the rest, making a unity of the artist's—and yes—viewer's! Despite his concern with formal problems, evident in the beautifully balanced design, Chardin treats these objects with a



fig. 17. Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin, *Kitchen Still Life* (c. 1740-50, oil, 10 1/2 x 14 1/2", Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

respect close to reverence. Beyond their shapes, colors, and textures, they are in fact symbols of the life of the common man. In spite of its average matter, Chardin is more able to Louis Le Nôtre and Versailles than to any Dutch painter.

We have not mentioned English architecture since our discussion of the Perpendicular style (see page 14). This middle form of Late Gothic proved remarkably persistent; it absorbed the typical vocabulary of the Italian Renaissance during the sixteenth century, but so late in time, English buildings still retained a "Perpendicular



fig. 18. House of Commons, West Front, Westminster Abbey, London (1570-80)



Fig. 10. The Renaissance Street Facade, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1633-39

Fig. 11. Interior, St. Paul's Cathedral



system—that is to say, their stage of development corresponding to Bramante, or the state of St. Peter in Constantinople, 526, 529). The first architect of the facade, Bramante was, *Ingens domus* (1593, 1595). Although he went to Italy about 1593 and again in 1595, he did not bring back the Italian Baroque but instead a thoroughly-going Palladianism. The Resurrection House he built in Whitehall in London (fig. 12) conforms in every respect to the principles in Palladio's treatise, yet does not copy any specific building by Palladio. Symmetrical and self-sufficient, it is, for its date, more like a Renaissance palace than any other building north of the Alps. In its style, supported by Palladio's authority as a theorist, used as a beacon of classic antiquity in England for over hundred years. This classicism was to wane in some parts of St. Paul's Cathedral (fig. 13), first by Sir Christopher Wren (1633, 1635), the great English architect of the last seventeenth century: note the second-story windows and, especially, the dome, which holds three early enlarged copies of Bramante's Tempietto (see fig. 10a). In St. Paul's is otherwise an up-to-date Baroque design reflecting a thorough acquaintance with contemporary architecture in Italy and France. Sir Christopher came close to being a Baroque convert of the Renaissance avant-garde. An intellectual prodigy, he was skilled in astronomy, then physics, mathematics, and astronomy, and was highly interested by Sir Isaac Newton. His serious interest in architecture did not begin until he was about thirty. However—and this seems to be characteristic of the Baroque as opposed to the Renaissance—there is apparently no direct link between his scientific and artistic ideas. It is hard to determine whether his technological self-knowledge significantly affected the design of his buildings. That was the great London fire of 1666 destroyed the Gothic cathedral of St. Paul and immediately thereafter, Sir Christopher might have remained an amateur architect. But following that catastrophe, he was named to the royal commission for rebuilding the city, and a few years later he began the design for St. Paul's. The situation of *Ingens domus* must reflect his technical knowledge by using a striking point, the fire only step allowed, for Christopher had visited Paris at the time of the dispute over the construction of the Louvre, and he must have asked with Peruzzi, whose design for the last floor is clearly reflected in the facade of St. Paul's. Yet, despite the belief that Paris provided "the best school of architecture in Europe," Sir Christopher was not influenced to the achievement of the Roman Baroque. He must have wanted the new St. Paul's to be the St. Peter's of the Church of England—certain and recognizable, but equally impressive. The dome, like that of St. Peter's, has a diameter as wide as nave and sides combined, but it does not obscure the view of the structure and dominates even our sense view of the facade. The lantern and the upper part of the clock-tower also suggest that he knew St. Agnese in Pienza (see fig. 14a), probably from drawings or engravings. Italian Baroque elements are



ASHMolean, Sir John Vanbrugh,  
Oxford, Oxford, Collection  
Oxford 1700

Ashmolean, Sir John Vanbrugh  
The Ashmolean Museum  
The Ashmolean Museum  
c. 1700 (1700-1710)  
Sir John Vanbrugh's Museum, Oxford

will more conspicuous in Western Palace (Fig. 17.1). It signed by Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), the greatest architect was provided by a great nation in the various Duke of Marlborough. Vanbrugh, like Baroque, had a strong interest in the theater for was a popular playwright. Their knowledge was more clear when to compare the beauty of Baroque, its cultural order and forming ornaments, with the power of St. Peter's in Fig. 17.1.

The development of English architecture and architecture follows the French pattern, except that the High Baroque was not used a dramatic medium. To England never accepted the subsequent Baroque. The power of Baroque was because the object of art, and the second-quarter of the eighteenth century produced a Renaissance more nationalistic than hope John's end, of that time, unique in all Europe (see page 171). The French Baroque (during from France to England), that a decision—though unacknowledged—effect across the Channel and helped, in fact, to bring about the first school of English painting since the Middle Ages that had more than local importance. The subject of these painters, William Verelstede (1664-1734), such as much in the 1720s with a new kind of power, which he described as "modern moral subjects... modern representations of the stage." He wanted to be judged as a writer, not, he said, even though his "artistic" could only "within a short time." These painters, and the engraving, he made from them for popular use, came in art, with artists ensuring a masterpiece to only the situation. Verelstede's "moral plays" (such, for example, the total masterpiece, where they show a country girl who succumbed to the temptations of Londoners, the role of average education, uneducated state who live only for various pleasures, including wealthy women of



lower status for their fortune which they promptly disappeared. In The Duke's Progress (1724), from The Duke's Progress, the young woman is overwhelmed in love and reason. The scene is so full of moral ideas that a full account would take pages, plus constant reference to the all-pervasive question. Yet, however idealized, the pleasure for great appeal. Verelstede's condition some of "Verelstede's" (such, for example, the total masterpiece, where they show a country girl who succumbed to the temptations of Londoners, the role of average education, uneducated state who live only for various pleasures, including wealthy women of

Verelstede remained the only constant source of





Fig. Thomas Gainsborough, *Mrs. Siddons*, 1785, oil, 60" x 48". The National Gallery, London

income for English painters. There, too, the eighteenth-century portraitist's style that differed from the continental traditions that had dominated this field. In general terms, Thomas Gainsborough (1724–1788) largely painting landscapes, but noted as the favorite portraitist of British high society. His early portraits, such as *Robert Andrews and His Wife* (fig. 104), are a lyrical drama that is not always found in his later portraits. Compared to Van Dyck's sitters in *Charles I* (fig. 105) or *Fig. 101*, his creative spirit and his style are naturally, and comparatively, at home in their own. The landscapes, although derived from Weymouth and his school, are a little, perhaps an even achieved (or derived) by the Dutch masters, and the casual grace of the two figures naturally reads Weymouth's style. Later portraits by Gainsborough, such as the very fine one of the great actress, Mrs. Siddons (fig. 106), have other virtues: a cool elegance that translates Van Dyck's aristocratic pose into late-eighteenth-century terms, and a fluid, transitional technique reminiscent of Rubens. Gainsborough painted Mrs. Siddons in conscious opposition to the great rival master, Londoner Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), who a year before had portrayed the same actor in the *Tragic Muse* (fig. 107). Reynolds, the President of the Royal Academy since its founding in 1768, was the pre-



Mrs. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (fig. 107), oil, 60" x 47 1/2", House of Parliament Library and National Gallery, London

figure of the academic approach to art, which he had acquired during two years in Rome. Like his French predecessors, he formulated in his famous *Discourse* what he felt were necessary rules and theories. His views were essentially those of Lefebvre, tempered by British common sense. Again like Lefebvre, he found it difficult to live up to his theories in actual practice. Although he professed fervent painting in the grand style, the real majority of his works are portraits "executed," whenever possible, by allegorical additions or changes like those in his picture of Mrs. Siddons. His style used a good deal more in the Venetian, the Flemish Baroque, and even to Rembrandt than the English Mrs. Siddons than he would concede in theory. The best that can be said of Reynolds is that he almost succeeded in making painting respectable in England as a liberal art; he is almost an honorary doctorate from Italy, but as what was? His theories, which were become standards, inhibited the visual capacity of generations of students in England and America. He was generous enough to give praise to Gainsborough, whom he captured in a few years, and whose immediate school he now have denied.

# THE MODERN WORLD

The era to which we are now belonging has not produced a sense of its own. Perhaps this does not strike us as peculiar at first—we are, after all, still in modernism—but considering how promptly the Renaissance seized a name for itself, we may well ponder the fact that no very concept comparable to the “*salutis aeternae*” has emerged in the twentieth-century scene as yet. In its attempts to make “*revolution*” an ideology, technological and otherwise, it has changed too much to demand the modern world. For we cannot discuss a postmodern revolution without developments, for the modern are important revolutions of two kinds: the industrial revolution, symbolized by the invention of the steam engine, and the political revolution, under the banner of democracy, in America and France. Both revolutions are still going on: industrialization and democracy, as goals, are sought all over the world. Western science and Western political ideology tend, in their wake, all the other products of modern Western civilization, whether food, dress, art, or literature, will soon belong to all mankind. These two revolutions are so closely linked today that we tend to think of them as different aspects of one process, with effects more far-reaching than any since the Scientific Revolution (or, if you will, the French Revolution) of modern times got started about the middle of the eighteenth century, and to make us try to define their relationship, and to place its beginnings, like most postmodernist in action. Both are founded on the idea of

progress, and contained an emotional affluence that once was reserved for religion, but whereas progress is certain during the past two centuries has been uncertain and perhaps, even hardly made this sense for man's pursuit of happiness, however we choose to define it.

There, then, is the perfect foundation to our era. This today, having cast off the framework of traditional authority with freedom and movement has before us an era with a future both brightening and darkening. In a world where all values may be questioned, man searches constantly for his own identity, and for the meaning of human existence, individual and collective. His search, while about himself is now vastly greater, but this has not prevented him to be had hope. Modern civilization thus looks the inheritance of the past; it is no longer possible by ready identification periods, nor are there clear period styles to be discerned as yet or in any other form of religious, formal, or that a continuity of another kind, that of movement and counter-movement. Spreading the wings, these “*new*” religious, ethnic, and democratic foundations, never dominant anywhere for long, this complex or merge with each other in endlessly shifting patterns. Hence our account of modern art will be by movement rather than by countries. Only in this way can we hope to do justice to the fact that modern art, all regional differences notwithstanding, is essentially a modern art.

## I. Neoclassicism and Romanticism

The history of the two movements, as we look with us the stages of our thought, century, from about 1750 to 1850. Long regarded as opposites, the two were today so interdependent that we should prefer a single name for both, if we could find a suitable one. (“*Romantic Classicism*” has not even made acceptance.) The difficulty is that the two terms are oppositely matched: the “*synthesized*” and “*synthesis*.” Neoclassicism is a new word; of classical antiquity, more consistent than earlier classicism, while Romanticism refers not to a specific style but to an attitude of mind that may reveal itself in any number of ways. Romanticism, therefore, is a far broader concept

and correspondingly harder to define. The word derives from the last eighteenth century usage for medieval ideas of antiquarianism such as the legends of King Arthur or the study of old called “*romances*” because they were written in a Romance language, not in Latin. But this reference to the long forgotten “*Corinthian*” past was symptomatic of a general revolution against the established social order and established religion—against established values of any sort: that spring from a craving for emotional excitement. Almost any experience would do, either imaginary, provided it was sufficiently intense. The declared aim of the Romantics, however, was to free from the artificial



Mr. Lord Brougham  
and William Gower  
Chiswick House,  
near London, August 1811

leaving the way to a "nature to nature"—nature the unshaped, wild and ever-changing, against the culture and picturesque. There came to behavior "naturally," giving his impulse free rein, and would disappear and his happiness would be perfect. In the matter of nature, the Romantic "romantic liberty, power, love, violence, the Greeks, the Middle Ages, or anything that aroused his response while actually he was engaged in nature as an end in itself. In its essence, this attitude could be expressed only through direct action, not through works of art. It has maintained some of the ardor—and when—note of nature's (Nature, then, can be a white-hot Romantic), for the creation of a work of art demands some detachment and selflessness. What Wordsworth, the great Romantic poet, said of poetry—that it is "emotion collected in tranquillity"—applies also to the Romantic. To cast his feeling-experiences into permanent form, the Romantic artist needs a style. But even so, in its search against the old style, the pursuit for the established style of his time, it must come from some phase of the past to which he feels linked by "classical affinity" (another Romantic concept: Romanticism thus leaves the novel, but of our style, but of a potentially unlimited number of styles. Romantic, in fact—the wilderness and sublimity of Wordsworth's imagination itself). Again another principle: the "style" of Romanticism is art rules, in a degree, in literature and music. Romanticism, even in the context, is no more than an aspect of Romanticism. We have put it in the title of the present chapter: only because, and about this, it found larger than the other Romantic revivals.

Given the individualistic nature of Romanticism, we might expect the range of artistic styles to be wider in painting, the most personal and private of the visual arts,

and least tied to architecture, the most communal and public. Yet the opposite is true. Painters and sculptors were unable to abandon Romantic habits of representation, and more rarely moved toward art, or placed art before the domestic. Architects were less subject to this limitation, and the novel style persisted longer in architecture than in the other arts. Let us then begin our survey with architecture, even though we shall have to omit some of the less significant architectural revivals.

England was the birthplace of Romanticism. The first sign of this attitude was the Palladian revival in the 1750s, sponsored by a wealthy amateur, Lord Burlington (Chiswick House (fig. 16) is a adaptation from the Palladian (see fig. 17)). It is compact, simple, and genteel—the antithesis of the Baroque pomp of Stourhead Palace. How distinguished this style from earlier classicism is how its external appearance (the Palladianism) seemed of merely mimicking the superior authority of the ancients, it claimed to satisfy the demands of reason, and thus to be more "natural" than the Baroque. This rationalism explains the subtle restraint, suppressed look of Chiswick House—the surfaces are flat and unadorned, the windows in straight, the simple portico just set two steps from the threshold, but of the structure. Mounting a villa to be set in a garden, formal garden, like the Villa at Versailles (see fig. 18)? Indeed not, Lord Burlington and his circle maintained, that would be unnatural, hence contrary to reason. So they insisted what became known as the new Europe as "the English landscape garden." Carefully planned to look unplanned, with winding paths, irregularly spaced clumps of trees, and little lakes and rivers instead of symmetrical basins and canals, the "unplanned" garden must seem as if it branched, as if of course and variety, as nature itself.



Catherine Ho, *Young Chinese Girl, Captain at the Battle of Hong Kong* 1841.  
Canvas, 8' 10" x 14' 0". Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.

colleagues in Japan. The study focuses on the role of the Japanese manager in the workplace and the impact of the Japanese manager on the Japanese employee. The study is based on a sample of 100 Japanese managers and 100 Japanese employees. The study finds that the Japanese manager plays a significant role in the workplace and has a positive impact on the Japanese employee. The study also finds that the Japanese manager is responsible for the Japanese employee's performance and that the Japanese employee is motivated by the Japanese manager's leadership. The study concludes that the Japanese manager is a key figure in the Japanese workplace and that the Japanese employee's performance is directly related to the Japanese manager's leadership.



Colombian, Francisco Moreno, The Boy, 1911.  
Courtesy of the Hispanic Society



A view of a residential street in the city of San Francisco, California. The street is lined with trees and houses, and a car is parked on the side.





and crafts. Highly illustrated books about the Acropolis at Athens, the temples at Paestum, and the ruins at Pompeii and Herculaneum were published in England and France; antiquaries caught everyone's imagination. From this came a new style of interior decoration, seen at its finest in the works of the Englishman, Robert Adam's interiors, such as the front drawing room at Fonthill House (fig. 114). Adapted from Roman interior remains (especially Pompeii) (fig. 102), it reflects the affinity of British interests but with characteristically Neoclassical concerns for plane surfaces, symmetry, and geometric patterns. Meanwhile, the Hellenism launched by Lord Burlington had spread overseas to the American Colonies, where it became known as the Georgian style; an example of great distinction is Thomas Jefferson's house,

Monticello (fig. 115). In design, married to Greek with modern ideas, it marks the beginning of Neoclassicism; the Ionic column plan and the numerous windows and the use of the Doric order shows its later date. Influence still preferred the Roman Doric, although the last eighteenth century came to favor the heavier and more austere Greek Doric. This "Greek revival" phase of Neoclassicism had been pioneered in England; one small note: it was quickly taken up everywhere, since it was believed to embody more of the "basic simplicity and calm grandeur" of classic Greece than did the later, less "manicured" orders. Greek Doric was also the first Neoclassical order, hence particularly difficult to adapt to modern taste even when combined with Roman or Renaissance elements. Only rarely could Greek Doric

114—fig. 114, Thomas Jefferson,  
Monticello, Charlottesville,  
Virginia, 1769-1807 (partially)



115—fig. 115, Robert Adam,  
The Brighthelm House,  
Bath, 1768-69





Fig. 186. House of Commons, with  
Newcastle House and others,  
Strawberry Hill,  
Twickenham 1791-97

House of Commons, Strawberry Hill

House of Commons, Strawberry Hill  
The House of Commons,  
Twickenham 1791-97

architecture Britain is almost devoid for Neoclassical structure: such is seen in the Strawberry Hill in Berlin (fig. 186), demonstrating the neoclassical style.

While the classical revival towards 1790 and after was becoming increasingly "archaeological," the Gothic revival also got under way, again with the English in the lead. Gothic architecture had never wholly disappeared in England—for special purposes, Gothic forms were used on occasion even by the Christopher Wren and Sir John Vanbrugh, but there were survivals of remnants of a forgotten tradition. The cathedral revival, by contrast, was linked with the cult of the picturesque, and with the vogue for medieval rural pseudo-medievalism common in this early Romantic Britain, in the third quarter of the century, enlarged and "perfected" by country houses, Strawberry Hill (fig. 186, 187). Despite its stated irregularity, the Strawberry House has many Neoclassical features that remind us strongly of Robert Adam's country (fig. 187): the interior looks spaced as if decorated with two-page folios. The playfulness, as fine of design, gives Strawberry Hill its special charm. Gothic here is called "Gothic" style, it appears because it is strange, but for that very reason it must be "Gothicized." The style is Neoclassical, as the Chinese motifs that crop up in the house illustrate. The Romantic imagination saw Gothic and its variations (and in touch the same light, as John Nash's Royal Pavilion at Brighton (fig. 188) with Chinese motifs half a century later). The style of the "Gothic Revival" is a conscious revival of the "Gothic Revival" (fig. 187), was then known as Gothic Revival. It is equally characteristic of Neoclassicism, however, that by the time the Gothic was a fully acceptable alternative to the Greek revival, as a style for major churches, Benjamin Lambton (1784-1850) as Anglo-Architect also became, under influence, the most influential architect of "Gothic Revival" Neoclassicism, interested in design in such style for the Cathedral of the Holy Spirit in the Neoclassical era was chosen, but it might well have been the Gothic. The exterior of the present building (fig. 189) has walls that resemble Scott's Portland, a stone of more recent design, a simple front, and half window of the Gothic Revival.



Romantic scenery (the full-scale scenes were not his world). For more dramatization in the interior (fig. 10), then inspired by the distant and vaulted spaces of Arabian Rome, especially the Hagia Sophia (see fig. 6.1). Later the revolution was not interested in archaeological correctness. The



Fig. 10. Exterior, Catholic Cathedral, Baltimore, Maryland, begun 1806



Fig. 11. Interior, Catholic Cathedral, Baltimore

"monumentality" of Roman structures has been suppressed, moldings, profiles, and columns are no more than large supports that do not disturb the continuous, abstract surfaces. In the Romantic interpretation, the spatial qualities of ancient architecture become vast, pure, timeless. The strongly weightless interior promotes almost that continuation of classic form and Gothic lightness first postulated by Scamozzi. It also denies the low and imaginative look of the mature Neoclassic style, when handled by a gifted architect. That the Gothic stage (fig. 4.1) has been chosen, the answer might have been more striking, but the interior probably has no response. Like most Romantic architects working the bottom, Latrobe viewed Gothic churches "from the inside in"—no eye witness, looking structures offered against the sky—but recorded the spatial fantasy of Roman interiors. Neo-Gothic interiors are usually disappointing when contrasted against the heat of the Neoclassic.

After 1810, the choice between the classic and Gothic modes was more often decided in favor of Gothic. Nationalist sentiment, strengthened in the Napoleonic wars, became an important factor, for England, France, and Germany each tended to think that Gothic expressed its particular national genius. Victor Hugo, notably, like Ruskin, also regarded Gothic as superior for cultural or religious transmission to the "barbaric" and "Gothic" style. Additional considerations were proposed in the design by Sir Charles Barry and A. Welby Pugin for the House of Parliament in London, the largest monument of the Gothic movement there. As a device of a vast and complex governmental apparatus, but at the same time as a focus of patriotic feeling, it presents a curious mixture: republican symmetry governs the main body of the structure, and "picturesque" irregularity its alternate. Meanwhile the options alternatives were continually increased for architects by other events. When, by mid-century, the Renaissance, and then the Baroque, returned to favor, the second movement had gone full circle. Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Baroque replaced the Neoclassic. This final phase of Romantic

Fig. 12. Exterior, Catholic Cathedral, Baltimore





The New Commons Chamber  
and the House of Lords,  
the Houses of Parliament,  
London, begun 1840.



The Victoria and Albert Museum,  
The Palace, Bonn, 1859-69.

architectural, which dominated the scene 1840-70, and inspired through copies, is epitomized in the Paris Exposition 1855-56, then designed by Charles Garnier (1818-82). The New Museum gallery derives more from the profusion of columns and carvings than from its architectural vocabulary: the paired columns of the facade, "opened" from the Grand Fronton of the Louvre two 1/2 ft apart, are continued with a smaller order, in a fashion suggested by Michelangelo (see fig. 192). Only the front corner of the Grand Salon (see fig. 193) recalls the High Empire. The whole building looks "overlaid," in historicist language or better as to be discerning, it reflects the taste of the bourgeoisie of the industrial revolution, newly rich and powerful, who saw themselves as the heirs of the old aristocracy and thus found the pseudo-classic style

more appealing than classical Greek. The "architecture of contemporary display" was discarded, even more than the previous revival styles, from the practical demands of the industrial age—the factories, warehouses, stores, and city apartments that formed the bulk of building construction. There, in the world of commercial architecture, we find what about 1850 the greatest introduction of new materials and techniques that were to have a profound effect on architectural style in the end of the century. The most important success, never before used as an actual building material, furnished a few decades of its first appearance, iron columns and cast-iron feet became the standard means of supporting the vaults and the large spans required by railroad stations, exhibition halls, and public libraries. A famous early example



Fig. 2. Grand staircase, *for Opéra, Paris*



Fig. 3. Henri Labrousse, reading books, *Winkelhofen Hotel-Casino, Paris*. (Fig. 3)

is the Winkelhofen *for Casino* in Paris, by Henri Labrousse (also Fig. 3): in the reading room a row of antique columns supports two-level book cases on antique arches (Fig. 4). Labrousse shows us how this type solution was arrived, and to face the difficulty of relating it to the existing Renaissance surroundings of his building.

If his solution does not fully integrate the two spaces, it is at least less than correct. The iron supports, shaped like Corinthian columns, are a disaster with new materials; their collective effect is that of a spectacular screen, hiding their structural importance. To make them disappear, Labrousse has placed them on tall pedestals or solid masses, instead of directly on the floor. Architecturally, the writer presented greater difficulty, since there was no way to make them look as powerful as their masonry ancestors. Now Labrousse has gone to the other extreme, performing them with too much as if they were pure ornaments. This problem too—an apparently technical—one of support iron members have beautiful and delicate quality (that fails it, indirectly, to the Gothic model). Later supported by structural cast-iron ferrocement, it is a point and particularly appealing chapter in the history of Romantic architecture.

In Romantic painting, as we mentioned previously, the arrival of past styles had a far narrower scope than in architecture. Nevertheless, painting remains the greatest creative achievement of Romanticism in the visual arts, less dependent than architecture or sculpture on public approval, it held a correspondingly greater appeal for the introduction of the Romantic artist; moreover, it could better accommodate the themes and ideas of Romantic literature. Romantic painting was not essentially descriptive; the literature paintings were more because a more important source of inspiration for painters than ever before, and provided them with a new range of subjects, situations, and attitudes. Romantic poets, it turns, often saw nature with a painter's eye. Many had a strong interest in art criticism and theory; some, notably Goethe and Victor Hugo, were capable designers; and Blake cast his vision in both painterly and literary forms. Within the Romantic movement, art and literature have a complex, subtle, and by no means uneventful relationship.

Romantic painting, like architecture, began a reaction, in the name of nature and nature, against Baroque "artificiality." The first to formulate this view was Johann Winckelmann, the German art historian and theorist who produced the famous phrase about the "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" of Greek art in his *Thoughts on the History of Great Works*... published 1764. His ideas deeply impressed two painters then living in Rome, the German Anselm Kuhn and the German artist Johann Friedrich Schlegel, as well as the French painter Jacques-Louis David. All three had strong antiquarian leanings but otherwise limited powers—which may be why they accepted Winckelmann's doctrine so readily; their work is less important than their effect as teachers and propagators of the "Winckelmann program," during the 1780s and 90s. To these artists, a return to the classical meant the style and "academic" theory of France, combined with the maximum of architecturally shaped detail newly gleaned from ancient sculpture and the excavations of Pompeii, during the first years



Left: 1791, Benjamin West,  
*The Death of General Wolfe*,  
 1771, oil, 121 x 162,  
 National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Below: 1810, John Benjamin Crowe,  
*After Thomas Nelson*,  
 with permission of the National  
 Trust, London,  
 Edinburgh Museum

whose chief influence was Benjamin West (1738-1820), who arrived in Rome from Pennsylvania in 1766 and caused a sensation, more so American painters had appeared in Europe before. He insisted on the role of landscape in his battle scenes, he especially exclaimed, "this was a *Michigan* matter!" He also quickly absorbed the lessons of Hagedorn's theories; when he visited London a few years later, he was in command of the most up-to-date style, and became first a founder-member of the Royal Academy, then, after the Stuart Republic, its president. His career was thus European rather than American. But he always took pride in his New-World background, and it enabled him to make a contribution to the growth of the Romantic movement characterized again by *Death of General Wolfe* (fig. 10).

Scottish-born, accompanying the siege of Quebec during the French and Indian War, had arrived considerably later in London. When West, among others, decided to represent this scene, was immediately open to him: he could give a factual account with the maximum of historic accuracy, or he could use "the grand manner," French's chief conception of history painting two years after West's in classical terms. But West knew a European follower of Hagedorn and Hagedorn, he would surely have chosen the same scene, however, to know the American friends of the scene are well for that. He changed the two approaches: his figures were contemporary dress, and the composition before placed the scene in the New World for those unfamiliar with the subject, yet all the attitudes and expressions were "classic." The composition, in fact, was not at all traditional, there, the formation was depicted dramatically by again dramatic lighting. West thus endowed the death of a soldier



solitary hero back with the classical notion of "public and serious human actions," as defined by academic theory, and with the trappings of a real event. He created an image that represented a phenomenon known to modern times: the cult of emotional allegiance from religion to nationalism. He reminds his picture that emotion can occur during the nineteenth century.



Fig. 1. *Whores and the Shark*, 1870-1871, William Verelstede, Boston.



Fig. 2. *Sea Struck in Storm*, 1870-1871, John Singleton Cooper, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

Ward's gifted companion, John Singleton Cooper of Boston's mid-1840s second in London just two years before the American Revolution, to New England's outstanding portrait painter, he had adapted the formulas of the British portrait tradition to the cultural climate of his hometown. Like Thomas Archer (Fig. 3) makes an interesting comparison with Constable's *Mrs. Siddons* (see Fig. 10). The framework is much the same under the canvas, but Constable's portrait captures intimate features and delicately suggests, while Cooper's down-to-earth observations of characterizations and earthly even detail seem more stark than Cooper's. In

Europe, Cooper turned to history painting in the manner of Ward, then having his provincial clients, more than capable in a work of art, and also a model of Romantic imagery, in his *Whores and the Shark* (Fig. 1). Ward, attracted to a stark white canvas in Venetian fashion, had been dramatically moved, made later to assume toward Cooper's depiction of a person's experience. Perhaps he thought that only a person newly arrived from America would do full justice to the exotic flavor of the incident. Cooper, in fact, must have been fascinated by the task of translating the more local potential terms. Following Ward's example, he made every detail as authentic as possible (that the Negro has the purpose of the Indian in *The Death of General Wolfe*) and utilized all the emotional resources of European painting to invite the spectator's participation. The ship becomes a dramatic embodiment of evil, the man with the least looks even, like an *Antony and Cleopatra* fighting scene, and the main point—Siddons's sympathy between the forces of doom and salvation. Cooper may also have recalled representations of Israel and the White, these include the elements of his scene although the culture is covered like prophetic in almost mythical into the jaws of the sea monster. This changing of a person's advantage with the emotional and symbolic qualities of myth is highly characteristic of Romanticism.

The same process results in John Singleton Cooper's first by the English painter George Stubbs (Fig. 4), who painted portraits of two horses—and sometimes their owners—for a living. In a visit to North Africa, he had seen a horse killed by a lion (the

Fig. 3. *Mrs. Siddons*, 1840, The English painter, George Stubbs, 1840-1841, George Stubbs, London.





Left: Don Quixote Rises. The dream of Don Quixote by Juan Benavent. (Fig. 109). Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Lening I. Kuznetsov Collection)

Below: Don Quixote Rises. The dream of Don Quixote by Juan Benavent. (Fig. 110). Museum of Modern Art, New York



experience focused his imagination, and from it he developed a new type of artistic picture full of Romantic feeling for the grandeur and violence of nature. What has happened in this matter, "not coincidentally," yet the artist identifies himself emotionally with the storm, whose pure white-hot contrasts he dramatically—and symbolically—with the darker tones of the lion's domain. Thunderclouds being across the sky swallow the moon of death, the pure form, heightened also by the approaching storm, seems doubly determined against these forces of darkness. We respond to the form as to a lion fighting his victim—with mixed fascination and horror.

But the Romantic quest for everything experience did not pursue only physical violence. It venturist lead to the dark corners of the mind, as in the *Apocalypse* (Fig. 107) by John Henry Fuseli (1763-1803). This Romantic painter—originally named Fuseli—had an extraordinary impact on his time, more perhaps because of his adventures and fiery personality than the merits of his work. Ordered a student at Trinity, he had left the school by 1784, and given a lecture in death of his dream, encouraged by Reynolds, he spent the years in Rome. There he encountered Gavin Hamilton, but Fuseli found the eyes on Michelangelo and the Marston, not on Fuseli and the antique. A German acquaintance of those years described him as "ravenous in everything—Shakespeare's power."<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare and Michelangelo were indeed his main guides: he even resided in St. Peter's Chapel with Michelangelo's *Spas* transformed into

Shakespeare's *Antony*, where the "hellish world" he the violence dominated by "darkness" and "lightning." Remembrance in the *Apocalypse* as to the world of the sleeping woman (see Marston) that Michelangelo's *Spas* (see Marston), the glowing devil and the lightning (see Marston) that the storm (see Marston) of medieval violence. The Romantic lighting, on the other hand, remains as a symbol of the storm (Fig. 107).

Later, in London, Fuseli befriended the portraitist William Blake (1757-1829), whose personality was even stronger than his art. A mystic and visionary, Blake produced and painted his own books of poems with magnificent and hand-colored illustrations. Though he never left England, he received a large quantity of Michelangelo's and Marston's works from engravings, and through the influence of Fuseli, he also received a tremendous influence for the Middle Ages, and even closer than any other Romantic artist to writing pre-Romantic forms. His books were meant to be the successors of Shakespeare's *Antony*. There elements are all present in Blake's remarkable image of the storm of *Spas* (Fig. 110). The monster Spas, suddenly transformed and thrust into a state of light, is derived from Marston's source (see Fig. 109), while the symbolic composition comes from medieval representa-



ness of the land as Architect of the Universe. With these grounds, we would repeat the Ancient of Days to signify Almighty God. But in Blake's creative mythology, he stands rather for the power of reason, which the poet regarded as ultimately destructive, since it stifles vision and inspiration. To Blake, the "inner eye" was all-important. In this we need to observe the visible world accurately.

It would be hard to imagine a greater contrast than that between the Ancient of Days and the Landscape (fig. 10) by Blake's other contemporary, Alexander Cooke (c. 1775-182). Not both artists, in opposite ways,



above: 10. Alexander Cooke,  
Landscape. Study in New Method of  
Arranging the Elements in Drawing  
Darker Compositions of Landscape.  
c. 1780-85. Acquired  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Haggen-Pond, 1926).

right: 11. John Constable,  
Dedham Vale.  
(c. 1802, oil study, no. 127,  
City Art Gallery, Manchester)



were mutually concerned with inspiration. Cooke lay first of the idyllic landscapes patterned after Claude Lorraine which even then so abstract Artists using him as a model, he felt, could produce only stereotyped variations on an established theme. The direct study of nature (important though it must) could not be the true starting point, for it did not supply the imagination, (poets) saying that for Cooke constituted the source of landscape painting. In a manner, Cooke developed what he called "a new method of" arranging the elements in drawing original compositions of landscape" which he published, with illustrations such as figure 10, shortly before his death. What was this method? Little more do I know, Cooke said, but observed that we often could stimulate his imagination by trying to find sympathetic shapes in the walls or old walls. Why not produce such shapes effects or groups, to be used in the same way? Crumple a sheet of paper, smooth it often, while thinking generally of landscape. Now it will ink, using an ink somewhat coarse or granular (see illustration) is such as "ink that landscape" (1) With this more pure imagination, representational elements may be picked out in the composition of this, and then substituted into a finished picture. The important difference between the two methods is that Cooke's idea was not a work of nature but a work of art—even though only halfhearted, they show, if nothing else, a highly individual graphic rhythm. Needless to say, the Cooke method has far-reaching implications, theoretical as well as practical.



Fig. 1 John Constable  
Rain, Steam, and Great Bridge  
1825 (oil on canvas)  
The Art Institute of Chicago

but there could hardly have been questioned by his contemporaries, if they thought Words was mad, this regarded the "blue master" as ridiculous. Nevertheless, the "Madness" was not imaginary, its memory kept alive partly by its very notoriety. The two great masters of Romantic landscape in England, John Constable and William Turner, both profited from it, although their diffusion in contemporary other way.

John Constable (1798-1837) admired both Wordsworth and Claude Lorraine, yet he consciously opposed all flights of fancy. Landscape painting, he believed, must be based on observable facts: it should attempt "authentically a pure apprehension of natural effect." All of his pictures show familiar views of the English countryside. Although he painted the final version in his studio, he prepared them by making sketches of sketches on oil cloth. These were not the first such studies, but unlike his predecessors, he was more concerned with the momentary qualities—conditions of sky, light, and atmosphere—than with the concrete details of the scene. Often, as in *Hamstead Heath* (Fig. 194), the land seems so so much that it is the ever-changing drama of wind, sunlight, and clouds. The sky, in this, was "the key note, the standard note, and the chief organ of sentiment"; he studied it with a meteorologist's precision, the latter to grasp its relationships as a source of those sweeping forces so dear to the Romantic view of nature. In endeavoring to record these fleeting effects, he utilized as a pictorial technique as broad, free, and personal as that of Claude's "sketches," even though his point of departure was the exact opposite. The late work compositions of Constable's final years retain more and more of the

quality of his oil sketches; in *Rain, Steam, and Great Bridge* (Fig. 195), the earth and sky seem both to have become organs of sentiment, pulsating with the artist's poetic sensibility. His contemporary, William Turner (1775-1851), had completely arrived at a style whose Constable, despite being too young, described as "very strong, painted with coarse brush." Turner began as a watercolorist, the use of translucent tints on white paper may help to explain his preoccupation with colored light. Like Constable, he made copious studies from nature (though not in oils), but the memory he retained enriched the Romantic taste for the Picturesque and the Sublime—mountains, the sea, or the linked with human events, as his late work pictures he often changed these views so freely that they became quite unrecognizable. Many of his landscapes are linked with literary themes, and bear such titles as *The Rainwater of London at Greenwich*, *Shedding Country the Alps*, or *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Italy. When they were exhibited, Turner would add appropriate quotations from ancient or modern authors to the sketches, or he would make up some from himself and state to be "using" his own unpublished poem, "Follower of Hope." For these reasons and the aspects of history painting as defined by Pausanias, the other famous English "colorist and various human actions," for the tiny figures, but in the swirling violence of nature, suggest the ultimate defeat of all endeavor—"the fallacy of hope." The close link between the two is one of Turner's most spectacular visions, and illustrates how he translated his literary sources into "visual images." First entitled *Shower of Flowers Overhead* the *Dead and Dying—Typhoon Coming On*, the painting comprises several levels of

right: *San Carlos* Storm-Battered  
Off Mouth of the Amazon,  
May 28, 1891.  
National Maritime



below: *San Carlos* Storm-Battered  
Off Mouth of the Amazon,  
May 28, 1891.  
The Metropolitan Museum  
of Art, New York  
(Marine R. Joseph Fund, 1922)



steering. Is he to die, in part, with a specific incident that Turner had recently read about: when an optimistic trader set out in slave ships, the captain imprisoned his human cargo because he was insured against the loss of slaves at sea, but not his slaves. Turner also thought of a reference passage from the *Odyssey*, by the eighteenth-century poet James Thomson, that describes how storms follow a deathship during a typhoon, "tossed to the west of steering wheels, or rudd steers, and death." The role of the painter compels the viewer's action and the response—that is what relief? Are the dead and dying slaves being sent into the sea against the threat of the storm (perhaps to lighten the ship)? Is the typhoon

nature's retribution for the captain's greed and cruelty? Of the many storms at sea that Turner painted, none has quite this apocalyptic quality. It seems somewhat remarkable to suggest everything, not merely the "guilty" slave but the sea itself with its currents of human and wildly homeless feeling too. While we will feel the force of Turner's imagination more at sea—perhaps with a fringe of path, enjoy the storm more for its own sake, rather than as a vehicle of the enormous emotions the artist meant to evoke. Even in terms of the colors, he himself acknowledged, Turner writes us as "a creature of the bottom," full even by his own admission, the most have been placed by critics from Berlin, that protagonists of the most superiority of Childe's work, who saw in *The Slave Ship*, which he owned, "the sea, the beautiful, and the motherland"—all qualities that would Turner above other landscape painters. Still, Turner may have come to realize if his latest storm had to be painted before on oil canvases, from after finishing *The Slave Ship*, he could have used in his study of Turner's *Color Theory*, recently translated into English, that passage has a "gay, softly smiling character," while (repeatedly suggest "warrior and goddess." Would the *Slave Ship* across these emotions in a viewer who did not know its title?

In Germany, as in England, landscape was the finest achievement of Romantic painting, and the underlying ideas, too, were often strikingly similar. When Casper David Friedrich (1795–1840), German landscape painter, painted *The Wreck of the Ship* (fig. 100), did he perhaps know of Turner's "Wreck of the Ship," or did the title come to him because he shared Turner's attitude toward human fate? He is no more precise instance, the picture was inspired by the

account of a specific event which the artist intended with symbolic significance: the cost of an ill-fated expedition in the Berlin forest, then rendered less "neutral" would have depicted the irrevocably neutral event, created in the awareness of the artist—perhaps the subject would have been too stark for him. But Friedrich was attracted by this instability; he too (re)created the painting idea of us as a kind of "negative" monument to man's defeat, built by nature herself. Infinitely lonely, it is a haunting reflection of the artist's own melancholy. There is no trace of stated theme—the very air seems frozen—no any subjective handwriting; we look right through the pigment-covered surface at a reality that seems created without the painter's intervention. This technique, impersonal and unobtrusive, is peculiar to German Romantic painting: it stems from the early Netherlandish—Gothic, Flemish, and Dutch—but the Germans, whose tradition of Northern painting was weak, adopted it more wholeheartedly than the English or the French; about them, German painters reflected what they regarded as their native pictorial heritage: the "national" painters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The "Gothic Revival," however, remained intent to adopt matter and technique; the pioneering painters of the city German movement instead maintained the Netherlandish emphasis on form at the expense of color. Although in Friedrich's hands this technique achieved extraordinary effects, it was a handicap for most of his countrymen, who lacked his compelling imagination. Nevertheless German Romantic painting partially inspired the English Pre-

Raphaelite painters, about 1830, and in further influence on American art. *The Wanderers in the Museum* (fig. 10) by George Catlin (fig. 11) is a telling example. In the absence of the vast, wide open spaces, two rugged glacial mountains in the misty sunlight, a black line sketched in the power of their jagged canyons. They seemed as if too much Romantic self-consciousness were into the western expansion of the United States.

We must now catch up with events in France. There, the leaders of the Enlightenment, who were the intellectual forefathers of the Revolution, strongly favored the anti-Romantic trend in painting. This school, at first a matter of content rather than style, accounts for the sudden turn, about 1780, of Jean-Baptiste Greuze (very, cheap; *The Village Bride* fig. 12), like his other pictures of those years, to a scene of lower-class family life. When *Chenopodium* is from earlier genre paintings (compare fig. 14), *Chenopodium* got to be criticized, stage-like characters, borrowed from the "dramatic" tradition of Hogarth (see fig. 14). But Greuze has neither wit nor sense. His personal version illustrates the social group of these laquers: Romanticism, that the genre, in contrast to the classical movement, are full of "natural" virtue and human sentiment. (Everything is intended to remind us of this, from the decorative patterns and expressions of the genre to the studied ideal, such as, the two with her cheeks in the foreground—see, she has left the breast and the stone on a stone, like the bride who is about to leave her "brood" through the night. *The Village Bride* was criticized as a masterpiece, and the



10. Jean-Baptiste Greuze,  
*The Village Bride*, 1780.  
Oil on canvas, Paris.

189. Jacques-Louis David  
The Death of Socrates  
(1787, oil, 178")

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Metals Fund, 1921)



190. Jacques-Louis David: The Death of Socrates (1787, oil, 178"). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

brilliant points came from Delacroix, the disciple of Roussou and Delacroix. None of last was a painter with a social mission who appealed to the beholder's moral sense instead of merely giving him pleasure, like the Romantic artists of the 1830s. Delacroix, in the first half of the 1830s, composed the narrative of David's picture as "a noble and serious human action" in David's name. He recalled his vision later on, when a far more gifted and vigorous "Neo-Romantic" appeared on the scene—Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825). A disciple of Vien, David had developed his Neoclassical style in Rome during the years 1785–89. In the Death of Socrates (fig. 189, 1787), he wrote down "Platonisme" (that Platonism himself) composed by David, the composition reflects the relief, parallel to the picture plane, and the figures are as solid as real or immovable as statues. Yet David has added one unexpected element: the lighting, sharply focused and creating greater shadows, is derived from Caravaggio, and so is the firmly realistic detail (note the hands and feet, the luminous horizontals of the stone surface). In consequence, the picture has a quality of life rather proceeding to an immediate statement of the very ideal itself. The very hardness of the design suggests that its creator was passionately engaged in the issue of his age, which he well so perceived. However, about to draw the picture step by step, David has not only an example of Augustus Wilson, but also as the founder of the "salon of Socrates," a Christian figure (there are twelve disciples in the scene). David took an active part in the French Revolution, and the same year he had a presence over the artistic affairs of the nation comparable only to Lavoisier's scientific failure. During the time he painted his greatest picture, The Death of Socrates (fig. 189, 1787), David's long mission has made a masterpiece

been a subject that would have embarrassed any lesser great" for Murat, one of the political leaders of the revolution, had been murdered in his bedchamber. A particularly sensitive anecdote seemed to do his papers well there, with a woman found sitting at his desk. One day a young woman named Charlotte Corday came in with a prisoner's petition, and plunged a knife into the chest while he read it. David has composed the scene with a stark directness that is truly awe-inspiring in this context, which was planned as a public monument to the martyred hero, devalued image and historical accuracy precisely. Because Charlotte is clothed like a noble lady, the artist—the scene that is *The Death of Marat*—has drawn again on the Enlightenment tradition of religious art. It is no accident that his Murat remains as an example of David's *St. Jacques* (see fig. 14).

After the fall of Robespierre, David was imprisoned for some months in the Luxembourg Palace, and from his cell window painted his first and only landscape (fig. 15). The view of the park was predominantly by chance, and the picture that has an astonishingly modern casual look. That he chose to paint it at all, instead of shying away like most Neoclassic figure composers, shows David's deep commitment to direct visual experience. Unconcerned for once by theory, he created a landscape of freedom, spatial immediacy that only Courbet could have rivaled.

When David met Napoleon a few years later, he became an ardent Bonapartist and painted several large pictures glorifying the emperor. But a favorite pupil, Anne-Louis Giroix (c. 1775–1835), partially adopted David as the chief painter of the Napoleonic myth. Giroix's first portrait of the great general shows him leading his troops at the Battle of Austerlitz in northern Italy (fig. 16). Painted in 1805, soon after the series of victories that gave the French the last word, it carries Napoleon's image as an invincible "man of destiny," with a Romantic enthusiasm David could never match. Much as Giro respected his master's theories, his emotional nature impelled him toward the color and drama of the Romantic. What he accomplished in this case seems especially remarkable: if we consider the circumstances, recounted by an eyewitness: "Napoleon, now impatient to go, was made to wait by his wife, who held him firmly on her lap. David went into exile after the empire collapsed and carried his people over to Paris, urging him to return to Neoclassic painting. But Giro was torn between his personal feelings and those academic principles. He never believed David's authority, and ended by rejecting it."

The mantle of David finally descended upon another pupil, Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780–1867). True to his share in the political passion of the Revolution, Ingres never was an enthusiastic Bonapartist, in that he tried to Italy and remained for eighteen years. Only when he returned did he become the high priest of the French tradition, defending it from the onslaughts of younger artists. What had been a revolutionary myth only half a



15. Jean-Louis Giroix, *View of the Luxembourg Garden* (c. 1801, 1907, The Louvre, Paris)



16. Anne-Louis Giroix, *Napoleon as Consul* (c. 1805, 1907, The Louvre, Paris)

century before, now completed its original legend, reflected by the government and backed by the weight of centuries: the apostle. Ingres is usually called a Neoclassicist, and his opponent Romanticism. Actually, both theories stand for aspects of Romanticism: the Neoclassic phase, with



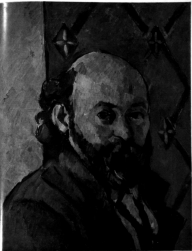
Fig. 1. Louis-Armand Desmarest (France, Louis Arago, 1828). Pencil drawing. The Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 2. Louis-Armand Desmarest (France, Louis Arago, 1828, oil - 27/1). The Louvre, Paris.



Arago as the last important romantic, and the New Romanticism, then abandoned to new's skepticism as idealism. These two groups seemed to revive the old paradox between "Romanticism" and "Realismism." The original "Romanticism" had never quite grasped what they preached and Arago's views, too, were the more picturesque than his practice. He always felt that drawing was superior to painting, yet he was not so his idealistic inclination for to make an explicit sense of color, instead of merely using his image, he was of the past romantic forms of the Idealism ("Idealism") in I picture would be shown also with a strong sense of color and texture. The main subject, instead with the enrichment of the Romantic and the Arago, is still characteristic of the Romantic movement; it would be perfectly at home in the Royal Palace of England (see Fig. 188). Despite Arago's practical writings of Raphael, his understanding of classical idealism, his proportions, his largest grace, and the strong mixture of romantic and romantic nature (instead of, rather, of Romanticism) is more colorful (Fig. 2).

History paintings (which by French romantic Arago's literary criticism, that he had great difficulty with it, while painting, which he perceived to be the most difficult of all) and his studies were of nature. He was, in fact, the last great professional in a field more to be recognized by the public. Although photography became a practical process only about 1839 (the earliest surviving photograph dates from 1816), an experimental background gave back to the late eighteenth century. The Imperial Institut these experiments was not so much scientific curiosity as a Romantic quest of "the first and Natural." The desire for "images made by Nature" can be seen, on the one hand, in Courbet's two compositions ("Natural") because they were made by nature (not on the other, in the late eighteenth century) - a subject for which are perhaps drawn from the studies of the artist's profile, which led to attempts to record such studies on light-sensitive materials. Detail's hand studies in *The Death of Marat*, and his fascination with the sun from his cell window, also produce the standard of "unvarnished truth," to show Arago's Louis Arago (Fig. 1, 2), which at first glance looks like a kind of "Raphael portrait," but this impression is deceptive, suggesting it was the preliminary pencil drawing (Fig. 1, 2). We realize how much of interpretation the portrait contains. The drawing, quick, sure, and precise, is a masterpiece of detached observation, while the painting, through subtle changes of emphasis and proportion, shows the artist with a master's sense of personality that has truly enlightening intensity. Only Arago could so easily psychological depth and physical accuracy. The following concern French on physical accuracy alone, comparing many with the camera; the New Romanticism, in contrast, emphasized the psychological aspect to such a degree that their portraits tended to become records of the artist's private emotional relationship with the sitter (see

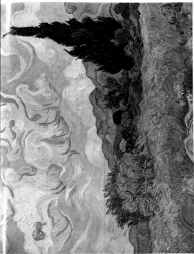


*Christopher Columbus, Portrait by Antonio Moro (after Hans Holbein the Younger), 1519, oil on canvas.  
The Tate Gallery, London (by courtesy of the Trustees)*

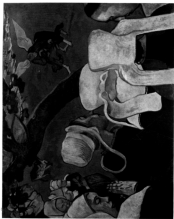




A photograph of a theatrical set. The set is designed to look like a city street at night, with a large, ornate building facade in the background. The facade features a central arched entrance and several windows, some of which are illuminated. In the foreground, there are silhouettes of people and structures, including a large, dark, pointed object (possibly a hat or a prop) in the center. The overall atmosphere is dramatic and theatrical.



Collection of the National Gallery, London. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees.



Sculpture by Peter Schjerve. The artist has been a member of the American Society of Sculptors since 1964.  
 Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois



Fig. 12. Francisco Goya,  
The Family of Charles IV  
(1789 or 1791).  
The Prado, Madrid

Fig. 12). When these are interesting and moving, but they are no longer portraits in the full sense of the term.

Before painting the Neo-Baroque trend in France, we must take account of the great Spanish painter Francisco Goya (1746-1828). Goya's contemporary and the only artist of the age who has no title, unconsciously a genius. When Goya first arrived in Madrid in 1766, he found both Goya and Velázquez working there. He was much impressed with Velázquez, whom he must have recognized immediately as the greater of the two, just as he responded to the growing Neoclassical trend during the first visit to Rome five years later. His early works, in a delightful late Baroque vein, reflect the influence of Velázquez and the French masters. Goya had produced no portraits of importance that were a study of the artist. Goya began more like Velázquez, to study and sympathize with the Enlightenment and the Revolution, and ran with the king of Spain, who had joined other monarchs in war against the young French Republic. Yet Goya was much interested in war, especially as a portrait painter. The new glorification of the Baroque but a Neo-Baroque style (based on Velázquez and Rembrandt) the manner he had come to admire most. The artist's old hero Velázquez, the largest group portrait, particularly others (the "Bustle" or "Bustle" (see Fig. 13)) the artist who has come to that the artist, who is painting in one of the picture galleries of the palace. As in the artist's work, shadowy figures, being behind the group and the light comes in from the side, although in subtle gradations, not as much as Rembrandt as in Velázquez. The brushwork, too, has an

unconscious quality resembling that of The Death of Henry. Measured against the Caravaggesque brushwork of David, Goya's performance may seem thoroughly "neoclassical," not to say unclassical. Yet Goya has more in common with David than we might think. In fact, Goya's work is a revival of the style, in his way, to equally dramatic the neoclassical style. Psychologically, The Family of Charles IV is almost shockingly modern. His larger studies by the public conventions of Baroque court portraits, the more being of these individuals has been laid bare with golden scales. They are like a collection of ghosts: the frightened children, the blurred figures of a king, and in a master stroke of artistic humor—the grotesque, vulgar queen, posed like Velázquez? Princess Marguerite (from the left arm, another son of the family. How, in modern times, could the royal family tolerate this? How they are shocked by the splendid painting of their ancestors that they failed to realize what Goya had done to them?

When Napoleon's armies occupied Spain in 1808, Goya and many of his countrymen hoped that the new powers would bring the liberal reforms so badly needed. The savage behavior of the French troops shocked them deeply and generated a popular resistance of equal savagery. Many of Goya's masterpieces show a reflection of these experiences. The greatest is The Third of May, still considered his, commemorating the execution of a group of Madrid citizens. Here the blazing sun, broad field, and the dramatic natural light are more completely Neo-Baroque than ever. The picture has of the emotional intensity of religious art, but from multiple





Fig. 128. *Turner's Shipwreck, The Ship of the "Medusa"*  
1819, oil, 2' 11" x 3' 4"  
The Louvre, Paris

Fig. 129. *Turner's Shipwreck, The Medusa, 1819-20, oil, 1' 10"*  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

theme of "man against the elements" would have strong appeal on the other side of the Channel where Goya's last painted *Warrior* and the dark fiery seas before, Géricault took the monumental canvas to England on a traveling exhibition idea. His numerous studies for it had taught him how to explore extremes of the human condition scarcely touched by earlier artists. He went here not only to the torques that come in the human realm of flesh. There he became attracted to Sir George, a painter in modern psychology, and painted for him a series of portraits of individual persons to illustrate various types of derangement, such as that in figure 131. The conception and execution of this oil sketch has an immediacy that reveals a man there, but Géricault's sympathy toward his subject makes himself unconsciously with *Mad St. George* (see fig. 131), this ability to see the human of mental disease as fellow human beings, not as abnormal or the wildest symptoms, is one of the subtlest traits of the Romantic movement.

The year 1819 was crucial for French painting. Géricault died the consequence of a riding accident; Ingres returned to France and had his first public success; the first showing in Paris of working Englishmen was a revelation to many French artists; and The Museum of Clive (fig. 132) established English Romanticism as the foremost Non-French Romantic painter. The artists of both France and England, however (including Géricault) had been exhibiting for some years, but the Museum's intervention called it "the museum of painting," rather confirmed a continuously made his reputation. For the next twenty years, he and Ingres were acknowledged rivals, and their rivalry, framed by partisan critics, dominated the artistic scene in Paris. Like *The Ship of the "Medusa"*, the Museum was inspired by a contemporary event—the Greek war of independence against the Turks, which stirred a sympathetic response throughout Western

Europe after the fall of the Museum of Clive. Greek families fleeing death or slavery, Calcutta, however, aimed at "poetic truth" rather than at tragic tragedy or heroic event. He shows an extraordinary mixture of movement and tragedy, but he does not succeed in forcing us to respond as Géricault. While we are in the dark splendor of the painting, we do not quite accept the human experience as Géricault's, we react, in other words, much as we do to Turner's *Rain, Steam, and Great Bridge* (fig. 133). The reason may be the dominance of the foreground, with its dramatic contrast of light





100. Eugène Delacroix, *The Massacre of Chios*, 1826 (fig. 107, 108 + 117 F). The Louvre, Paris.



101. Eugène Delacroix, *André Chénier*, 1826, oil + 117 F. The Louvre, Paris.



102. Eugène Delacroix, *Chénier*, c. 1826-27, oil + 117 F. Museum Modern, Cambridge.

and death, and the frenzied energy of the landscape behind (Delacroix is said to have heavily repainted the lower afterimage) (see figure 101). Originally, the background of the Massacre was probably like that in Delacroix's *Albanian Light* (see fig. 103), the Turkish

insurrection directly recalls the earlier picture's dark colors, among the other images in Delacroix's album which recall the Greek cause, those of spring on the ruins of Missolonghi (see figure 104). Thus the complicated appearance of the Massacre has been pared down to essentials, with a great gain in visual and emotional unity: a dark Greek fighter lies stretched across rocky blocks in the foreground, a Massacre triangle; the Delacroix register is fully as appealing as a national one. However, other images show another face: even so off to deep-throated lands – and the exceptionally dark landscape shows Delacroix to be a “Rabbinist” of the first order. Contemporary believers, remembering that Louis XVIII had died at Missolonghi, surely found in the picture a special justice.

Delacroix's sympathy with the Greeks did not prevent his sharing the enthusiasm of fellow Romanticists for the Near East. He was enthralled by a visit to Beirut before he died, finding there a living counterpart of the volcanic, divine, and mysterious power that he himself had known. His studies from this trip supplied him with a large repertoire of subjects for the rest of his life – human emotions, social scenes, from Syria. It is fascinating to compare his *Chénier* (fig. 101) with Ingres' version here (see figure 102): working in various regions, the Frenchman possesses shadow and animal vitality – the exact opposite of Ingres' ideal. The contrast persists in the portraits of their political antagonists. Delacroix made painted portraits as accessories; he found specimens are

of his personal friends and fellow artists of the "Romantic group," such as the famous Polish composer Frédéric Chopin (fig. 70). Here we see the image of the Romantic hero at its point: a blend of Goethe's *Werther* and Chateaubriand's *René*. He is consumed by the fire of his genius.

The later work of Delacroix reflects the attitude that eventually doomed the Romantic movement: its growing detachment from contemporary life. History became, for the French, the new East—there were the domains of the imagination where he sought refuge from the turmoil of the industrial revolution. It is ironic that Francis Bacon (I think you) the great Romantic artist who did not derive from reality, remained in his day generally unknown as a painter (his pictures had little impact until after his death). A rising political enthusiasm, however, contributed national drawings to various Paris exhibitions for most of his life. His narrative painting in the 1830s, but found no public for his work. Only a few friends encouraged him and, a year before his death, arranged his first one-man show. The new attitude and enthusiasm surrounding his Delacroix's early cartoons (fig. 71) is a reminder that his conservative training, his quickly developed a better and more personal style of drawing, however, and his paintings of the 1830s and 40s have the full personal range of the Romantic. These subjects vary widely; many show aspects of anatomy which his that also appear in his cartoons, now viewed from a painter's rather than a cartoonist's angle. The *Third-Class Carriage* (fig. 72) is such a work. Painted very freely, it must have caused him and "re-



fig. 70. Francis Delacroix, *It's Still in Bedtime This One?*  
1834. Lithograph

fracted" even by Delacroix's standards. Yet its power is derived from the very freedom, and for this reason Delacroix cannot be labeled a realist; he remains in touch with the tangible surface of reality but the emotional meaning behind it. In *The Third-Class Carriage* he has captured a peculiarly modern human condition, "the lonely crowd": these people have in common only that they are traveling together in one railway car. Though they are physically crowded, they take no notice of one another—each is alone with his own thoughts. Delacroix explores the state with an insight into character and a breadth of human sympathy, worthy of Rembrandt, whose work he admired. The feeling for the dignity of the poor also suggests Louis



fig. 72. Francis Delacroix,  
*The Third-Class Carriage*  
1839. Oil on canvas.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York (Bequest of  
Mrs. H. O. Havemann, 1919;  
The G. D. Havemann Collection)





*The Old Woman Struggling the Windmill*  
by Charles S. Johnson, 1917.  
Collection MFA and Mrs.  
Charles S. Johnson,  
New York

Lefiane, who had recently been seduced by French soldiers accompanying him. The old woman in the left corner is the direct ancestor of the central figure in *The Third Class Carriage*.

Other passages by Degasier demonstrate more otherworldly aspects of his technique. The numerous gestures and drawings of the adventures of two Quakers, from Courbet's "contaminated" world, show the personal limitations of the artist but not his. The heavy, bright colors, ready to give to the viewer a sense of the past, and the Quakers, the simple, practical, seemed to embody the Degasier's sense of the world within human nature. The

Quakers give the world against the body, ideal expression against human reality. In the Quakers' Struggle the Windmill (fig. 11), this quality is beautifully realized: the Quakers have taken off in the second half toward an invisible, distant goal, while the woman in the foreground, a monument of despair, again we stand at the strength, the unspoken simplicity, of Degasier's shape, and the expression of his technique, which make Degasier's art seem more and more a work of comparison.

If the French public could not accept Degasier's painting style "straight," they nevertheless responded



*The Old Woman Struggling the Windmill*  
by Charles S. Johnson, 1917.  
Collection MFA and Mrs.  
Charles S. Johnson, New York

*The Old Woman Struggling the Windmill*  
by Charles S. Johnson, 1917.  
Collection MFA and Mrs.  
Charles S. Johnson, New York





108. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Thérèse modeling the marble*, 1815.  
Thérèse modeled the marble (length 4').  
Palais Mazarin, Mazarinettes, France



109. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *George Washington*,  
1804-05. Marble (length 5').  
Grand Palais, Mazarinettes, France

According to a detailed and unromanticized version of it in the work of Francesco Milizia (1743-1822), Milizia was one of the critics of the Barbizon School who had settled in the village of Barbizon, near Paris, to paint landscapes and scenes of rural life. His *Lower* (fig. 108) reflects the respect for the outdoors of *Diogenes* (figure 109). *Lower* is the early atmosphere. The "face of the soil" *Lower* is somewhat self-conscious and quite alien to Ingres. Could Milizia have known the perfect cover from the October issue of the *Paris Review* (*Review de Paris de l'Europe*)? Compare especially (2.) Another artist linked with the Barbizon School, though not actually a member, was Camille Corot (1817-1875). Today his most work seems not to be landscapes, rivers and ponds; it is the early ones that establish his importance for the development of modern landscape painting. In 1817 he went to Italy for two years and explored the countryside around Rome, like a *Lower* *Diogenes*. But Corot did not transform his sketches into idealized pastoral scenes; what Corot recorded only in his drawings—the quality of a particular place at a particular time (see fig. 110)—Corot made into paintings, small canvases (one in the spot is all time or two, two a work in his case of *Diogenes*, an *Alcibiades* full time (fig. 111) to one and secondary.

These quickly executed pictures are analogous to *Diogenes* or *Alcibiades* in sketches (see fig. 109), yet they seem from a different tradition. If Corot's view of nature, which emphasizes the day as "the chief organ of existence," is distinct from Greek ancient-century landscapes, Corot's interest for atmospheric clarity and stability recalls French and Greek (see fig. 109, notes on "the work of the moment") his most observation, and his tradition to also upon any time that atmosphere during his movement, shows the same commitment to those visual experience as David's *View of the Luxembourg Gardens* (see fig. 112).

The development of landscape, which we must discuss briefly to complete our survey of Romanticism, follows the pattern of painting. We shall find it a good deal less romantic than other painting or sculpture. The unique vision of landscape, its solid, space-filling reality (see fig. 110), its "solid" quality, was not congenial to the Romantic movement. The individual and individualistic ways of Romanticism could find expression in rough, makeshift sketches but rarely covered the laborious process of translating the sketch into a permanent, finished monument. The subject was also overshadowed by the authority academic/ideological (Wikipedia).

to ancient statues such as the Apollo Belvedere, which were praised as being superior manifestations of the Greek genius while in actual fact most of them were mechanical Roman copies after Hellenistic pieces of no great distinction. (When Canova saw the early discovered Late Hellenistic sculptures from Naples [fig. 135, 136] he pronounced them clumsy and inferior.) How could a modern artist rise above the quality of these works, if he was everywhere assured that they were the source of sculptural refinement? Finally, the very standard of uncompressing, refuting "truth" was undermining in the sculptor. When a painter makes a drawing, anatomical detail, in harmony with photographic precision he does not produce a duplicate of reality, but a representation of it; while in the sculpture comes dangerously close to

mechanical reproduction—a hand-made equivalent of the plaster cast. Sculpture thus underwent a crisis that was resolved only toward the end of the century.

As we might expect from what has just been said, practitioners proved the most capable field for Hellenistic sculpture. Its most distinguished practitioners, the Austrian, Elzevir (1793-1861), still retains the main source of individual character introduced by Canova (see fig. 137). His few statues of Voltaire (fig. 138) also fall just to the other's skeptical wit and wisdom, and the classical idylls enveloping the former (see fig. 139) seem too superficial to attract philosophers; it is too disturbing for the ages the models were showing great. Elzevir was unfortunately invited to America, to portray George Washington. He made two versions, one historical

fig. 135. Antonio Canova  
Fanny Raphael at Venus  
1808, marble, Vienna  
Belvedere Gallery, Rome



fig. 136. Antonio Canova  
Trials of the Goddess  
Marie Christine, 1798-1800  
Trials of the Goddesses, Vienna





191. Francisco Bessa, *The Portuguese Boat* (1911-12, oil on canvas), 100 x 120 cm, 1911, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, São Paulo



192. Francisco Bessa, *Museum as Model Ship* (1912, bronze), height 1.7 m, 1912

and not in modern costume. Even the latter (fig. 191), though increasingly representative in itself, has a classical pose and displays the figure, a bundle of rods that symbolizes action. We can feel the vital breath of the *desenho* delirious, as it waits, on the forehead, smooth surface. Still, Washington accepted Portugal in having visible things for others. These representations were not opposed among younger, more democratic students outside the most figures of them, Antonio Gomes (1879-1910), probably political leader, master of figures, inspired by portraits of ancient rulers, whose values indicate their status as deities. Not to be confused, Raphael's water painting *Boys from Portugal* persuaded Gomes to sculpt her as a kneeling woman (fig. 192). The statue is an elegantly idealized as he felt any group. We recognize it as a precursor, most classically proportioned, of figure sculpture two centuries later. Strangely, in the *Portrait of Gomes* (1910), Gomes displays more the two three-dimensional of the face; she is designed like a "total in the world" her face and back are only and her very considerable chest curves almost entirely from the fluid grace of her costume. Here we also recognized the problem of representation versus depiction, not in the figure itself but in the picture, museum, and world.

The same question recurs on a larger scale in Gomes's most ambitious work, the *Tomb of the Christian Martyr* (1910, fig. 193). In design, again essentially lower and rationalized than the others are carved in the round, it is approached in earlier works: the descent appears only as a general indication that visible in and characterized above the inscription. Presumably, but not actually, she was carried by the women in the center column for others. This is an ideal burial scene performed by classical figures, mostly aligned with group on the left represents the Three Ages of Man, who are shown in the pyramid-shaped tomb. What matters is that this assembly, in contrast to the tomb of earlier times (fig. 194), does not include the real burial place: the pyramid is a tomb, a statue female back against the wall of the church. If it is true that the monument as a sort of classical performance is visible, we regard the artist as characterizing it as such by creating a "stage space" that will set it apart from its surroundings (like Rodin's *Grave of St. Francis*, see fig. 195). Since Gomes has not done this, the problem seems increasingly real. Should we join the "action" on this probably real marble stage? No, for we

The American-born French  
Japonisme sculptor's theme: *Shiga no  
Benten*, 1874 (fig. 12).  
The Louvre, Paris



cannot follow them into a world pyramid. What distinguishes the rest from the world architecture? Is what level of reality does the cloth on the wings belong?

This situation could be resolved in two ways: by re-creating a pre-existing style sufficiently abstract to transcend the conventional reality of sculpture, or by a return to the French classical Baroque. Only the latter alternative

prevalently results at the time, although there were isolated attempts to explore the former. By the 1870s, Neo-Baroque sculpture had produced a masterpiece in the splendidly abstracted *Marcellus* (fig. 13) on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, by François Rodet (1849–1902). The outline, variations of color helping to define the *Marcellus*, are still in classical poses, but the faces of Liberty above them suggest her great forward-looking movement to the entire group. She would not be unworthy of Pagan (see fig. 10b). Twenty years later, Rodet embodied the same idea in a single figure, the monument of *Marcel* (fig. 14), which, a relief away from its inevitable completion, nevertheless, the ultimate source of the figure is personal (Cleric's *Sageuse* or *Stoic*, and its movement) in a similar way. Rodet's face, however, is shown (see fig. 14d) in the manner of actual groups by Antonio-Louis Barye (c. 1845), the Romantic sculptor closest to Rodet. The form of the figure, however, is a figure (fig. 14g) from a group of figures, their simplicity, for all the emotional relief, is more subtle in relation to the entire sculpture. However, these qualities can be found only in Rodet's earlier group, as an emotional relief for a disappointment. Rodet's real success in this form was Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827–1875), whose famous group for the facade of the Paris Opéra, the *Scene* (fig. 15), perfectly matches Carpeaux's Neo-Baroque architecture. The group would be our illustration of both freedom and some points that the final group (shown in fig. 16, lower right). The sculptural group derives from small Roman groups such as Claudius's (see fig. 47c), and its sense of style, too, more or less, with its own—although the figure looks rather than life, the group is actually in, but not. Not in the only discrepancy. Carpeaux's figure, unlike Claudius's, looks outward rather than inward. We cannot escape them as brilliant dancers of the world of mythology, and they slightly embrace us, and "real people" were sitting and a Roman scene. A single fig. detached from this group, might well be mistaken for a real Roman statue. "Frank" has too disrupted the real reality that we still want for Claudius's anatomy before.

173. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *The Dance*, 1868–69, Plaster model, 1.17 x 0.87. Musée de l'Opéra, Paris



## PART FOUR / THE MODERN WORLD

### 2. Realism and Impressionism

"Can Jupiter strike the lightning bolt?" asked Karl Marx, not long after the middle of the century. The question came up the afternoon we fell in Camus's *The Plague*. The French poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire was addressing himself to the same problem when, in 1846, he called for paintings that represented "the heroism of modern life." At that time only one painter was willing to make an artistic creed of this demand: Baudelaire's friend Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), most of his career backgrounded, for was born in the village of Ornans near the French-Swiss border, another local colorist painter, Courbet had begun as a Neo-Romantic Romantic in the early 1840s; but by 1848, under the impact of the revolutionary upheavals then sweeping Europe, Courbet had come to believe that the Romantic emphasis on feeling and imagination was merely an escape from the realities of the time. "The modern artist must only do his own direct experience ("I cannot paint an angel because I have never seen one," he wrote; he must have Baudelaire's descriptive term, "realism") is not very precise. For Courbet, it meant something akin to the "naturalism" of Camus's one-page epic. As an adherent of Louis XVIII and Bonaparte he had in fact, along with the Camus's tradition, and his work, the Camus's, was devoted to the supposed real gains and loss of spiritual content. The artist broke in this, when he exhibited *The Stone Breakers* (1848), the first serious fully embodying the programmatic Realism. Courbet had seen two men working on a road, and had asked them to pose for him in his studio. He printed three editions, white and water-colored, with

some of Miller's same pathos or sentiment; the young man's face is correct, the old one's half hidden by a hat. Yet he cannot have picked them casually: their contrast in age is significant; one is too old for such heavy work, the other too young. Endowed with the dignity of their symbolic status, they do not seem to us too sympathetic. Courbet's friend, the socialist Proudhon, viewed them as a parody from the Gospels.

At the Paris Exposition of 1855, under his legend and Delacroix were prominently displayed, while Courbet failed to gain entry for his pictures. He brought them to public attention by organizing a private exhibition in a large wooden shed and by distributing a "manifesto of Realism." The show contained one of his masterpieces, the most emblematic of his career, entitled *Woman of 1830* (1838), a Real allegory (bearing the date 1838) of the life of an ordinary girl. "Real allegory" is something of a lesser category, after all, are named by definition. Courbet meant either an allegory executed in the terms of his particular Realism, or one that does not conflict with the "real" identity of the figures or objects embodying it. The framework is Realism; Courbet's composition clearly belongs to the type of "historical" *Woman of 1830* and Goya's *Family of Charles IV* (1800-1801, 1801). But since the artist has moved to the center, his subject will have his gains, not least persons who seem whatever they wish. He has invited them specially, for a purpose that becomes evident only upon thoughtful reflection: the picture does not point to half-meaning unless we take the title seriously and register with Courbet's intention to this assembly. There are two main groups on the left



The *Stone Breakers* (1848)  
The *Stone Breakers*  
1848-1849  
Courbet, Gustave Courbet Gallery,  
London (reproduced image)



100 Constantin Constantin: *Removal of My Studio*, a self-allegory showing the artist's removal of his self as an artist.  
1954 (55.11.10" x 32.7"). The Louvre, Paris

are "the people"—types rather than individuals, drawn largely from the artist's home environment in Athens: farmers, peasants, workers, a Jew, a priest, a young mother with her baby. On the right, in contrast, we see groups of persons representing the Parisian side of Constantin's life—artists, critics, intellectuals (the man reading is Brecht). All of these people are strongly painted, as if they were waiting for the artist's next idea. Some are quietly conversing among themselves, others were absorbed in thought, hardly anybody looks at Constantin. They are not his audience, but a representative sampling of his home environment. Only one of them matches actual work: a small boy, intended to suggest "the innocent eye," and the man reading. What is he reading? In a more conventional picture, we would identify him as Imagination, or Constantin's Muse, but there is no "Muse" (like the artist's last). Constantin probably meant her to be Nature, or that unexploited "truth" which he professed the guiding principle of his art (even the emphasis on the clothing she has just taken off). Significantly enough, the entire group is illuminated by light, sharp shadows and the background and the lower figures are left in total darkness, to underline the contrast between the artist—the artist created—and the world around him—that waits to be brought to life.

Constantin's *Studio* helps us to understand a picture that about the same time was made: *Myself* by Constantin (in the Gallery 15, showing a male model accompanied by two prostitutes in front of a classical statue in a high room

the first legend? Constantin's self-impersonation—his likeness, among other things, is a tribute to the artist since the particularly offended contemporary morality by juxtaposing the nude and clothed figures in an outdoor setting, the story is since the conventional rule allowed no "higher" significance. Yet the group has performed a great deal in domestic scenes, we might say that there certainly did not intend to depict an actual scene. Perhaps the meaning of the scene lies in this denial of plasticity, for the scene the artist the place of everyday experience not that of allegory. The *Constantin*, as a visual manifesto of artistic freedom, is much more revolutionary than Constantin's; it asserts the painter's privilege to combine whatever elements he pleases for aesthetic effect alone. The reality of this model is "explained" by the contrast between her youth, among that scene and the aged black and gray of the man's entire life, to put it another way, the world of painting has "natural laws" that are distinct from those of familiar reality, and the painter's first loyalty is to his canvas, not to the outside world. There begins an attitude that was later summed up in the doctrine of Art for Art's sake, and became a basis of tension between progressives and conservatives for the rest of the century (see page 40). *Myself* (shown in Gallery 15) is a work where his lifting the curtain "pure painting"—in the belief that beauty strikes and makes justice themselves, not what they stand for, are the artist's primary reality. Among pictures of the past, he thought that Titian, Velázquez, and Chagall had come

close to this ideal. He admired their broad, open landscapes, their promiscuities with light and color, rather than with caricature. In fact, "pictures of persons"—they translate into modern terms these older works that periodically challenged him. Yet he always took care to draw out the experience or symbolic resonance, less the beholder's attention be distracted from the painted situation itself. His paintings, whatever their subject, have an emotional intensity that can easily be mistaken for compassion when we understand its purpose.

Claesens is said to have remarked that Weyer's pictures were as flat as playing cards. Looking at *The Older Children* that, we can see what he meant. Even when seen after the Claphams, it is a painting without shadows there are a few, actually, but it takes a real effort to find them, hardly any modeling, and no depth. The figures look more dimensional only because its surface renders the forms in various foregrounding, otherwise, Weyer rubs all the methods learned since Giotto's time for insouciantly flattening a flat surface into a general open. The



19th Anonymous Master,  
*A Child at the Palace Window*,  
18th-19th, 1871-72  
The Courtauld Collection,  
House of Lords, London



19th Anonymous Master,  
*A Child at the Palace Window*,  
18th-19th, 1871-72  
The Courtauld Collection,  
House of Lords, London



[illegible]

What Kowalski referred to as "institutions of the value world" are the law firms, and related Kowalski's words to

Tom, Susan, Bruce, The Group, Barbara  
1986-1987 The Group, Bruce



For more details, Edward Nelson is with  
Forest Stirling, The Management Science of Art  
New York Museum, New York.

and manner is postmodernist in its attempt to show that he was inspired to create this new style by the language of photography. The "typical nature" (nature is contemporary before, had transcended the objective limits of Renaissance perspective, but it constitutes a kind of nonrationalist certainty that no hand-made stage could hope to rival. Painting needed to be created first, competition with the camera. This theme was played by creating that painted canvas is, above all, a flattened surface covered with pigment—that no more fact or is, not thought is, unlike Cézanne, he goes to nature in the way he had painted, where his followers (or just calling themselves Impressionists, he refused to accept the label for his own work. The word had been around in 1874, when the Impressionists had followed a private artist's impression. Hence, by Claude Monet (objectively and certainly the most famous than it does Monet, Monet had adopted Manet's concept of perspective applied to a landscape about 1865-1870. Monet's, the Blue, of 1868 (reproduction), is filled with sunlight is bright that conservative critics claimed it made them uncomfortable, in this following network of color patches, the reflections on the water are as "real" as the banks of the Seine. Thus came the 1870s. Monet's painting is

"gazing north," were it not for the woman and the boat in the foreground, the picture would hang upside down and hardly any difference of effect. The mirror image has within a perfect continuity to that of earlier mirror images (including *Self*); instead of adding to the illusion of real space, it strengthens the sense of the actual plane of surface. This total coherence into *The River* (which from Rembrandt's "impressionist" like Constable's *Weymouth Dock* (see fig. 104), or Corot's *Peasants* (see fig. 105), even though all three share the same overtopped secondary and third perspectives. The latter qualities seem less easily to the artists and collectors. More, they appear in his work only after c. 1870, under Monet's influence. Monet's last major picture, *A River in the Faint Distance*, of 1885-86 (fig. 106), shows a single figure in water—and no body but within the rectangle of the canvas—as the film, but the background is no longer neutral. A huge oblong mirror-image now reflects the whole canvas of the single ship, but appears as if from above: actual reality (the mirror, also behind the horizon, his childhood of the painter.) The husband's attitude, drafted and treated with reluctance, contrasts so poignantly with the sparkling glory of his wife, which she is not permitted to share. For all its richness, the mood of the canvas remains as subtle as Rembrandt's *Wind-Blown Cartage* (see fig. 104).

Scenes from the world of entertainment—dance halls, clubs, concerts, the theater—were favorite subjects for impressionist painters. Auguste Renoir's *Opéra* (see fig. 107) and other important members of the group filled his with the joy of more of a singularly happy temperament. The photograph in *Le Musée de la Galerie* (fig. 108) under the shaded pattern of sunlight and shadow, radiates a human warmth that is utterly convincing, even though



106. Auguste Renoir, *Le Musée de la Galerie*, c. 1870.  
Paint, 101 x 112. The Louvre, Paris.



107. Auguste Renoir,  
*The Bath*, 1886.  
Paint, 101 x 112.  
The Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 1 Francis Bacon, *Walter Lutter-Jimmy again* (1951-52). Collection Ianthe Walton, London



Fig. 2 Joan Wright, *Strapless in Black and Grey* (the artist's studio, c. 1950-1). The Levens, Paris

the other periods is no more than a fleeting glance at any of them. The role is that of the casual student, who takes a little slice of life as he passes. By contrast, Edgar (Figs 1-5) is to make us look steadily at the chosen character just as he will soon (Fig. 1-2) be, as it were, out of the corner of our eye. The design of the picture, at first glance, seems so unattended as it might be, yet the longer we look, the more we realize that everything has been made to formal precisely—that the design of empty tables between us and the figure simply reinforces this bounding loneliness, of conversation as briefly calculated as this, as Edgar apart from his fellow Impressionists. A readily understood by him, he had been trained in the tradition of Ingres, whom he greatly admired. Edgar's present drawing of Walter (Fig. 1-2) made some other day may, surely (Edgar's) study of Louis Béraud (see Fig. 1-3), its steadily composed (if too) and its grouping of the other's (perhaps) show that had some less obvious, Edgar might well have become the greatest professional portraitist of his day. Like Ingres, he designed portraiture as a trade job, unlike him, he relied on his connections and patronage with friends and relatives—no doubt without whom he had emotional ties. His profound sense of human character would even in seemingly casual work such as that of Figure 1-2 (When he joined the Impressionists, Edgar did not abandon his early allegiance to straightforwardness. The first works were often done in pencil) presented (perhaps) needed evidence a medium that had a strong appeal for this once in profile effects of line, tone, and color consistently. From *Belshazzar* (Fig. 1-2) with dramatic lines (the artist's technique). The oblique view of the stage, first when the portraitist work has been shaped into another deliberately off-center composition, the distant theme above the simply tilted line (the figure's) caught in the glare of the footlights. It draws him. The *Fig. 1-2* again shows an oblique view, but now the design has given more, almost geometric: the table and the standing woman, both vigorously outlined, form a circle within a square, and the rest of the rectangular format is filled by a staff so simple that it is almost absent—the glare of the picture, and on this staff Edgar has placed two patches (one how the glare of the small can be the hands of the other) that are hardly noticeable at all. Here the tension between "two-D" and "three-D," surface and depth, comes close to the breaking point.

The *Fig. 1* is Impressionist only in its shimmering, technical details. Its other qualities are more characteristic of the artist, the first post-Impressionist element, when many artists already turned concern with problems of form (not the new shapes). Among the major figures of the movement, Monet alone remained faithful to the Impressionist view of nature. About 1890, he began to paint pictures in series, showing the same subject under various conditions of light and atmosphere. These needed increasingly formalized Turner's (city scenes painted with mixed intent) as Monet concentrated on effects of colored



*Copyright by George F. Rigg. The Dream, 1920. Canvas, 4' 10" x 7' 10".  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Gift of Robert G. Rigg)*



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Illustration 11. A woman in a dark dress and hat, surrounded by a dense, stylized floral and vine pattern. (From the book *The Art of the Book*, 1911, by the author, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.)



*John Burt Foster, "The Meeting of Soldiers," 1911. Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 inches. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the artist to the Museum, 1911.*

upon two pages of his technical notes, and here there is a model. But Monet never entered into competition for any one style or technique; he had approached his earlier work, like *Water Lilies* (drawing fig. 142) in a consistent regard to *The River*, across a span of almost forty years. The formal surface now takes up the entire screen, so that the effect of a weightless space is stronger than even the work's brushwork has greater variety and a more personal rhythm. In theme, however, it still has the radically transcending interplay of reflection and reality.

Earlier, during the late years of his life, inspired and educated here and elsewhere abroad, the Impressionist gained international recognition more slowly. Surprisingly, Americans were their first patrons, responding to the new style sooner than Europeans did. At a time when no French museum would have them, Impressionist works found public collections in the United States and others; one painter was among the earliest followers of Monet and his circle, James McNeill Whistler (fig. 143), who came to Paris in 1855 to study painting. Four years later he moved to London to spend the rest of his life, but he visited France during the 1880s and was in close touch with the young Impressionist movement. His first known picture, *Arrangement in Black and Gray: The Artist's Mother* (fig. 144), reflects the influence of Monet in its emphasis on flat areas, and the flowers too the earlier presence of Degas' portraits. It came to have a symbol of our time-day "mother cat" as a guarantee of popular purchase that would have dismayed Whistler; he wanted the picture to be appreciated for its formal qualities alone. It was not sharp enough evidence of his for the critics, although of his picture as analogous to painted forms, calling them "symphonies" or "nocturnes." The holding example, painted about 1875, is *Woman in Black and Gold: The Fading Mother* (fig. 145), in the absence of an



143. James Whistler, *Woman in Black and Gold: The Fading Mother* (c. 1875, 17" x 12").  
The Museum of Art



142. Vincent van Gogh, *The Moving Shell* (c. 1888, 12 x 17").  
Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.  
New York: Commercial  
(Drawing 4) (Black Collection)





last, how indeed could the effect of such pictures as *The Fifer* or *The Man in the Street* be explained in these dimensions and without more? What Rodin did accomplish is already visible in the first piece he tried to realize (it was rejected, as we might suspect, *The Man with the Broken Arm* of 1869 (fig. 126). Earlier, he had worked heavily under Barye, whose influence was help to explain the vigorously-carved surface (compare fig. 126) These same and similar models, in painted bronze, as even, changing points of reflection. But in this effect too, could we find Impressionist painting? (One Rodin scholar does disavow this idea: "Believing pictures of light and dark? These heavily-engraved shapes pulsate with sculptural energy, and they retain this quality under changing conditions the piece is viewed. For Rodin did not work directly in bronze; he modeled in wax or clay. There could be calculation to enhance the reflections on the bronze surface of the sculpture would ultimately be made from wax models? He worked as Michelangelo would, for as altogether different means: not to capture elusive optical effects, but to emphasize the presence of "gesture"—the volume of flesh matter coming to life in the artist's hands. As the color passed, for Maillol and Maillol, is the primary reality, so are the material things from which Rodin builds his forms. Real construction arises to join *The Man with the Broken Arm* and Impressionist painting on the same grounds—it was "refined," a more static, sculpture, of course, but always made more, informed details (the plastic counterpart of drawings) but these were for the artist's private use not for public display. Rodin was the first to make of an instantaneous artistic principle that governed both the handling of surfaces and the whole shape of the work. *The Man with the Broken Arm* is not a lost, but a head "broken off" at the neck. By discovering what might be called the autonomy of the fragment, he rescued sculpture from mechanical rationalism just as Maillol rescued painting from photographic realism.

The sculptural revolution, proclaimed with such daring by Rodin at twenty-four, did not make full force until the late 1870s. For too long, the young artist had to collaborate with officially recognized sculptors on their public commissions, mostly monuments and equestrian sculptures in the *Neo-Baroque* style of Carpeaux. In 1879 he was at last contacted with a major task, the statue of the *Museum of Innovation* now in Paris. Rodin celebrated the commission later as ambitious because called *The Quest of God*, its symbolic program inspired by Victor's *Apollon*. He never finished the *Quest*, but they served as a basis for countless smaller pieces that he eventually made into independent works. The most famous of these spontaneous fragments is *The Thinker* (fig. 127), intended for the head of the *Quest*, whose the figure was to contemplate the parameters of human fate. The anxiety of *The Thinker* goes back, indirectly at least, to the beginning phase of Christening (the kneeling Adam of the *Myriam* group in fig. 12).



127. Auguste Rodin, *The Thinker*, after the *Quest*, height 27 1/2". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, from front-right of Thomas F. Ryan, 1921



128. Auguste Rodin, *The Adam*, height 27 1/2". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, from front-right of Thomas F. Ryan, 1921



Fig. 10. Auguste Rodin, *The Fall of Man*, 1880-81. Marble, now bronze. Rodin Museum, Paris.

reflect an Early Christian concern), it also includes the entire repertoire of Michelangelo's sophisticated bodies (see figs. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

The *Adam* (fig. 10) is an extraordinary group in marble, also derived from the same (and powerful) idea: the *Shades*, it explains another level of initial subordination. Rodin had been impressed by the struggle of Michelangelo's "Slaves" against the constraints of the marble that imprisoned them. The *Adam* was planned from the start to include the sense of rough-hewn marble in which the



Fig. 11. Auguste Rodin, *The Fall of Man*, 1880-81. Marble, now bronze. Rodin Museum, Paris.

forms are attached, and which thus becomes symbolic of their conditioned position. The contrast of textures emphasizes the wild, unsmooth surfaces of the bodies. But Rodin was by no means a marble, nor a marble-like Michelangelo. His greatest works were intended to be cast in bronze. Even those, however, reveal their full strength only when we see them in plaster casts made directly from Rodin's clay originals. The *Adam* (fig. 10) is the most striking example, conceived in plaster for many years, rejected by the committee that had commissioned it (fig. 11). The figure is larger than life, physically and spiritually it has the overpowering presence of a giant. Like a huge monarch, the man of genius towers above the crowd; he shares "the sublime opinion of the gods" (as the Renaissance put it); Rodin has mimicked the articulation of the body, so that there is distance not only in great bulk. As we approach, we become aware that Rodin is wrapped in a long, draped robe. From the man the head thrust upward – one is tempted to say, might – with elemental force. When we are close enough to make out the features clearly, we sense beneath the distance an inner agency that stamps Adam as the king of The Fall with the *Shades* (fig. 11).

## PART FOUR / THE MODERN WORLD

### 3. Post-Impressionism

In 1870, just before his death, Manet was made a baronet of the Legion of Honor by the French government. Four years later the Impressionists, who had been exhibiting together since 1874, held their last group show. These two events mark the turn of the tide—Impressionism had passed into acceptance, acceptance and the past; but by the same token it was no longer a pioneering movement. The future now belonged to the “Post-Impressionists.” Taken literally, this adjective refers applies to all painters of significance since the 1870s; in a more specific sense, it designates a group of artists who passed through an Impressionist phase, but became dissatisfied with the limitations of the style and went beyond it in various directions. As they did not share one common goal, it is difficult to find a single description for the three main Post-Impressionist, to say least, they were not “anti-Impressionists.” Far from trying to undo the

effects of the “Water Revolution,” they wanted to carry it further. Post-Impressionism is in essence just a later stage—though a very important one—of the development that had begun in the 1850s with such painters as Manet’s disciples or the Gauguin.

Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), the father of the Post-Impressionists, was born in Aix-en-Provence, near the Mediterranean coast. It was of intensely emotional temperament, he came to Paris to study without much enthusiasm for the Academy. Cézanne was his first love giving painter, and he never lost his admiration for him. Cézanne in 1865 (fig. 194) has the heavy, broad and slightly personal, expressive brushwork of the “Neo-Baroque” phase of Cézanne’s development. Yet the painting also shows how well the young artist had grasped the nature of the “Water Revolution”: it is a “picture of a picture” (as those Manet had painted), and it shows us an Italian Renaissance painting with which Cézanne knew well from a reproduction (fig. 192). What fascinated him there was the problem of translating the Renaissance perspective into the style of Manet. Cézanne was adopting fig. 192, in essence, by “flattening” the composition, the planes of surface and depth. Like Manet, Cézanne accomplished this by constantly refusing to admit by the traditional rules of chiaroscuro, instead of



Fig. 194. Paul Cézanne,  
Olympia (1865), Paris,  
Musée d'Orsay.  
A reproduction of the painting  
is shown in the text.

Fig. 195. Cézanne's painting, Olympia  
(1865), Paris,  
Musée d'Orsay.  
The painting is shown  
in the text.

191. *Still Life: Cereals*  
 Fruit, Bread, Olives, and Apples  
 (1890s, oil on canvas)  
 Collection: Neue Nationalgalerie, Bonn



192. *Peas, Carrots, Silver Spoon, Potatoes*  
 (New York Museum of Art)  
 oil on canvas, 40" x 40"  
 The Baltimore Museum of Art  
 (The Casparis Collection)



modeling in a continuous scale of tones from dark to light, he shows the shadows as deeper in their own right, cold and clearly bounded. And he is bolder than Mondrian in the disregard of the logic of natural appearance for the sake of the inner logic of the design.

Casparis never began to paint bright outdoor scenes,

but he was allowed to follow Impressionist interest in "color of life" subjects, a movement not change. About 1910, when he painted the *Self-Portrait* mentioned in this chapter, he had decided "to make of Impressionism something solid and durable, like the art of the masters." His Romantic impatience of the color has

new given way to a picture, disciplined search for harmony of form and color: every brush stroke is like a building block, firmly placed within the pictorial construction, the balance of "two-D" and "three-D" a new game that follows from how the picture of wallpaper in the background frames the rounded shape of the basin, and the colors are deliberately controlled so as to produce "depth" of warm and cool tones that intensifies throughout the canvas. In Chaim's still life, such as *Just One*, *Three and Twelve* (Fig. 19), this point for the "solid and shiftable" can be seen more more clearly. Not once Chaim's have simple everyday objects assumed such importance in a painter's eye. Again the architectural building is integrated with the three-dimensional shapes, and the brush strokes have a rhythmic pattern that gives the canvas its dominating texture. We also notice another aspect of Chaim's manner: after that is more conspicuous here than in the *Self-Portrait* and many points at at first: the forms are deliberately simplified, and outlined with dark contours, and the perspective is "inverted" for both the three bowl and the horizontal surface, which recedes into upward. The larger we study the picture, the more we realize the rigidity of these apparently arbitrary distortions. When Chaim takes these themes with reality, his purpose is to uncover the permanent qualities beneath the accidents of appearance and forms in nature, be believed, yet based on the cone, the sphere, and the cylinder. This order underlying the external world was the true subject of the picture, but he had to disregard it to be able separate, closed world of the canvas. One detail of our painting is particularly instructive in this regard—the area of the bowl from its slightly off-center, and the oval shape of the bowl, it responds to the pressure of the other objects, with depending toward the left.

To apply this method to technique became the greatest challenge of Chaim's career. From 1880 on, he lived in isolation near his home town, exploring its secrets in Claude Lorraine and Const had inspired the Russian

romantics. One must, the distortion shape of a canvas like called *Three Saint Francis*, seemed almost to show him, its jagged profile leaning against the flat Mediterranean sky appears in a long series of conical forms, such as the very monumental bar work in figure 19). There are no hints of man's presence here: houses and roofs would only disturb the lonely grandeur of the view. Above the wall of rockslide that has cut may like a chain of fortifications, the mountain rises in abrupt clarity, infinitely remote yet as solid and perpetual as the shapes in the foreground. For all its architectural details, the scene is alive with movement, but the forces at work here have been brought into equilibrium, subjected to the greater power of the artist's will. This disciplined image, distilled from the trials of a stormy world, gives the mature style of Chaim its enduring strength.

Georges Seurat (1859-92) shared Chaim's aim to make Impressionism "solid and durable," but he went about it very differently. His career was so brief as those of Manet, Degas, and Cézanne, and his achievement in accounting Seurat devoted his best efforts to a few very large paintings, spending a year or more on each of them; he made countless series of preliminary studies before he felt sure enough to begin the definitive canvas. This painstaking method reflects his belief that art must be based on a system, like Degas, he had studied with a lifetime of angles, and his theoretical interests came from this experience. But, as with all artists of genius, Seurat's theories do not really explain his pictures; it is the pictures, rather, that express the theories. The subject of his first large-scale composition, the bathers of 1884-85 (Fig. 20), is of the sort that had long been popular among Impressionist painters. Impressionist, not, and the brilliant colors and the effect of summer sunlight. Otherwise, however, the picture is the very opposite of a quick "impression": the lines, simple contours and the relaxed, immobile figures give the scene a timeless stability that recalls Peter della Francesca (see



Fig. 19. Chaim Soutine,  
*Three and Twelve*, 1890-92.  
Oil on canvas.  
(The Tate Gallery, London)

Upper: Top, Vincent van Gogh  
*The Potato Eaters*,  
 1885, oil, 66 x 69".  
 Collection S. M. van Gogh,  
 Laren, Holland



Below: Top, Vincent van Gogh  
*Self-Portrait*, 1889, oil, 65 x 65".  
 Collection the Museum  
 of Modern Art, New York

colophon (p. 31). From the first weeks shows Gauguin's passion for order and permanence: the canvas surface is covered with systematic, impenetrable "flats" that study Gauguin's architectural blocks and their interpenetration and dynamics by comparison. In Gauguin's later works such as *Teie Moei* (the *Alone*) colophon (p. 31), the flats become tiny dots of brilliant color that were supposed to merge in the beholder's eye and produce intermediary

flats more luminous than those obtained from pigments mixed on the palette. This procedure was certainly known as *Superimpressionism*, *Poindrisme*, or *Divisionisme* (the term preferred by Gauguin). The actual result, however, did not conform to the theory. Looking at *Teie Moei* from a comfortable distance (200 cm) the colophon, 1-10 (for the original), we find that the mixing of colors in the eye creates incomplete, the dots do not disappear, but remain as clearly visible as the texture of a woven tapestry colophon (p. 31). Gauguin himself must have liked this accidental effect—had he not, he would have reduced the size of the dots—which gives the texture the quality of a shimmering, translucent curtain. In fact there, the texture is not so visible as the truth they had in the *Barbers*; modeling and tonal shimmering are reduced to a minimum, and the figure appears mostly as solid white points or blurred areas. As if Gauguin had adopted the rules of ancient Egyptian art (see page 31). However, they are there very precisely not a system of vertical and horizontal coordinates that holds them in place and defines the scene as a self-contained continuous field. Only in the work of Gauguin have we encountered a similar "area consciousness" (see page colophon 31).

While Gauguin and Gauguin were converting Impressionism into a more serene, classical style, Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) pursued the opposite direction. He followed that Impressionism did not provide the solid with enough freedom to express his emotions. Since this was his main concern, he is sometimes called an Expressionist, but the term ought to be reserved for artists who maintain that the inner world is the source of their art. Gauguin was not the same. Gauguin, the first great French master of the twentieth century, did not become an artist until after he had only two years left in his career was even broader than that of Gauguin. His early interest was in literature and religion; profoundly



associated with the values of industrial society, and without such a strong sense of mission, he worked for a while as a lay preacher among poverty-stricken coal miners. This same intense feeling for the poor dominates the paintings of his pre-impressionist period, affinity, to *The Miner's Family* (fig. 100), the best and most conscious work of these years, there remains a naive idealism that comes from his lack of conventional training, but the only smile in the expressive power of his style. It is reminiscent of Daubigny and Ribot (see figs. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

When he painted *The Miner's Family*, Van Gogh had not yet discovered the importance of color. It was later in Paris, where his brother Theo had a gallery devoted to modern art, he met (Degas, Manet, and other leading French artists. Their effect on him was electrifying: his pictures were filled with color, and his composition changed with the Divisionist technique of Seurat. This impressionist phase, however, lasted less than two years, although it was vitally important for his development. He had to integrate it with the style of his earlier years before his genius could fully unfold. Paris had opened his eyes to the technical beauty of the visible world and had taught him the pictorial language of the color patch, but painting continued to be nevertheless a quest for the personal equation. To investigate this spiritual unity with the new means he continued to want to draw, in the south of France. It was there, between 1888 and 1890, that he produced his greatest pictures.

Like Cézanne, Van Gogh was devoted to more images in landscape painting, but the unbridled Mediterranean landscape worked a very different impact upon him. He was filled with romantic movement, not architectural stability and permanence. In *Wheat Field and Cypress Trees* (landscape 101), he looks south and like other an overpowering turbulence: the wheat field swells in a stormy sea, the trees spring from the lava flow the ground, and the hills and clouds merge with the same vibrant feeling. The dynamism continued in every brush stroke

rather of each one was merely a deposit of color, but an intense graphic gesture. The artist's personal "handwriting" is here an even more dominant factor than in the canvases of Daubigny (see figs. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The quest for religious experience also played an important part in the work - if not in the life - of another great Post-Impressionist, Paul Gauguin (figs. 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642



and by 1885 was the central figure of a new movement called Symbolism or Symbolism. The style, thought less intensely personal than Van Gogh's, was in some ways an even further advance beyond Impressionism. Gauguin believed that Western civilization was "lost of soul," that industrial society had killed the two-dimensional art dedicated to material gain, while their emotions for religion. To substitute for himself this hidden world of feeling, Gauguin left Paris for western France to live among the peasants of Brittany. He turned particularly their religion was still part of the everyday life of the country people, and in paintings such as *Canoe-Loaders*, *The Vision After the Sermon (About Brittany with the Angel)*, he tried to depict their simple, direct faith. Here, at least, is what an American painter had achieved: a style based on pre-Renaissance sources. Modeling and perspective have given way to flat, unspatial

shapes outlined heavily in black, and the brilliant colors are equally "unnatural." This style, inspired by folk art and medieval stained glass, is meant to transcend both the imagined reality of the vision, and the image, like images of the peasant scenes. Yet we know that Gauguin, although he tried to share this experience, remains a craftsman; he could paint pictures about faith, but not faith itself.

Two years later, Gauguin's search for the unspoiled life had him even further afield. He voyaged to Tahiti as a sort of "missionary in reverse," to learn from the natives instead of teaching them. Although he spent the rest of his life in the South Pacific the movement became only one, in other words, more of his Tahitian scenes are in doing so close to his had gained in Brittany. The strongest works of this period are wonderful depictions of Tahitian life, like again presents the theme of religious worship, but the image of a landscape are replaced the Tahitian culture of the French is increasingly "natural" look and its bold white-on-black pattern, we can feel the influence of the native art of the French and other non-European styles. The movement of Western art and Western civilization as a whole, Gauguin believed, must come from "the primitive", he advised his fellow Frenchmen to return to their roots, and to turn toward Africa, the Far East, and even Egypt. Tahiti itself was not free. It came from the European world of the trade goods, propagated by the thinkers of the Enlightenment more than a century before, and its ultimate source is the upward tradition of an earthly paradise where Man had lived—and might perhaps live again—in a state of nature and innocence. But no one before Gauguin had gone so far to put the doctrine of primitivism into practice. His pilgrimage to the South Pacific had more than a purely personal meaning: it symbolized the end of the four hundred years of colonial expansion which had brought the entire globe under Western domination. The "white man's burden," once so proudly—and evidently—declared by the imperialists, was becoming unbearable.



above: 1891, *Canoe-Loaders*, Gauguin.  
Oil on canvas, 1891.  
The Art Institute of Chicago  
Gauguin Collection  
Gauguin Collection



right: 1891, *The Vision After the Sermon*, Gauguin.  
Oil on canvas, 1891.  
Gauguin Collection of Fine Arts, Germany

Van Gogh's and Gauguin's encounter with the spiritual life of Western civilization was part of a movement widely shared at the end of the nineteenth century. Aestheticism, preoccupation with decadence, art, and life, accompanied the artists and literary circles. Even those who were so much criticized for their preoccupation with art for art's sake, in a somewhat paradoxically, the very preoccupation to have access to through the truly decadent, as they would, are ready to realize their plight. The most remarkable instance of this struggle was that of Toulouse-Lautrec (1874-1901), physically an ugly dwarf, he was an artist of superb talent who led a decadent life in the night spots of Paris and died of syphilis. He was a great admirer of Gauguin, and his is the Musée d'Orsay (fig. 104) recalls the young companion of Gauguin. The Glass of Absinthe (see fig. 94), for the view of the well-known night club is not his greatest ("like a life"). Toulouse-Lautrec was through the gay surface of the scene, viewing performers and customers with a pitilessly sharp eye for their decadence including his own. In the tiny barmaid was seen the very all over in the back of the room. The large area of the color, however, and the emphatic, unashamed covering colors, reflect the influence of Gauguin. Although Toulouse-Lautrec was not Symbolist, the Museum Group that he shows here has an atmosphere of mysticism and oppressive darkness cannot but regard as a vision of evil. In the work of the Belgian painter James Ensor (1879-1949), this pessimistic view of the human condition reaches obvious intensity. *Derrière les vitres* (fig. 105) is a great tragic warning, for even without these masks we know some worse than they are the nineteenth-century face.

Fig. 104. *Derrière les vitres* (The Women Behind the Glass) (1892). National Museum, Oslo



Fig. 105. *Derrière les vitres* (The Women Behind the Glass) (1892). National Museum, Oslo



viewing the elements entirely hidden behind the façade of everyday appearance. The decadent world of French and Belgium has come to the again, in modern guise (compare figs. 94, 95). Something of the same morbid quality pervades the early work of Edvard Munch (1874-1944), a gifted Norwegian who came to Paris in 1894 and found his deeply expressive style in Toulouse-Lautrec, Van Gogh, and Gauguin. *The Scream* (fig. 106) shows the influence of all three. It is an image of fear, the swirling, uncontrolled sea we have experienced, unlike French and Dutch (figs. 94, 95), Munch visualizes this experience without the aid of brightening appearances, and for what reason is the more powerful for that very reason, the rhythm of the long, heavy lines seems to study the color of the sunset into every corner of the picture, making of death and life one great swirling band of fear.

When the young Pablo Picasso arrived in Paris in 1891, he came under the spell of the same artistic atmosphere that had produced the style of Munch. His so-called Blue



184. Antonio Marini, *Seated Woman (Madonnina)*, a white, height 67". Collection  
Dr. Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, Switzerland



185. Antonio Marini, *Woman (Seated) (Madonnina)*, a white, height 67". Collection, Fondazione Scuderie del Re, Brera, Milan, Italy

Period after some refers to the prevailing color of his creation as well as to their formal qualities placed in contrast to pictures of figures and figures such as *The Old Woman* (fig. 185), which is a series of works where yellow reflects the artist's own sense of isolation.

For these figures, usually painted in a dark, almost black, color, the artist's sense of isolation is expressed in a way that is both a reflection of his own sense of isolation and a reflection of the isolation of the figures themselves. The artist's sense of isolation is expressed in a way that is both a reflection of his own sense of isolation and a reflection of the isolation of the figures themselves.

It was years later, however, that his friends discovered a painter who until then had attracted no attention, although he had been exhibiting his work since 1888. He was from Bergamo (fig. 186), a small town in the north. He had started to paint in the middle of the century, but he had not yet reached the maturity of any one. The artist, which, fortunately, he never achieved, was a kind of academic style of the late 19th century. However, in that period, a full sense of spirit. How else could he have done a picture like *The Old Woman* (fig. 185) which, unfortunately, he never did. It is possible, but perhaps, for that very reason, he never became artistically real to us. However, he had described the scene in a few words:

Yesterday, possibly today  
Entered my room  
She had a kind of smile  
Placing upon the wall  
The old and the new  
The old and the new  
The old and the new  
The old and the new

There is but in that distant distance of feeling which Gropius thought was so necessary for the art, and he tried to do it. But, however, he was the first to recognize this quality in Marini's work. This was not, quite justifiably, as the publisher of contemporary painting.

Testaments dependent on Post-impressionism do not appear in sculpture until about 1900. Sculpture of a younger generation had by then been trained under the dominant influence of Rodin and were ready to go their own way. The three of them, Antonio Marini (1888-1942), began as a Symbolist painter, although he did not share Gropius's anti-Classical attitude. Marini might be called a "Symbolist painter," although the simplest strength of early Greek sculpture, he spent in his hands. The *Seated Woman* (fig. 185) is a series of works of the artist and from 1900 (fig. 186), 1910-1915, rather than of Rodin and Picasso. The artist's sense of isolation is expressed in a way that is both a reflection of his own sense of isolation and a reflection of the isolation of the figures themselves. The artist's sense of isolation is expressed in a way that is both a reflection of his own sense of isolation and a reflection of the isolation of the figures themselves.



Seated Woman, Auguste Rodin, 1877-78, bronze, height 37"  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Seated Woman, Auguste Rodin, 1877-78, bronze, height 37"  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York  
Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

the sense of atmosphere, with some of the restless, stirring energy of Rodin's work. In this respect, the Seated Woman is the exact opposite of The Thinker (see fig. 192). Michel later gave it the title *Andromède*—The Andromeda—so suggest the catastrophe which he drew the timeless serenity of his figure.

The Seated Woman (fig. 192) by the Belgian sculptor George Minne (1866-1941) also shows a state of brooding calm, but the rugged, angular limbs reflect Gothic, not classical, influence and the mask-like rigidity of the pose suggests religious meditation. The statue is part of a female design that consists of five identical kneeling boys, grouped around a central basin as if engaged in a solemn feast. We must see this figure as one anonymous member of a rhythmically repeated sequence. If we are to understand its mood of quiet withdrawal, Minne's art attracted little notice in France, but was admired in Germany. Its influence is apparent in the Seated Woman (fig. 193) by Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881-1919), for a Gothic elongation and angularity are combined with a line balance derived from Michel's art, and also with some of Rodin's expressive energy. The total effect is a brooding monumental figure well anchored

in space, yet partaking of that poetic melancholy made central in Picasso's Blue Period. Ernst Barlach (1869-1935), another important German sculptor who reached maturity in the years before the First World War, seems the only opposite of Lehmbruck. He is a "Gothic primitive," and more gone to Munich than to the Northern Gothicist tradition. When Giuseppe Penz experienced in Germany and the tropics, Barlach found by going to Rome: the simple humanity of a pre-colonial age. His figures, such as the Man Drawing a Sword (fig. 194), embody elementary elements—work, rest, grief—that were depicted upon them by invisible pressures. When they set they are like monumental, unaware of their own impulses. When, in Barlach, is a humble measure of the entry of fate beyond his control, he is never the master of his fate. Characteristically, these figures do not fully emerge from the material substance of life, as here, a massive block of wood of which they are made, their clothing is like a hard chrysalis that takes the body, as in medieval sculpture. Barlach's art has enough that is warmly human to be both human and emotion, yet its mode inevitably weighs these bodies in too easily forgotten.

## 4. *Twentieth-Century Painting and Sculpture*

In our account of modern art we have already discussed a succession of "isms": Symbolism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Divisionism, Synthetism. There are many more to be mentioned—twentieth-century art—no doubt, it felt, that nobody has made an exact count. These "isms" are then a serious obstacle to understanding this era, not in that they've caused hope to comprehend the art of our time when we consider ourselves as a matter of artistic doctrine. Actually, we can do without all but the most important "isms": like the terms we have used for the styles of earlier periods, they are merely labels to help us put things in their proper place. If an "ism" fails the test of usefulness, we need not make it. This is true of many "isms": in contemporary art the movements they designate either cannot be seen very clearly as separate entities, or have so little importance that they are almost only the operation. It has always been easier to invent new labels than to create a movement in art that truly deserves one name.

Still, we cannot do without "isms" altogether. Since the start of the modern era, the Western world—and, increasingly, the non-Western world—has found for some time problems everywhere, and local artistic traditions have readily given way to international trends. Among these we put alongside these main currents, such competing "schools" of "isms," that began among the Post-Impressionists, and have developed greatly in our own century:

Expressionism, Abstraction, and Fantasy. The first stresses the artist's emotional attitude toward himself and the world; the second, the formal structure of the work of art; the third explores the realm of the imagination, especially its spontaneous and irrational qualities. We must not forget, however, that feeling, order, and imagination are all present in every work of art, without exception; it would be utterly dull without some degree of order, it would be chaotic without feeling; it would have no concern. These currents, then, are too mutually exclusive. We shall find them intermingled in many ways, and the work of our artist may well belong to more than one current. Moreover, each current contains a wide range of approaches, from the realistic to the completely non-representational (or non-objective). Thus these three currents do not correspond to specific styles, but to general attitudes. The primary concern of the Expressionist is the human community; of the Abstractionist, the structure of reality; and of the artist of Fantasy, the elements of the individual human mind.

The twentieth century may be said, so far as painting is concerned, to have begun five epochs. Between 1901 and 1904, several comprehensive exhibitions of the work of Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Cézanne were held in Paris. Thus, for the first time the achievements of these modern masters accessible to a broad public. The young painters who had grown up in the "studio," trained most of their days just page by page were profoundly impressed, and

The Stone Market,  
The Art of Life, 1925, oil on  
canvas, 100 x 140 cm.  
Balthus, Constantin,  
Matisse, Bonnard, etc.



several of them developed a radical new style, full of vibrant color and bold distortions. On their first public appearance, in 1919, they so shocked critical opinion that they were dubbed the French like wild beasts; a label they wore with pride. Actually, it was not excessive passion that brought them together, but their shared sense of liberative and regenerative. As a movement, Fauvism comprised numerous loosely related, individual artists, and the group dissolved after a few years.

In leading member Jean Marie Matisse (1869-1954), the oldest of the founding fathers of twentieth-century painting, *The Joy of Life* (fig. 191), probably the most important picture of his long career, sums up the spirit of Fauvism better than any other single work. It obviously derives in its plans of color, form, and underlying culture, aesthetic "grammar" from all its forerunners (European late colorism/impresionism, even its subject suggests the vision of this is a state of Nature that Gauguin had pointed to years earlier (fig. 181). But we must realize that these figures are not Nohle figures under the spell of a native god; the subject is a pagan scene in the (faucist) sense—a faucist is like Titian's postmodern/colorist god. From the point of the figures here (for the most part) a Classical image, and in the apparently random composition, we see a profound knowledge of the human body (Matisse had been trained in the academic tradition). What makes the picture so revolutionary is its radical treatment, its "grammar of sensation," something that possibly can be, has been left out or stated by implication only, and the ways where the elements of plastic form and spatial depth, coloring, Matisse seems to say, is the chaotic arrangement of form and color on a flat plane, form is not only flat, form for use the image of nature/created down without distorting its basic proportion and thus reducing it to mere surface sensation? "What I see after, above all," he once explained, "is expression . . . [but] . . . expression does not consist of the gesture enclosed upon a human face. . . . The whole arrangement of my picture is expression. The placement of figure or object, the empty space around them, the proportions, everything plays a part." But what, we wonder, does *The Joy of Life* express? Exactly what its title says. Whether he felt it or not, Matisse was never satisfied by the more spiritual dimension with the "discovery" of his civilization. He had strong feelings about only one thing—the art of drawing (his art was an experience or probably joy—what he wanted to transmit is to the beholder in all its freedom and immediacy. The purpose of his picture, he always asserted, was to give pleasure.

The radical new balance Matisse struck between the "D" and "L" aspects of painting is particularly evident in his drawing in Red (subfigure 19). In spreading the same flat horizontal pattern on the tablecloth and on the wall, yet to distinguish the horizontal from the vertical planes with complete accuracy, Matisse had possessed this imagination of surface—extension into the depth of a picture (see subfigure 181, but Matisse here



fig. 191. Georges Braque's *Head of Man*.  
Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 1897, 21 x 31".  
Collection Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., New York.

make is the mastery of the composition. Explicitly told—but perfectly realized—is the view of a garden with flowering trees, seen through the window; the house in the distance is painted the same bright pink as the interior, and is thereby brought into relation with the rest of the picture. Likewise the blue of the sky, the green of the foliage, and the bright yellow sun (the flowers) all merge in the large red. Braque's "grammar of sensation" is again at work: by reducing the number of colors to a minimum, he makes of color an independent structural element. It has such importance that drawing is itself would be meaningless in a black-and-white reproduction.

Another member of the Fauve, Georges Rouault (1871-1959), would not have used Matisse's definition of "expression." For him this had all to do with, as it had for Gauguin, "the gesture enclosed upon a human face"; we need only look at his *Head of Christ* (fig. 192). But the expressionism does not reside only in the "image quality" of the face. The savage, slanting angles of the brush speak equally eloquently of the artist's rage and compassion. If we cover the upper third of the picture, it is no longer a recognizable image, yet the expressive effect is hardly diminished. Rouault is the poet here of



1890, Vincent van Gogh, *Dead Christ* c. 1890, 1890 (1912), The Art Institute of Chicago (through Renaissance/Contemporary)

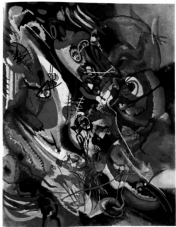


1913, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Down*, 1913 (1913), The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Donated)

Van Gogh's and Gauguin's concern for the savage state of the world. He, however, before the spiritual renewal through a spiritual Catholicism, the picture, whenever their subjects are personal statements of their artistic steps. Treated in his youth as a stained glass window, he was later prepared than the other figures to share Gauguin's enthusiasm for traditional art. However, later work, such as *The Old King* (c. 1890-91), his glowing colors and compositions, these paintings (c. 1890-91) by Gauguin stained glass windows (c. 1890-91). He within this framework to return a good deal of the potential freedom to use in the *Dead Christ*, and the old king's face suggests a sense of recognition and even suffering that reminds us of Rembrandt and Rembrandt.

Rembrandt's expressionism was unique among French artists. The only artist in Paris to follow his lead was Chaim Soutine (1891-1905), an immigrant from Russia. Soutine. The rich impasto and the temperance, which he worked in *The Dead Christ*, eventually reflect the influence of the older master. Although the picture belongs conventionally to the class of still life, the dead body is a terrifying symbol of death. As we look at the ghostly, cream-white body, we realize with sudden horror its close resemblance to a human shape. It evokes the awkward plump of figures, and in perhaps, a subtle direct image of Soutine's definition of Man as a "flesh-toned figure." For his power to transcend these images into visual form, Soutine has no equal among twentieth-century artists.

It was ultimately that French tradition, including impact, especially among the members of a generation of artists (the *Dieckmann*), a group of the modernism reflected in Soutine's work. Their early works, such as *Down* (c. 1890-1905) (c. 1890-1905), not only reflect Soutine's simplified, rhythmic line and color sense, but also clearly reveal the close influence of Van Gogh and Gauguin. Soutine also shows elements of Soutine's work (c. 1890-1905), who was then living in Berlin and deeply impressed the German Expressionists. One Soutine artist, Emil Nolde (1867-1928), made connections even older than the one, he shared Soutine's production for religious themes, although he was a far less sensitive painter. The thick, textured surface and the difference in shadow throughout of his *Dead Christ* (c. 1910) suggest Soutine's work, which captured all potential influence in favor of a personal, direct expression inspired by Gauguin. Soutine's greatest work, too, came to mind (c. 1910-1911), and the main intensity of Soutine's painting was by 1910. Soutine's work of highly individual style, related to the Soutine although not a member of it, is the Austrian, Ernst Kirchner's (c. 1910-1911), the most remarkable work is his painting painted before the First World War, such as the spiritual *Up* (c. 1910-1911). Like Van Gogh, Kirchner was himself as a visionary, a witness to the truth and reality of his inner experience (c. 1910-1911) (c. 1910-1911) (c. 1910-1911).

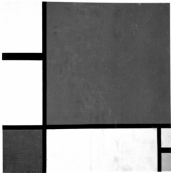


Exhibition by Spanish Surrealists, Madrid for the "Guernica 1937"  
and "Guernica 1937" Collection (Pablo Picasso, 1937)





*Completed by Pablo Picasso, Three Females, 1935.  
Vintage Art Co. 1977. Collection of the artist.*



*Composition 16: Piet Mondrian, Experiment with Blue, Blue, and Yellow*  
1910 (Enamel, 10 x 10", Collection M.M. and Mm. Arnold P. Barton, New York)



*Colonne de Hans Kries, Part pour l'ensemble, 1968  
Céramique, 80 1/2 x 17 1/2', New Foundation, Bonn*

even fascinated by a gross index of the imagination, it may not be fanciful to find in this tortured psyche an echo of the cultural climate that also produced Sigismund Freud. A more obvious descendant of the Biedermeier era was Beckmann's 1884-1891, who did not become an impressionist until after he had experienced the First World War, which left him with a deep distrust of the state of modern civilization. (The *Stones* (fig. 17) is a shocking nightmare, a child, crying/wailing, crowded with puppet-like figures, an atmosphere known Brecht's *Red Sea* (fig. 18) for symbolism, however, is even more difficult to interpret, that it is intensely subjective, though so overabundantly in expressive power.

How could Beckmann have expressed the chaos in Germany after that war, with the worn-out language of traditional symbols? "There are the emotions that have my imagination," he wrote to me. "They show the true nature of modern man—how weak we are, how helpless, against ourselves in this period of 'revealed progress.' Many elements from this progress and modern science reveal more than a decade later in the natural points of Beckmann's imagery, because he is not just a completed work, under Nazi pressure, he was on the point of leaving his homeland, in the knowledge of today, the hope-sure quality of these two scenes, full of modernism and humanism (like), has opened the force of gravity. The other things of the artist's past, in contrast, with its exposure of that we and its world, together, convey the hopeful spirit of an escape to



silence, after living through the Second World War to escape Hitler, under the most trying conditions, Beckmann spent the first three years of his exile in America.

But the most lasting and original way forward Expressionism was taken in Germany by a Russian, Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), the leading member of a group of Munich artists called *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider), from 1911-1914. Kandinsky abandoned impressionism altogether. Using the rainbow colors and the blue, dynamic movement of the Pointillists, he created a completely



about 1917, Otto Dix  
The Stone (1917) 100% 100%  
Gottfried Kasper, Art and East India,  
Frankfurt (Germany), Germany

As 1917, Otto Dix  
The Stone (1917) 100% 100%  
The Museum of Modern Art,  
New York (Germany)

As 1917, Otto Dix  
The Stone (1917) 100% 100%  
Collection Museum of Art,  
St. Louis, Missouri



fig. José Clemente Orozco, *Descent from the Cross* (1931). Oil, University of Washington, Seattle

non-objective style. These works have titles as abstract as their forms; for example, one of the most striking is called *March 4 for "Compución III"* (although I'd like to think we should avoid the term "abstract," because it is so often taken to mean that the artist has abandoned and simplified the shapes of visible reality). Compare Orozco's desire for an internationalism based on the arts, culture, and industry: this was not the method of Kandinsky. Whatever traces of impressionism his work contains are quite inconspicuous—his aim was to change form and color with a purely spiritual meaning (as he put it) by transcending all resemblance to the physical world. Whether, too, his sphere of "directing the process from any outside sort of impact" (as even attributed Kandinsky's use of "musical" references) appears, it is the liberating influence of the Primer that persuaded Kandinsky to put this theory into practice. The possibility was clearly implicit in Picasso from the start, as shown in our experiment with Rouault's *Child of China*: when the upper limit of the palette is crossed, the red becomes a non-representational composition strongly reminiscent of Kandinsky's. How valid is the analogy

between painting and music? When a painter like Kandinsky claims to "think in non-representational, that is really life for art is painting itself" (it would be to then his declared independence from representational images were from his control to "express music," what does this even mean exactly? Kandinsky's advocates like to point out that non-representational painting has a "harmony" of colors, and to declare such dependence on another art, but they do not explain why the "musical" content of non-objective painting should be more desirable. Is painting less able to move than its kinship? They want to think music is a higher art than literature or painting because it is inherently non-representational—a point of view with no musical tradition that goes back to Plato, and includes Plotinus, St Augustine, and their medieval successors. The contents of literature, music might then be termed "musical contentment"—they do not resemble images as worked, but disengage them as received. The case is difficult to argue, but there is neither standard this theory is right or wrong: the proof of the pudding is in the eating, not the recipe. Kandinsky's—or any artist's—ideas are not important to us unless we are concerned of the importance of his pictures: that he wrote a viable style? Additionally, his work demands an immediate response that may be hard for some of us, yet the painting has reproduced his clarity and reality, and a robust freedom of feeling that impresses us even though we are sometimes when exactly the same has expressed.

American artists looked back to the Futurists by exhibiting them from 1913 on, and after the First World War there was a growing interest in the German Expressionism as well. American painters, however, were slow to adopt the new movement. During the 1920s and 30s, the center of Expressionism in the New World was Mexico, rather than the United States. The Mexican Revolution began in 1910 with the fall of the despotic Díaz, and continued for more than two decades. It inspired a group of young painters to search for a national style incorporating the primitive heritage of pre-Columbian art (see page 150). They also felt that their art must be "of the people," expressing the spirit of the Revolution in its moral values in public buildings. Although each developed his own distinctive style, they shared a common point of departure: the Symbolist art of Gauguin. They all had drawn from two Western forms that he integrated with his Western tradition, and the first, decorative quality was especially particularly suited to Mexico. The combination of these artists in the political ferment of the day often led them to combine their work with designed architecture. The artist least subject to this influence of form and subject matter was José Clemente Orozco (fig. 151), a previously independent artist who refused to get entangled in political politics. One draft from the mural cycle at the University of Guadalajara (fig. 152) illustrates his most powerful work, a clear humanitarian sympathy with the alien, suffering masses.

The secret of our main currents is this: we so called Abstraction. When discussing Kandinsky, we said that the term is usually taken to mean the process or the result of analyzing and simplifying observed reality. Actually, it means "to draw away from, to separate." If we have two apples, and then separate the top from the apples, we get an "abstract number," a number that no longer refers to particular things, but "apples," too, is an abstraction, since it points two apples to one other, without regard for their individual qualities. The artist who sets out to paint two apples will find no two of them alike, (all his nearest possible two nearest of all their differences) even the most painstakingly realistic portrayal of these particular pieces of fruit is bound for the sake itself of its abstraction. Abstraction, then, goes into the making of any work of art, whether the artist knows it or not. The process was not conscious and controlled, however, until the Early Renaissance, when artists first analyzed the shapes of nature in terms of mathematical bodies (see page 26). Cézanne and Braque initiated this approach and explored it further; they are the direct ancestors of the abstract movement in twentieth-century art. Its first creator, however, was Pablo Picasso.

Almost very, stimulated as much by the African as by the retrospective exhibitions of the primitive Impressionists, Picasso gradually abandoned the relatively harmonious of his Blue Period for a more violent style. He shared Matisse's criticism for Gauguin and Cézanne, but he carried these matters very differently, in contrast to produced his own counterpart in *The Joy of Life*, a monumental canvas so challenging that it outraged even Matisse (fig. 146). The title, *Les Femmes d'Alger* ("The Young Ladies of Algeria"), does not refer to the town of that name, but to Algeria itself in a somewhat remote of Barcelona, where Picasso started the picture. It was to be a composition more in a brood, but he ended up with a composition of five males and a still life. But what males? Matisse's generalized figures in *The Joy of Life* (see fig. 10) were surely innocuous compared to this savage aggressiveness. The three on the left are angular distortions of classical figures, but the violently distorted features and bodies of the other two have all the barbaric qualities of primitive Impression (figs. 20-21, 30-32). Following Gauguin's lead, the French had discovered the aesthetic appeal of African and Oceanic cultures, and had introduced Picasso to this material; yet it was he, rather than they, who used primitive art as a hammer war against the classical conception of beauty. Not only like proportions, but the organic integrity and continuity of the human body are denied here, so that the canvas fits the apt description of one critic: "resembles a field of broken glass." Picasso, then, has developed a great deal, what has he gained in the process? Once we recover from the initial shock, we begin to see that the destruction is quite methodical: everything—the figures as well as their setting—is broken up into angular wedges or facets. Then, we will see, are not flat, but



146. Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger* (O.J. 125), 1895-98, oil, 29" x 32". The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest)



147. Pablo Picasso, *Femmes d'Alger* (O.J. 125), 1895-98, oil, 29" x 32". The Museum of Modern Art, New York



as he himself. In this latter capacity, they endow the collage with a self-sufficiency that no *Three Calves* picture can have. A tree, after all, is a self-contained area, detached from the rest of the physical world—no less a painting, it cannot show more than it actually is. The difference between the two phases of Calves may also be defined in terms of picture space. *Three Calves* seems a certain kind of depth, the painted surface acting as a window through which we still perceive remnants of the limited perspective space of the Renaissance. Through fragment and refraction, this space lies behind the picture plane and has no visible limits; potentially, it may contain objects that are hidden from our view. In collage Calves, on the contrary, the picture space lies in front of the plane of the “tree”; space is not created by illusion, via devices such as modeling and foreshortening, but by the actual overlapping of layers of painted materials. When, as in Figure 16, the apparent thickness of these materials, and their distance from each other, is increased by a bit of shading here and there, this does not affect the integrity of the nonperspective space. Unlike Calves, then, collage basically foregoes space, the first step Picasso: it is a true landmark in the history of painting.

Before long, Picasso and Braque discovered that they could create this new pictorial space without the use of colored materials; they had only to paint as if they were making collages. Picasso's *Three Musicians* (fig. 17) shows this “cut-paper style” so convincingly that we can not tell from the reproduction whether it is painted or pasted. If it is, in any event, one of the great masterpieces of collage Calves, monumental in size and conception. The separate planes are fitted together as firmly as architectural blocks, yet the artist's primary concern is not with the surface patterns of his work; the painting would resemble a ponderous altar, but with the image of the three musicians, traditional figures of the comedy stage. Their human presence, solemn and even sinister, may be noted behind the screen of costumes and masks.

By now, Picasso was increasingly aware. Calves had spread throughout the Western world; it influenced not only other painters, but sculptors and even architects. Picasso himself, however, was already looking out in a new direction. Soon after the invention of collage Calves, he had begun to draw more in a schematized, rather mannered restraint of lines, and he came to use working simultaneously in two quite separate styles: that of the *Three Musicians*, and a Neoclassic style of strongly outlined, heavily loaded figures such as *Mother and Child* (fig. 18). To many of his admirers, this seemed a kind of balance, but in retrospect the reason for Picasso's double-track performance is clear: chafing under the limitations of collage Calves, he wanted to become content with the classical tradition, the “cult of the musician.” The figure in *Mother and Child* has a stock-neoclassical quality that suggests classical canon rather than Robt-and-Boud human beings, yet the theme



fig. 16. Pablo Picasso, *Three Musicians*, 1913, 75 x 117 cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Gift of Joseph Hugganbush Fund)



fig. 18. Pablo Picasso, *Mother and Child*, 1918, oil, 61 x 61 cm. Collection Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Morgan, New York





*The Peasants* (Blanes, 1927; 11' 0" x 12' 0"). The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Reproduction from the Artica)

is treated with surprising tenderness. The faces, however, are exactly dominated within the frame, not unlike the way the *Three Musicians* is put together. A few years later the two tracks of Picasso's style began to converge, making an extraordinary synthesis that has since become the basis of his art. The *Three Musicians* of 1921 (catalogue no. 29) shows how far away he was from the impossible task. Inevitably, the picture is pure village Cubism; it even includes painted indications of specific

materials: patterned wallpaper and samples of various fabrics cut out with gilding stencils. But the figures, a wildly fantastic version of a classical scheme (compare the dancers in Matisse's *The Joy of Life*, fig. 20), are as even more violent as usual on a composition that the figures in the *Democritus of Anaxagoras* (fig. 20) human anatomy is here simply the raw material for Picasso's incredibly dense inventiveness. Heads, breasts, and faces are founded on the same swirling function as the fragments of mineral bodies in Braque's *Le Geste* (fig. 20). Their original density is larger matter—breasts may turn into eyes, profiles merge with frontal views, shadows become substance, and vice versa, in an endless flow of metamorphoses. They are "almost pure," offering wholly unexpected positions of expression—humorous, grotesque, tender, even tragic. That Picasso's view still may have truly monumental grandeur is evident in his mural, *Guernica* (fig. 24), painted in 1937. As a vision of a moral crisis, Picasso had been since affected by the First World War, not due to direct any intense experience during the years. But the Spanish Civil War seemed to be a partnership with the League. The mural, executed for the Pavilion of the Spanish Republic at the Paris International Exposition, was inspired by the bitter bombing of Guernica, the ancient capital of the Basques in northern Spain. It does not represent the actual (and) nation, with a series of powerful images, it evokes the agony of total war, the destruction of Guernica was the first demonstration of the technique of systematic bombing which was later employed on a large scale during the Second World War. The mural was thus a prophetic vision of doom—the doom that descends on even more to the age of nuclear war. The symbolism of the scene made precise comparisons, despite its several traditional elements: the mother and her dead child are the descendants of the Peasants (fig. 24), the woman with the lamp recalls the Vision of Volp, and

*My Antennae* (Blanes, 1927; 11' 0" x 12' 0").  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York,  
Collection of the Artica



two-foot figure's head, still clutching a broken sword) is a further evidence of human weakness. We also sense the contrast between the towering, human-headed bull, easily intended to represent the forces of darkness, and the tiny figure. These figures are, then, identifying themselves to what they are, not to what they want: the emotional abstractions, fragmentations, and constant plastic shifts in the three figures seemed selfed and human, more humane a stark reality, the reality of an inhuman pain. The dramatic use of the visibility of collage construction (here it superimposed over "various" images of red, black, white, and gray) is that it could serve as the vehicle of such overpowering emotions.

As originally conceived by Picasso and Braque, Cubism was a formal discipline of subtle balance applied to traditional subjects—still life, portraits, the male, three figures, however, now in the new style a special affinity with the geometric precision of engineering that made it completely attuned to the demands of modern life. The short-lived Futurist movement in Italy exemplified this attitude; in fact the French found a maximum affinity rejecting the past, and creating the beauty of the machine. Their output was more original in technique (see page 12) if there is more painting. Representations of Futurism appear in *Brooklyn Bridge* (fig. 116), by the Parisian-foreigner Joseph Stella (1874–1946), with its mass of luminous angles, vigorous diagonal thrusts, and constant "collage" of space. Cubism was discarded from it after to be seen in the early work of George Grosz (1893–1959), a German painter and graphic artist, who had studied in Paris in 1910. At the end of the First World War, he developed a bitter, strongly ironic style to express the disillusionment of his generation. In Germany, a *Winter's Tale* (fig. 118), the city of Berlin forms a background—and character—background for several large figures, which are superimposed on it as in a collage; the machine-like, cold "good citizen" in his talk, and the woman thereafter walked him in supercilious slowness, a general, and a schoolmaster. In contrast, the *City* (fig. 119), by the French painter Fernand Léger (1895–1955), is a beautifully conceived industrial landscape that is rather without living color, and where the clear geometric shapes of modern machinery, brought with optimism and photographic construction, it compares to a mechanical shape. In this instance, the term "abstraction" applies more to the choice of design elements and their manner of construction than to the shapes themselves, even those groups for the two figures on the sidewalk are "pre-fabricated" scenes.

The most radical abstractionist of our time was, strongly enough, a Dutch painter who was older than Picasso, that Mondrian (1872–1942) the native Paris in 1910 as a native Expressionist in the tradition of Van Gogh and the Fauves. Under the impact of Piet Mondrian, his work soon underwent a complete change, as illustrated in *Flowing* (see fig. 120). The technique here



(18) *Winter's Tale*, Germany, a Winter's Tale (1918).  
Formerly Collection, Guggenheim Museum, New York

uses a network of dark lines against a background of white and light gray, superimposed of squares and dots, which shows a strong tendency to break up into separate cells. The dark lines form cells in place as boundaries hold the pieces of a stained-glass window. By further simplifying these elements, Mondrian developed within the next decade a completely new representational style that he called Neo-Plasticism (the movement as a whole is also known as the *Stijl*, after the Dutch magazine advocating the theory). Comparison with Piet Mondrian, and Pablo Picasso (fig. 121) shows Mondrian's style as its most extreme; he created his design in horizontal and vertical and his colors in the three primary tones, plus black and white. Every possibility of representation is thereby eliminated. Yet Mondrian's expression goes to his roots and follows Paul Gauguin, of Breton (fig. 122)–France, that first in some degree of abstraction, however indirect, with abstract reality (Piet Mondrian, Mondrian did not drive for pure, formal creation, his goal, as normal, was "pure reality," and he defined this as equilibrium "through the balance of unequal but equivalent oppositions." Perhaps we can best understand what he meant if we think of his work as "abstract collage" that was black bands and colored rectangles,



101. Piet Mondrian, *No. 10, 1944* (no. 10-177).  
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, L. Binstock Collection



102. Piet Mondrian, *Stroom (Flow)*, 1945  
(no. 10-187). Collection B.J. Meppenhuis Signet,  
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

Instead of recognizable fragments of their existing and recognizable life, we interested only in relationships, and wanted to dissolving themselves in abstract associations. But, by establishing the "right" relationship among the bands and rectangles, to transform them as thoroughly as I began transformed the shapes of painted paper in the *Flow*. How did he go about dissolving the "right" relationship? And how did he determine the shape and position for the bands and rectangles? In Mondrian's past career, the ingredients are to color value ("gray") by chance; Mondrian, apart from his self-imposed rules, continuously faced the dilemma of an indeterminability. He could not change the relationship of the bands to the rectangles without changing the bands and rectangles themselves. When we consider the

task, we begin to realize its infinite complexity. Looking again at *Composition with Red, Blue and Yellow* makes clear when we measure the various units, only the proportions of the canvas itself are truly rational, all other squares. Mondrian has arrived at all the time "by trial," and most have undergone agonies of trial and error. How often, we wonder, did he change the dimensions of the unit rectangle, to bring it and the other elements into self-contained equilibrium? Through art may come, Mondrian's capacity was for non-rational balance is to specify that critics well acquainted with his work have so difficult to distinguish from genuine pictures. Composers who work with non-figurative shapes, such as architects and typographers, are likely to be more sensitive to this quality, and Mondrian has had a greater influence among them than among painters or the non-painters.

The last concern, which we termed *Flowing*, follows a course less clear-cut than the other two, since it depends not only on the mind more than on any particular style. The one thing of picture-of-future have in common is the fact that imagination, "the mind eye," is more important than the sensory world. Just since every artist's imagination is his own private domain, the images it provides for him are likely to be equally private, unless he subjects them to a deliberate process of selection. But how can such "unconnected" images have meaning to the beholder, whose own inner world is not the same as the artist's? Psychoanalysis has taught us that we are never different from each other in this respect as we like to think. Our minds are all built on the same basic patterns, and the same is true of our imagination and memory. There being to the unconscious part of the mind where experiences are stored, whether we want to remember them or not. At night, or whenever conscious thought returns to vigilance, our experiences come back to us and we seem to live through them again. However, the unconscious mind does not usually reproduce our experiences as they actually happened. They will often be distorted into the consistent part of the mind to the gaze of "dream images"—in this form they enter the mind and we live the with our memories more easily. This distorting of experience by the unconscious mind is surprisingly often in itself so, although the process works best with some individuals than with others. Hence we are always interested in imaginary things, provided they are presented to us in such a way that they seem real. What happens in a fairy tale, for example, would be identical the mannerly language of a news report, but when it is told to us as it should be told, we are interested. The same thing is true of paintings—we recall the *Flow* by Piet Mondrian but when (like his) but who, we may ask, does private human count as large in present-day art? We saw the trend beginning at the end of the nineteenth century in the art of Puvis and Gauguin (see figs. 100, 101); perhaps this suggests part of the answer. There seem to be several interesting cases: first, the drawings that developed



*Myself and Melancholy of a Dream*, 1911 (oil on linen). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Stanley B. Kunitz, New Canaan, Connecticut

between reason and imagination in the wake of nihilism, which needed to dissolve the heritage of myth and legend that had been the common channel of private fantasy in earlier times; second, the artist's greater freedom—and insecurity—within the social fabric, giving him a sense of isolation and leaving an introspective attitude; and, finally, the European state of emotion that prompted the artist to seek and subjective experience, and to accept its validity. In nineteenth-century painting, private fantasy was still a minor current. After 1900, it became a major one.

The heritage of Romanticism can be seen most clearly in the extraordinary pictures painted in Paris just before the First World War by Giorgio de Chirico (born 1891), such as *Myself and Melancholy of a Dream* (fig. 18). This dreamlike space with its eerily descending arcades, eerily empty, illuminated by the cold full moon, has all the poetry of Romanticism. But then the extremely rationalist art of the "rational" came in the full force of futurism: everything here suggests an irony, a protest of resistance and dispiriting resignation; the "Christ himself" could not explain the contradictions in these paintings—the empty fountain-side, or the girl with the lamp—than trouble and bewilder me. Later, after he had returned to Italy, he adopted a conservative style and repudiated his early work, as if he were embarrassed at having put his dreams world on public display. The power of nostalgia, as evident in *Myself and Melancholy of a Dream*, also demonstrates the limitations of those Chagall (born 1891), a Russian Jew who came to Paris in

1905. I and the Village (fig. 19) is a colorful tale that commemorates moments of Russian folk tales, Jewish poverty, and the Russian countryside in an glowing vision. Here, as in many later works, Chagall absorbs the experience of his childhood; there were so important to him that his imagination shaped and reshaped them for years without their previous being diminished.

The "fairy tales" of the Russian-born painter that Klee (fig. 20) and his wife Sophie (fig. 21) were so attracted to Chagall's, although at first they may seem so to most children (Klee, too, had been influenced by Cubism), but sensitive art, and the drawings of small animals, told an equally vital story for him. During the First World War, he rebelled from these drawings because a potential language of his own, naturally emotional and precise. Following Matisse (fig. 22), a delicate pen drawing used with maximum effectiveness the unique flavor of Klee's art, with a few simple lines, he has created a gloriously mechanism that induces the sound of birds, simultaneously reminding our birds in the melody of the machine age and our sentimental appreciation of bird song. The little contraption, which is not without its own spirit, depicts the heads of the four chess birds look like Solomon's fowls, as if they might arrange and combine their conditions into one striking invention: a complex of ideas about present-day civilization. The little human indigenous with the, it is, demonstrates of the way Klee works that the picture itself, however visually appealing, does not reveal its full creative quality unless the artist tells us

*Self, Matisse, Picasso, I and the Village*, 1911, 1911, 1911, 1911. The Museum of Modern Art, New York City. (From the collection of the artist)



what it means. The title, in turn, reveals the picture: the very concepts of contemporary medicine show ourselves our imagination and we are shown what is doing. This inner dependence is further to us from cartomancy. Klee lifts it to the level of high art without relinquishing the playful character of these water-color prints. To him art was a "language of signs," of shapes that are images of ideas with shape of a letter in the image of a speech sound, or as when the image of the combined, "This way only," but to also marked that in any conventional system the sign is to share these "signs", the most we perceive it, we automatically accept it with no meaning, without stopping to ponder its shape. Klee wanted his signs to engage upon our awareness as visual facts, yet also to share the quality of "signs." Toward the end of his life, he turned himself to the study of diagrams of all kinds, such as ideograms, bar signs, and the intricate markings prehistoric cave art—"boxed-down" representations of images that appeared to him because they had the very quality he strove for in his own graphic language. This "ideographic style" is very pronounced in *April near Garmisch*, which makes a fascinating comparison with Mondrian's *Flowering* (see fig. 198) or a later print may use the placid words, then decisively simple shapes cast upon a wealth of experience and intuition: the innocent game of signs, the clipped definition peculiar to capture plant life as a

poet. Klee was also a relationship, in spite of his isolation, with the Bauhaus and Spring Semester in the Museum magazine of *Formen* (see fig. 198) (only one other picture): the American Mark Tobey (see fig. 199), has developed a "picture-writing" style comparable to Klee's. His pictures, ideograms, however, have the fluent character of Chinese calligraphy. In fig. 200, his clear "signs" are suspended in view, like connections seen against the night sky.

In Paris on the eve of the First World War, an occasion yet another picture of nature, the Frenchman Marcel Duchamp (see fig. 201) after his exile early on in China, he initiated a dynamic version of Joan Miró's, similar to Klee's, by representing successive phases of movement on each plate, as in multiple exposure photography. (*The Book of the Dead* is shown in this case, somewhat as the *Amory* (see fig. 202) of modern art in New York (see fig. 203) (see fig. 204), however, Duchamp's *Les Femmes d'Alger* (see fig. 205) will look more for any resemblance, however distant, to the human form, what various machines that were part of it, part of the apparatus; the artists of Klee's "writing machine," it is beautifully engaged to serve the purpose whatever. In this, which cannot be interpreted

fig. 198. *April near Garmisch* (1933).  
Watercolor, 200 and 100, 100, 100  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Purchase)



fig. 199. *Mark Tobey* (1901-1993).  
Collection Joseph R. Shapiro, Oak Park, Illinois





Fig. 1. Walter Dymowski: *The Book*, 1925.  
 (p. 100, no. 1). The Philadelphia Museum of Art  
 Division and Walter Dymowski Collection



Fig. 2. Max Ernst: *Upper Plan + Lower Plan + Rubber Sheet  
 + Colours + Stamping Machine + Spring Bed*, 1926.  
 Collage, 1926. Collection: Max-Arg. Museum, France

Duchamp, by lettering it right onto the canvas, the emblematic importance seems unambiguous. Did he intend to criticize the aesthetic outlook on work, by "writing" the beds and also to indicate to a contemplated genre of abundance? If so, the picture was for the negative counterpart of the glorification of the machine, so vividly produced by the Futurists.

It is hardly surprising that the mechanomaniac killing of the First World War should have given Duchamp no sleep. Together with a number of others who shared his attitude, he founded important movements called *Dada* for Duchamp. The term, meaning "absolutely" in French, was especially prized of random from a dictionary, but as an infinite "all-purpose word," it perfectly fitted the spirit of the movement. Dada too often bore-called activities, and its declared purpose was indeed to make clear to the public at large that all established values, moral or aesthetic, had been rendered meaningless by the catastrophe of the great war. During its short life (c. 1918-22) Dada presented new ideas and artists with a resurgence. Duchamp would not be ignored, and a provocative title, an easily-made object such as *Fountain*

and countless others, established them as works of art, even by "improved" reproduction of Leonardo's *Man with a Mirror* and the letters *URROG*, which, when pronounced will result, make an allusive pun. But even more art was not from the Duchamp's attitude: one of them exhibited a very modest work in France, entitled "Portrait of Colosseus." On the other hand, they adopted the technique of collage. Colosseus has their own purposes. Figure 1(a), by the German-Dutch Max Ernst from 1926, an example of Duchamp, is largely composed of superposition illustrations of machines. The emblematic tends to generate these mechanical inspirations, which include (in and up to) "Piping Man." Actually there are two men made of piping, who start at a slowly through their goggles—fit gesture for Duchamp's *Jeune Femme*, but that was not a completely negative movement. In its intention, eventually there was also Dadaism, a usage like abstract pleasure of the creative mind. The only law imposed by the Dadaists was that of chance, and the only reality, that of their own imaginations. That is the message of Duchamp's *Ready-Made*, using the artist proved empty by shifting their content from the intention to the aesthetic. They are certainly extreme demonstrations of a principle, but the principle itself—that artists create does not depend on natural craftsmanship—is an important discovery, as



Fig. 1. Max Ernst, *Swamp April* (1925, oil on paper).  
Collection, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York



Fig. 2. Salvador Dali, *Storm at Olot* (1925, oil on canvas, transfer, and pen-and-ink).  
Collection, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

we must turn-up discussion of Braque's Dali's *Storm at Olot* (see page 9-10).

Exchange, however, having made this point, were still down from artistic activity altogether, some of the follow "studies taken" (Gauguin, 1910, 1911, Dali's research, Braque). They defined their aim as "pure psychic expression . . . intended to express . . . the free presence of thought . . . free from the coercion of reason and from any tendency to moral purpose." (Gauguin theory was heavily loaded with concepts borrowed from psychoanalysis, and its psychoanalytic theme is not always to be taken seriously. The notion that a dream can be transposed directly from the unconscious mind to the canvas, by-passing the conscious awareness of the artist, did not work in practice; some degree of control was simply unavoidable. Nevertheless, Gauguin's structuralist method

seem techniques for selecting and exploiting chance of form. Max Ernst, the more intuitive member of the group, often combined collage with "fantasy" (collage from pieces of wood, ground linens, and other solid surfaces—the process we all know from the children's practice of collaging with a pencil and pieces of paper) using a sieve, in *Swamp April* (Fig. 1) he has obtained fascinating shapes and textures by "accidentism" (the transfer, by process, of oil paint to the canvas from some other surface). This procedure is a source of another source of ideas recommended by Alexander Crumey and Leonardo da Vinci (see page 40), and Ernst has certainly found, and discovered upon, an enormous wealth of images among his canvas. The end result does have some of the quality of a dream, but it is a dream born of a thoroughly Braquean imagination. The drawing by Salvador Dali (see page 9) is reproduced in Figure 2 (note how close to Crumey's technique method, here it is a landscape with figures that Dali could hardly have "dreamed" without already knowing the Cubist) Landscapes of Braque are not unimportant at.

Nevertheless, however, has a more highly imaginative Braque, some works by Braque, such as *Three Figures* (see catalogue 10), have achieved with it, and its ground exposed in another Braque, from Max Ernst (see, who painted the striking *Composition* (Fig. 10). His style has been labeled "Surrealism, abstractism," since his designs are fluid and spontaneous rather than geometric. Actually, "Surrealism/abstractism" might be a more suitable name, for the shapes in Braque's pictures have their own vigorous life. They seem to change before our eyes, expanding and contracting like clouds until they approach (almost individually) closely enough to please the artist. Their spontaneous "becoming" is the very opposite of abstraction as we defined it above (see p. 10) although Braque's formal discipline is more rigorous than that of Cubism (he began as a Cubist).

Equally misleading is the term abstract Expressionism, often applied to the style of painting that has been dominant on both sides of the Atlantic since the end of the Second World War. One of its originators, the American Jackson Pollock (see p. 10), did the huge pictures without this (Fig. 10), but mainly by pouring and splashing his colors, instead of painting them with the brush. (The result, especially when viewed at close range to catalogue 10, suggests both Kandinsky and Max Ernst (compare catalogue 10, Fig. 10). Kandinsky's semi-impersonal Expressionism, and the Braquean explanation of chance effects, are indeed the main sources of Pollock's work, but they are not sufficiently account for his revolutionary technique and the emotional appeal of his art. Why did Pollock "blow a gust of paint in the public's face" (as Raskin had named *Whisper of Angst*)? Now, seems, to be more obvious than his predecessors, for the direct control implied by abstraction is exactly what Pollock contemplated when he began to splash and spray. A more plausible explanation is that he came to



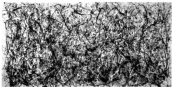
top, *John Miers, Composition*, 1999, 50 1/2 x 40 1/2"  
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

negotiate paint itself, but use postmodernism to manage what is left, but in a wilderness of post-up forces for how to release. The actual shapes visible in our action plans are largely determined by the internal dynamics of the material and the process. The viscosity of the paint, the speed and direction of its impact upon the canvas, its interaction with other layers of pigment. The result is a surface as alive, as sensuously rich, than all earlier painting looks pulled in comparison. But when he releases the forces within the paint by giving it a momentum of its own—so, if you will, by “tapping” it at the center instead of “carrying” it on the tip of his brush—Pollock does not mean “let go” and leave the rest to chance. He is there all the ultimate moment of energy for these forces, and he “takes” them as a swirling might ride a wild horse, in a frenzy of psychophysical action. He does not always ride in the saddle, yet the sublimation of this control, that makes every line of his being, is well worth the risk. One smile, though small, points up the stark difference

between Pollock and his predecessors: his total commitment to the act of painting. From his preference for large canvases, that provide a “field-of-vision” large enough for him to paint not merely with his arms, but with the motion of his whole body. Before Pollock, the term control never meant anything like this, except in its sense for better than does abstract Expressionism. For those who recognize that Pollock is not sufficiently in control of his medium, we reply that this too is more than offset by a gain—the new continuity and expressiveness of the creative process that gives his work its distinctive mid-twentieth-century stamp.

The three currents we have traced in painting may be formulated in sculpture. The parallelism, however, should not be overestimated. While painting has been the richer and more advantageous of the two arts, its leadership has not remained unchallenged in the last half century, and the development of sculpture has often followed its own path. If Expressionism, for instance, was for long important current in sculpture than in painting—which is rather surprising, since the rediscovery of primitive sculpture by the Fauves might have been expected to make a strong response among sculptors. Only one important sculptor shared in this rediscovery: Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957), a Romanian who came to Paris in 1904. But he was more interested in the formal simplicity and coherence of primitive carvings than in their strange expressiveness: this is evident in *The Kiss*, executed in 1910 as a January monument for the Metropolitan Gallery in Paris (fig. 10). It shows a small version of the work. The composition and self-sufficiency of this group is a natural step beyond Rodin's *Awake Woman* (see fig. 10B), in which it is related made as one—the Faunistic First Impressionism. Brancusi has a “gesture of intention” not unlike Matisse's. In him, a movement is an upright stick, symmetrical and immobile—a permanent reader,

left, Jacques-André, *The Kiss*, 1910, 100 x 100 cm, Collection M. and Mrs. Leo Heller, New York







199. *Communion Between the Two*, 1971, English 1971, The Philadelphia Museum of Art (Acquired under accession 1971.10.1)



199. *Two Forms*, 1971, English 1971, Collection of the Sir Michael Sadler, London



200. *Reclining Figure*, 1971, English 1971, The Tate Gallery, London

like the style of the ancient—and he thought this form shape as little as possible. The underlying forms are differentiated just enough to be recognizably identifiable, and even more universal than primitive. They were a sense of movement, movement and movement—the most opposite of Rodin's *Man* (see fig. 191), where

the contrast of flesh and stone creates the illusion of grief and desire.

Moore's "Universalism" was the starting point of a sculptural tradition that still continues today. It has appeared particularly in English sculpture, as we can see in the early works of Henry Moore (see fig. 199). The *Two Forms* of 1971 (see fig. 199) is the second-generation offspring of Moore's *Two Forms* (see fig. 199) and is a sculpture that is both abstract and realistic in shape. They are sometimes "personae," even though they can be called "images" only in the metaphoric sense. This family group—the *Two Forms*—is the most recent from the artist's studio of the modern and child theme—in sculpture and stone like the *Two Forms* (see fig. 199). The *Two Forms* (see fig. 199) is a sculpture that is both abstract and realistic in shape. They are sometimes "personae," even though they can be called "images" only in the metaphoric sense. This family group—the *Two Forms*—is the most recent from the artist's studio of the modern and child theme—in sculpture and stone like the *Two Forms* (see fig. 199).

Moore's remarkable last work, *Two Forms* (see fig. 199), is the most recent from the artist's studio of the modern and child theme—in sculpture and stone like the *Two Forms* (see fig. 199). The *Two Forms* (see fig. 199) is a sculpture that is both abstract and realistic in shape. They are sometimes "personae," even though they can be called "images" only in the metaphoric sense. This family group—the *Two Forms*—is the most recent from the artist's studio of the modern and child theme—in sculpture and stone like the *Two Forms* (see fig. 199).

"lost" month after in Spain. *Figure IV*, is one of those. Because he concentrated on two basic forms of such un-compromising simplicity, Boccioni has at times been called the "Mondrian" of sculpture; this comparison is misleading, however, for Boccioni stood for movement, not for relationships. He was fascinated by the tension of life as potential and as kinetic energy—the self-contained perfection of the egg, which holds the mystery of all creation, and the pure dynamics of the cylinder released from this shell. And in *Figure IV* is not the abstract image of a body making a leap (flight leap), made without concern for dimensional quality as emphasized by the high points that give the surface the transparency of a mirror, and that establishes a new continuity between the isolated space within and the free space without. Other sculptures at that time were tackling the problem of independent relationships with the formal laws of rhythm. The missing figure entitled *Upper Arm of a Woman in Spain* (fig. 10), by the Futurist Umberto Boccioni (1874-1916), was finalizing itself completely as that in space as simple. Boccioni has attempted to represent not the human form itself, but the impact of its motion upon the medium in which it moves; the figure remains concealed behind its "garment" of aerial turbulence. The statue recalls the famous Futurist statement that "the moving automobile is more beautiful than the Winged Victory," although it obviously came from the Winged Victory (the title of Boccioni's fig. 10) due to the design of more care (line and streamlining, in fact, were still to come). Or perhaps Boccioni's source of inspiration was closer at hand—he could have seen the work of Constantin-Alex Comenius (fig. 11). Raymond Duchamp-Pierre (1876-1918), an

older brother of Marcel Duchamp, achieved a bolder extension in *The Great Game* (fig. 12). He began with abstract studies of the game, but his final version is an image of "superpower," wherein the body has become a solid spring and the legs resemble piston rods. Because of this very movement from their mechanical model, these neo-mechanical shapes have a dynamism that is more persuasive of less picturesque than that of Boccioni's figure.

In *Great Game*, we recall, concrete and abstract were paralleled in equilibrium, all volumes, whether positive or negative, were "points of space." A group of Russian artists, the Constructivists, applied this approach to sculpture and arrived at what might be called three-dimensional collage. According to them, these constructions were actually four-dimensional; since they implied motion, they also implied time. The movement Boccioni found in *Figure IV* (1911-12) had now been expressed as "superpower locomotion." Some of its members turned to applied art, others suggested to the West and gradually within a few days the Dutch group (one of them, Gerrit Rietveld (1897-1964), returned to Paris, where he had spent some years shortly before the First World War; the *Figure IV* (fig. 13) combines plastic and copper



Fig. 10. The Unknown Boccioni  
Upper Arm of a Woman in Spain  
1911, Bronze, height 27 1/2".  
The Museum of Modern Art,  
New York (acquired through  
the Lilla P. Bliss Bequest)



Fig. 12. Constructivist Movement  
And in Space, 1916  
Bronze, height 12"  
The Museum of Modern Art,  
New York (Acquired through  
the Lilla P. Bliss Bequest)



above: *Fig. Alexander Brancusi, Kiss, the Kiss (1912)*, The Art Institute of Chicago (Gift of Miss Margaret Fisher)

opposite: *Fig. Alexander Brancusi, Kiss, 1912 (in Plaster and copper, height 10 1/2")*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Morgan)



Fig. Isamu Noguchi, *The Palace at 4 A.M.*, 1929-30. Construction in wood, glass, wire, and string (height 12"). The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Donated)

steering into a universe of "space cells" divided by translucent "membranes"—solids without tangible reality, the membrane fully defined. The modeling-like position of the shape suggests the influence of Marcel Duchamp, whose formers greatly assisted.

On the incomprehensibly repeated formal designs in sculpture, as tried in the other arts—perhaps most more so, since only three-dimensional objects could feature Brancusi's sculpture of Dada forms of Duchamp's examples proved combinations of found objects; these "constant" Brancusi-Made approaches the status of art structures, or three-dimensional collage. This technique, usually labeled "sculpture," proved to have unlimited possibilities. It has produced such striking pieces as Picasso's *Skull* (1912) and numerous strange sculptures have captured it since the Second World War, especially in post-World War II. The Brancusi contribution to sculpture is harder to define: it was made to supply the theory of "space-participation" in painting, but still harder to live up to in sculpture. How indeed could solid, durable materials be given shape without the sculptor being continuously aware of the process? Thus, apart from the direction of the Brancusi-Made, few sculptors were associated with the movement, and the efforts produced by those who were cannot be directly compared with formalist painting.

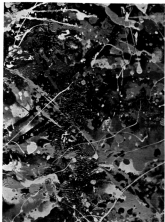


Figure 1. Aerial view of the site. Collection site is marked by the arrow. The scale bar is 100 m.

for 2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-2662-2663-2664-2665-2666-2667-2668-2669-2670-2671-2672-2673-2674-2675-2676-2677-2678-2679-2680-2681-2682-2683-2684-2685-2686-2687-2688-2689-2690-2691-2692-2693-2694-2695-2696-2697-2698-2699-2700-2701-2702-2703-2704-2705-2706-2707-2708-2709-2710-2711-2712-2713-2714-2715-2716-2717-2718-2719-2720-2721-2722-2723-2724-2725-2726-2727-2728-2729-2730-2731-2732-2733-2734-2735-2736-2737-2738-2739-2740-2741-2742-2743-2744-2745-2746-2747-2748-2749-2750-2751-2752-2753-2754-2755-2756-2757-2758-2759-2760-2761-2762-2763-2764-2765-2766-2767-2768-2769-2770-2771-2772-2773-2774-2775-2776-2777-2778-2779-2780-2781-2782-2783-2784-2785-2786-2787-2788-2789-2790-2791-2792-2793-2794-2795-2796-2797-2798-2799-2800-2801-2802-2803-2804-2805-2806-2807-2808-2809-2810-2811-2812-2813-2814-2815-2816-2817-28





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tion of the composition. The Palace of Art, fig. 10, is, in fact, a lecture on geometry: there, light, a few shadows and pattern bring it there. The materials—wood, glass, wire, and string—suggest Constructivism, but Chomsky's concern is not with structural problems. The theory suggests the three-dimensional equivalent of a flattened picture, while earlier pieces of sculpture, it seems to me, open spatial movement that clings to it so strongly that some material would have prevented him reaching reality by an invisible glass ball. The space there trapped in motion and rotation, and given away at the finish, will only then dissolve into fall, even then, so that, will disappear before long. Impression may also have contributed to the extraordinary sculptural imagination of Julio González (1893–1965). Trained as a wrought-iron craftsman in his native Catalonia, González first came to Paris in 1919. Although he was a friend of both Braque and Picasso, he produced little of consequence until the 1930s, when his creative energies suddenly came into focus. It was González who synthesized wrought-iron as an important medium for sculpture, taking advantage of the very difficulties that had discouraged it in the 19th. The sheet (fig. 10) combines extreme economy of form with an aggressive juxtaposition of contrasting lines to derive from Picasso's work after the mid-1930s (at exhibition 7), especially the form of the figure on the left. Its strength is an oval cavity whose upper-left curve, the open line that descends upon an "optic nerve" (below

there is the tangled mass of the "brain." Similar gross, sensory-representative metaphors have since been created by a whole generation of younger writers, in somewhat less and redder cool, as if the violence of their working process mirrored the violence of creative life.

The early eggs, which brought Giammusci and Giammusci to the fore, produced still another important development, the textile sculpture—modules. In those of the American Alexander Calder (born right), they are delicately balanced constructions of metal wire, knotted together and weighted in so to move with the slightest breath of air. They may be of any size, from tiny tabletop models to the huge Lehigh Ship and Fish Piering Italy. Kinetic sculpture had first been introduced by the Constructivists, and their influence is evident in Calder's earliest modules, these were non-representational, and moved toward abstract geometric configurations. It was Calder's contact with Surrealism that made him realize the poetic possibilities of "movement" rather than fully controlled movement. He borrowed Surrealistic images from Miro, and began to think of sculpture in terms of organic structures—flowers or leaflike stems, foliage growing in the house, motion towards floating in the air. Such modules are infinitely repeated in their construction, unpredictable and ever-changing. They incorporate the fourth dimension as an essential element of their structure. Within their limited sphere, they are more truly alive than any other one-world object.

## 5. *Twentieth-Century Architecture*

For more than a century, from the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth, architecture had been dominated by a succession of "revival styles" (see pages 404-416). This time, we will read, does not imply that earlier forms were slavishly copied, the best work of the time had both individuality and high distinction. Yet the architectural tradition of the past, however freely interpreted, proved in the long run to be inadequate for the needs of the present. The authority of historic models had to be broken if the architecture was to produce a truly contemporary style.

The search for such a style, one that would be analogous to the achievement of Carver and Moore in painting, began to earnest about 1850. It demanded far more than a reform in architectural grammar and vocabulary: to take advantage of the explosive—and merely the utilitarian—qualities of the new building techniques

and materials that the engineers had placed at his disposal, the architect needed a new philosophy. He had to rethink the traditional concepts that concerned form and function, and alter the broader view of architecture's essence. The leaders of modern architecture have often been called *formalists* or *functionalists*, or both, words which indicate theory is closely linked with ideas of social values. It is equally significant that the movement began in commercial architecture (banks, offices, apartment), outside the range of established building types; that its catalyst was the skyscraper and that in that form was Chicago, then a burgeoning metropolis that got accustomed to one elegance in skyscraper style. The great Chicago fire of 1871 had opened vast opportunities to architects from other cities such as Boston and New York. Among them was Henry Hobson Richardson (1839-1880), who in a young man had profound taste



about 1890: First National Bank Building, Marshall Fox. Window frame (introduced) from Chicago, 1890-95



1906: The United States Trust Building, Cass Gilbert. New York, 1906-12

contact with elements in Paris (see page 24). Most of its work along the Eastern seaboard shows a mixture neo-Renaissance style. There are still echoes of this in its last major project for Chicago, the Marshall Field Warehouse Store, designed in 1889 (fig. 10). The huge structure fitted its entire site block. In its symmetry, and its treatment of windows, it was rooted in of Italian Early Renaissance patterns (see fig. 9a). For the walls as we present a continuous surface punctured by windows, except for the corners, which have the effect of heavy piers, they show a series of superimposed arcades like a Roman apartment (see fig. 10), an impression strengthened by the absence of ornament and the thickness of the masonry (note how deeply the windows are recessed). These unadorned walls are as functional as well as convincing as their ancient predecessors. They ensure the building with a strength and dignity comparable any other commercial structure. Behind them is an iron skeleton that usually supports the upper floors, but the exterior does not depend on it, either structurally or aesthetically. The first floor thus stands midway between the ancient and the new: it is archaic, with almost severity and logic, a concept of monumentality derived from the past, but its opening walls, divided into vertical "bays" look forward to the work of Louis Sullivan (fig. 11). The store itself is indistinguishably modern and efficient. The Waterwright Building is in a sense (fig. 12), Sullivan's first skyscraper, completed only five years after the Field Store. It, too, is monumental, but in a very unconventional way. The organization of the exterior both reflects and expresses the internal steel skeleton, in the slender, continuous, track pattern that runs between the windows from the base to the apex. Their collective effect is that of a vertical grating created by the corner piers and by the emphatic horizontal lines of order and ornament. This is, of course, only one of the many possible "cases" that could be stretched over the structural frame: when events in America immediately feel that this wall is derived from the classical architrave, that it is not self-sustaining. "What?" is perhaps too weak a term to describe this brief questioning: in Sullivan, who often thought of buildings as appendages to the human body, it was to describe the "feet" and "hands" that is originally attached to the "body" yet capable of an infinite variety of expressive effects. When he learned that "form follows function," he meant it flexibly, unconsciously, not rigidly dependent. The range of his inventing becomes evident if we compare the Waterwright Building with his last skyscraper, the Department Store of Carson, Pirie Scott & Company in Chicago, begun nine years later (fig. 13). The shedding of white ornamentation here follows the grid of the steel frame far more closely, and the overall effect is one of lightness and elegance rather than of harnessed energy. For the contrast between the horizontal continuity of the blocks and the vertical accent of the corner has been subtly subverted.

In Chicago, meanwhile, the authority of the "vertical



FIG. 13. Carson, Pirie Scott & Company, Department Store (Chicago, 1889-1890)



FIG. 14. Detail, Carson, Pirie Scott & Company

style" was being undermined by a movement now mostly called by its French name. An American, although it was known by various other names as well, it was primarily a new style of decoration, based on linear patterns of various curves that often suggest water flow, and vaguely related to the style of rock patterns in Chinese and Maori (see also page 24, fig. 14). During the 1890s



1961-62, *George Guller*  
*and John Apartment House*  
*Boston, 1961-62*



1961-62, *Frederic R. Shaw*  
*and John*



1961-62, *Frederic R. Shaw*  
*and John*



1961-62, *Frederic R. Shaw*  
*and John*



and only rarely its persuasive influence on the applied arts was limited to straightforward work, furniture, jewelry, glass, tapestries, and even room decorations; it had a profound effect on public taste, but did so least of all easily in architectural designs on a large scale. The most remarkable instance in the Casa trial in Barcelona (fig. 61-62), a large apartment house by Antoni Gaudí (1868-1926), is down an almost totalist existence of all the surfaces, straight lines, and symmetry of any kind, so that the building looks as if it had been clearly modeled of some malleable substance. (The materials are stone or cement, as the sight suggests, but not stone.) The widely rounded openings anticipate the "curved" shapes of Henry Moore's sculpture (see fig. 60c); the roof has the dynamic motions of a wave; and the chimneys seem to have been spaced from a pebbly table. The Casa trial expresses our man's dimensional freedom to the ideal of "natural" forms; it could serve the legend, in some developed fashion: Naturally, it is a trial de force of old-fashioned craftsmanship, an atypical architectural return from the purports, rather than from the center, round and hollow, round at opposite poles, although both aware for the center goal—a contemporary style substitution of the past.

If Gaudí and Gaudí represent, as it were, the first-impulsive stage of modern architecture, Sullivan's great designs, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), represents its mature phase. This is certainly one of the boldest early style, between 1900 and 1910, which had vast international influence. His late work, beginning with the 1920s, will be treated from the second: a thirty-year first decade, Wright's main activity was the de-



Fig. 61. Casa Gaudí, Barcelona House, Gaudí, 1902

sign of suburban houses in the Chicago area; these were known as "Prairie Houses," because their low, horizontal lines were meant to blend with the flat landscape around them. The best, and most accomplished, example in this series is the Walter House of 1909 (fig. 63a-c). The "Cubist" is not merely a matter of the abstract rectangular elements comprising the structure, but of Wright's handling of space. It is designed as a number of "open blocks" grouped around a central core, the chimney; some of the blocks are closed and others are open, all of all are defined with equal precision. Thus the space that has been architecturally shaped includes the bedrooms, kitchen, court, and garden, as well as the house



Fig. 63. Walter House, Chicago House, the Prairie House, Chicago, 1909

Below: Fig. 64, the Prairie House



right: Eric Moss and R. Moser and  
an International Laboratory Commission  
of Architects (L. Corbusier,  
Frank Lloyd Wright and others)  
United Nations Buildings  
New York, 1949-51



below: Art. 14 Conference, Geneva House,  
Lausanne, 1949-51

bottom: Eric Moser, Geneva House



craft, tools and solids are regarded as equivalents, analogous in their way to those of lines in painting, and the entire complex must now arrive and elaborate into harmony with its surroundings. Wright did not aim simply to design a house but to create a complete environment. He even took command of the details of the interior, and designed stained glass, fixtures, and furniture. The prevailing factor here was not so much the individual client and his special wishes as Wright's conviction that buildings have a profound influence on the people who live, work, or merely sit there, so that the architect is really a master of men, whether or not he consciously assumes this responsibility.

The work of Frank Lloyd Wright had attracted much attention in Europe by 1930. Among the first to recognize its importance were some young French architects who, a few years later joined forces with Mies van der Roë of the De Stijl movement. The laboratory house in Brussels (fig. 17), designed in 1934 by Louis Raymond (born 1908), includes a number of Wrightian features—the cantilevered roof and the juxtaposition of closed and open blocks of space—combined with a layout that looks like a painting by Mies van der Roë. Raymond intended this house to become a complete experimental city. In the end of the First World War, the De Stijl group represented the most advanced ideas in European architecture. Its assembly gave artistic shape, based on Mies van der Roë's principle of an equilibrium achieved through the balance of opposed but equivalent oppositions, had a decisive influence on so many architects abroad that the movement soon became international. The largest and most complete example of

the "International Style of the 1920s" is the group of buildings created in 1929-30 by Walter Gropius (these cities in Germany for the Weimarer Classic, the houses are school of which he was the director: the construction contrasted all the visual arts, linked by the two concepts of "structures." And: The plan consists of three main blocks (fig. 101), the classrooms, shops and studios, the two main linked by a bridge of glass and concrete containing offices (fig. 102, extreme left). The main structure is the shop block, a four-story box with walls that are a continuous surface of glass. This radical step had been possible even after the introduction of the structural steel skeleton around double trusses, which raised the wall of any bearing function; Sullivan had approached it in the Carson Pirie Scott & Co. store (fig. 103), but he could not get free himself from the traditional notion of the window as "hole in the wall." Consequently acknowledge, at last, that in modern architecture the wall is no more than a curtain or climate barrier, which may contain entirely of glass if maximum daylight is desirable. A century-century later, the same principle was used on a much larger scale for the two main faces of the great slab that houses the Secretariat of the United Nations (fig. 104). The effect is rather surprising: one might well

expect a wall across which light then appearance depends on the intensity of these two effects. They respond, as it were, to any change of conditions without and within, and thus introduce a strange quality of life into the structure. (The structural form of Brancusi's sculpture serves a similar purpose.)

In France, the most distinguished representative of the "International Style" during the 1920s was the French architect Le Corbusier (Charles-Edmond Jeanneret, born 1893), in that time he built only private houses, from 1923, not cities—but these are as important as Wright's "Prairie Houses." Le Corbusier called these machines (machine houses) to be built, a term intended to suggest his admiration for the clean, precise shapes of machinery, not a desire for "mechanized living." (The paintings of his friend Fernand Léger during these years reflect the same attitude, see fig. 105.) (Perhaps he also wanted to suggest that his houses were so different from conventional houses as to constitute a new species. Such is indeed our impression as we approach the most famous of them, the *Semiote House of France* (see fig. 106). It resembles a box, square box rising on stilts—pillars of reinforced concrete that form part of the structural skeleton and

Fig. 101. Hansel Gropius and Walter G. Gropius, Philosophical Faculty First lecture Building, Philadelphia, 1929-30



Fig. 102. Charles-Edmond Jeanneret, La Roche House, La Roche-sur-Yon, France, 1926-27



runner to break the "cotton-cotton" running along each side of the box. The flat, smooth-surface, dropping all sense of angle, seems to Corbusier's perception with pleasure "space flows." Its sense is flat and low; the box is subdivided, not measured in the sky; we then realize that this simple "padding" contains living spaces that are open as well as closed, separated by glass walls. Within the boxes, we are told in communication with the outside forces of the day and the surrounding terrain are prepared to be used. Yet not quite complete privacy, since an observer on the ground cannot see within we must need to conclude. The pervasiveness of the Group House that is governed by a "design for living," not by mechanical efficiency.

Atelier, despite its early position of leadership, did not deny the exciting growth that took place in European architecture during the years. The impact of the "International Style" did not begin to fade on this side of the Atlantic until the very end of the decade. A prime example is the Philadelphia Storage Fund Society Building of 1929-32 (fig. 101), by George Howe (1886-1952) and William D. Lawrence (1896-1971), a skyscraper in the tradition of Sullivan that incorporates in design many features evolved in Europe since the end of the First World War. During the following years, the best German architects, whose work Hitler condemned as "degenerate," came to this country and greatly stimulated the development of American architecture. Erich Salser, who was appointed chairman of the architecture department at Harvard University, had an important educational influ-

ence. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (born 1886), his former colleague at Weimar, settled in Chicago as a practicing architect. The Lake Shore Drive apartment house (fig. 102) has strikingly elegant flats placed at right angles to each other, exemplify Mies van der Rohe's doctrine that "less is more." It is the great epitome of the style among practicing designers, promoter of the term "architectural glass" in determining proportions and spatial relationships.

Le Corbusier in contrast to Mies van der Rohe, has abandoned the primary position of the "International Style." His work since the 1920s shows a growing preoccupation with sculpture, even anthropomorphic effects. Thus the Laletel d'Industries, a large apartment house in Marseille (fig. 103), is a "house on stilts" like the famous House, but the pillars are not flat rods; their shape now expresses their structural strength in a way that makes us think of Greek columns. The exposed stairways to flats, too, are vigorously sculptured, and the flat plane of the all-glass facade has a honeycomb-pattern of beams and columns that forms a sun-truck, but also enhances the three-dimensional quality of the structure. This projecting screen has proved to be an invention of great importance, practically and aesthetically; it is now a standard feature of modern architecture throughout the world. The Corbusier himself introduced it in India and Brazil. The most revolutionary building of the mid-twentieth century, however, is Le Corbusier's church of Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp in southeastern France (figs. 104-105). Strong like a medieval fortress from the

Fig. 101. La Casa del  
Fondo d'Industria  
Apartment House,  
Marseille, 1929-32





above left: Ext., La Vierge, Notre-Dame-de-la-Rose, Ronchamp (chapel), France, 1928-32

above right: Perspective diagram, Notre-Dame-de-la-Rose

below: Ext. interior, Notre-Dame-de-la-Rose



view of a mountain, it has a design so involved that it defies analysis, even with the aid of perspective diagrams. The play of curves and countercurves is born as much as in Gaudí's Casa Milà, though the shapes are more complex and more dynamic: the massive walls seem to obey an unseen force that makes them climb and curl like paper, and the overlapping roof suggests the form of an overgrown hat, or the bottom of a ship split lengthwise by the sharp-edged bottom from which it is suspended. If the Casa Milà brings to mind the "swollen" volumes of Antoni Gaudí's *Sagrada Família*, Ronchamp has the magical quality of the same artist's *Ten Towers* (see pg. 88). This evocation of the divine, implicitly part of quite intentional, asked-to-create something more beautiful than, Le Corbusier must have felt that this was the universal task of architecture, placing too in a direct line of succession with the men who had built Stonehenge, the pyramids of Mesoamerica, and the Greek temples. Hence, he also consciously avoids any correlation between exterior and interior. The interior connected us most with them not like cathedrals or synagogues, and to pass through them is much like entering a cave—and more—cave. Only inside do we sense the specific Christian aspect of Ronchamp. The light, streamed through stained-glass windows so tiny that they seem hardly more than dots or pinpoints on the massive, raw white walls through the thickness of the walls, and that become ever more what it had been in medieval architecture—the subtle counterpoint of the light itself. There is no magic in the interior of Ronchamp, besides a strongly disorienting quality, a knowledge for the experience of a faith that is no longer experienced. Ronchamp restores the spiritual condition of Modern Man—which is a measure of its greatness as a work of art.

## POSTSCRIPT

### *The Meeting of East and West*

The author of a history of art for the general reader faces contradictions and contradictions should be proportioned to books to give equal weight to every significant area? First, what should be done with China? Second, perhaps, no one solution to this problem is clearly superior to the others we might think of. Encyclopedic breadth and thematic concentration are balanced against each other in countless ways, and the pattern of the present volume has, like the rest, the defects of its virtues. The purpose of this postscript is to take the reader on about a journey through the limitations we have in the material, and by showing how a small sample of the results of research he will find there, to whet his appetite for a longer stay.

That interest in the past springs from a desire to understand the present. Behind it always lies the question, "how did we get to where we are now?" A further question of art, "how" means the living art of our century; this is the province of Western civilization on both sides of the Atlantic. We have, accordingly, focused in this book only those elements outside Europe and America that have contributed to the growth of the Western artistic tradition: prehistoric and primitive art, as well as the art of Egypt, the ancient Near East, and India. Three major areas have been omitted—follow Asia, China and Japan, and pre-Columbian America—because their indigenous artistic traditions are no longer alive today, and because their styles did not, generally speaking, have a significant influence on the West. But, could there be non-essential but not irrelevant, they are nevertheless important to their

own right, a book half again as large as this, with some hundred more pages and five hundred more illustrations, would certainly include them. The very fact that the ancient art of India, the Far East, and America are so admitted to the West today, suggests their relevance to the modern world. They may yet become a vital source of inspiration for Western art, if they failed to do so earlier, even after the West had learned of their existence. This was not because they were "too abstract" (that again, it was because they were "too related") (that again, the result of many centuries of continuous development) was largely to spare ourselves alien to the Western tradition. This is true particularly of the art of the Far East. Printing from wood blocks, so small, with Chinese commentaries next to the Western-style parts. We do not know which Chinese prints actually reached medieval Europe, but they might have included versions like the splendid landscape (fig. 104), from a recently discovered set of four, dated 1311-1312 A.D. In appearance, skilfully transcribed into black-and-white, the composition, with of the great landscape painter of the period, such as Fan K'uan (fig. 103), his origin can be traced back at least eight hundred years (fig. 101). After a long period of growth, this art had achieved a point where of nature that contains the mystery of man-shaped elements with the intelligence of man. What is the West could have responded to the physical and emotional reality of such works? Chinese silk and porcelain, as known, were greatly admired in the middle ages, but

The landscape with clouds from China shows the first printed Buddhist (Lohan) Northern Song (10th-11th c.). (From the collection, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)











Fig. 1. Lion Capital from a Column erected by King Ashoka, 250-230 B.C. Height 7'. Archaeological Museum, Dharmapala, India.



Fig. 2. Arched Buddha, Gandhara, 1st century A.D. Height 10 1/2'. British Museum, London.



Fig. 3. Standing Buddha, from Mathura, 1st century A.D. Height 10 1/2'. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Yellow River, where Chinese culture settlements began to appear around 2,000 B.C. Contact between the Near East and China continued to be maintained by migratory tribes, although it is sometimes hard to say which way these influences went. Some early Chinese bronzes, such as the magnificent Bixie (Fig. 4), seem to attest the ancient "animal style" that merged, at one time or another, from Siberia to Western Europe and from Iran to Scandinavia (see Fig. 10-12, 13-14). In our example, the creature already looks so unmistakably Chinese as its Scandinavian fellow-bronze (see Fig. 4-5). India's link with the West is far more obvious. Persian influence prevailed under King Ashoka (272-231 B.C.). The Buddhistian culture of Gandhara, too, owes its origins to the capital of the commercial colonies he erected (Fig. 5). India's link with the West is far more obvious. Persian influence prevailed under King Ashoka (272-231 B.C.). The Buddhistian culture of Gandhara, too, owes its origins to the capital of the commercial colonies he erected (Fig. 5). apparently the earliest Indian sculpture in a monumental scale (compare Fig. 1-2). There was also, however, a native tradition of tradition already assuming full form, which can be traced back to the Indus valley settlements. This absorbed the Persian elements, and within two centuries produced in these mountains, the carved gateways of the Great Walled at Mohenjo-daro (Fig. 6) and the winged lions, a Mesopotamian-Asian motif, in the upper left-hand corner). Meanwhile, the eastern north-west region of India-called Bactria in antiquity, later known as Gandhara, corresponding to modern afghani-

Fig. 4. Bixie from China, 10th-12th C. Height 10 1/2'. British Museum, London.





181-182. The Standing Buddha from Gandhara, 1st or 2nd century A.D. (British Museum, London, England)

183-184. Buddha of Gandhara, 1st-4th century. The image, height 12", Honolulu, Honolulu, Hawaii, Japan



185. The Buddhist Bodhisattva (detail of wall painting), 12th-13th century A.D. (Cairo Museum, Egypt, India)



186. Buddha (Buddha of Gandhara), 1st-4th century A.D. (Cairo Museum, Egypt, India)





Fig. 152. Wooden statue of Lord Venkateswara, 1st century A.D. (height 97"). Private collection, Madras City



Fig. 153. Temple of the Warrior-Deity, Chidambaram, Pandya, 10th century

Fig. 154. Girdling Goddess of South and South Asia, 10th century (height 97"). National Museum, Madras City



ness and a variety of Pelicans—both under Greek rule as one of the conquests of Alexander the Great (see Fig. 147). It remained a focus of Greco-Roman artistic influence for several centuries. The role of this influence in creating the various images of the Buddha (who until the second century A.D. had been represented only through symbols) became a matter of dispute, but it had an undeniably share in the process. Two distinct types were to have made their appearance shortly after this time, both of them continuous and inseparable, that from Gandhara continue the Indian sculptural tradition with Hellenic classical elements (Fig. 147); the other, representing at Madurai in south central India, represent a purely native style. For one or three centuries they co-existed side by side, and the Gandhara type produced such variants as the Flying Buddha (Fig. 149), strongly evocative of the iconography of Greek sculpture (see Figs. 147, 148), with eventually the two types continued (Fig. 149) and merged (see in Buddhist expansionism) China and Japan. The late Imperial period statue of Gupta (Fig. 147), about 385-450 A.D., still belongs within of the Gandhara style in India, however, Buddhist had meanwhile been supplanted by the older native religion, Hinduism. The Braupul Buddha (Fig. 149), from the great cycle of



Fig. 1. Wooden Mask (Wooden, with cane in the face).  
Length 9 1/2". Collection National Museum, Santiago, Chile



Fig. 2. Female Wooden Figure (Wooden, with cane in the face).  
Length 10 1/2".  
Museum Anthropology of the Americas, Madrid



Fig. 3. Stone Hammer (Chert, with cane in the face).  
Length 10 1/2".

small paintings in clay, but, as it is, about 1000 B.C., has the earliest, unknown without exception from the continent of America as the earliest heritage of Indian art. The first is again later on in the writings of the Indians were located at El Paso (Fig. 10).

Of the three major civilizations, that of pre-Columbian America is by far the youngest. Shortly after man first arrived in the New World—presumably from Siberia by way of Alaska—remains in dispute; it may have been as recently as 10,000 B.C., but much earlier dates have been suggested. In any event, the Amer-Indian civilizations date not even to New Spain in Central America before 1,000 B.C., and, in South America,

before c. 2000 B.C. The transition from prehistory to history, which took place in Mesopotamia and Egypt between 3500 and 3000 B.C., probably occurred between 1000 B.C. and 1 A.D., but much of the evidence concerning the beginnings of theocratic rule, of literacy, and of monumental architecture is conjectural, and the earliest monuments of historic American civilization brought to light so far belong near the end of the pre-Christian era. Compared to what we know about India and the Far East, our knowledge of pre-Columbian America is limited indeed. Its very isolation from the rest of the world, however, makes its study peculiarly fascinating. Was this isolation, we wonder, really complete, especially during the historic period (c. 1-1500 A.D.)? If so, then the resemblances and analogies between pre-Columbian America and the civilizations of the Old World must result from a parallel evolution of human culture that made the American Indian "re-invent" on his own, many things already invented elsewhere. The problem will probably be debated for a long time, for both the similarities and the differences are tantalizing. What, for instance, are we to make of the impressive *Wrestler* (fig. 844), produced by the Olmec civilization of south-eastern Mexico? Is he really a wrestler? The present name of the figure merely records its striking resemblance to Japanese wrestlers. And why did the Olmecs, alone among pre-Columbian groups, develop so vigorous a three-dimensional and realistic style of sculpture in the round? Elsewhere in Central or South America, monumental stone sculpture is closely bound up with architecture, as in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán (fig. 845), where the artistic traditions of the Maya and Toltec peoples are combined. Such temples rise from platforms on top of pyramid-like, stepped mounds that are oddly analogous to the ziggurats of Mesopotamia (see pages 51-52). The highly formalized style of Maya sculpture, its angularity and ornamental symmetry, reappears later in the art of the Aztecs, who rose to power near what today is Mexico City, less than two centuries before the Spanish Conquest. The statue of

Coatlicue, the goddess of earth and death (fig. 846), resembles a human figure less than it does a huge architectural block that has been turned into a compound creature of terrifying "otherness." (How restrained the Gorgon from the Artemis Temple on Corfu looks by comparison -- see fig. 130.)

The Andean civilization of South America, centered on Peru, had a development roughly parallel to that of Central America. While it produced no stone sculpture comparable to the Olmec *Wrestler*, the anthropomorphic pottery of the Moche is often even more intensely realistic. The portrait jar in figure 847 has great individuality and expressive power. Andean art also includes masterpieces of jewelry and sculpture in gold. The seated female figure, from a hoard found at Cauca, Colombia (fig. 848), must surely have been a cult object -- probably a goddess of fertility. Despite its modest size, the image has extraordinary dignity. It is one of the very few surviving pieces of those legendary treasures of "Inca gold" that were melted down for their material value by the Spanish conquistadors. The Incas themselves had conquered the Peruvian highlands only in the fourteenth century, like the Aztecs, they were warriors rather than artists. Only their architectural achievements were important, and their palaces, fortifications, and temples still dominate the cities they founded, such as Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and Ollantaytambo. These monuments are most memorable for their "sculptured" masonry, shaped and fitted with incredible precision (fig. 849). Sometimes each block has a pair of protuberances, which suggest an organic life within the stone somewhat like that of Henry Moore's *Two Forms* (see fig. 800).

The rapid disappearance of pre-Columbian artistic traditions in the sixteenth century is even more astonishing than the ease with which the Spaniards defeated the Aztec and Inca empires. European artists and collectors admired the technical perfection of the objects brought back by the conquistadors, but were not impressed with their beauty. Only the present has taught us to see them as works of art.

# BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

*This list includes the most recent and comprehensive studies that are available in English. Books with material relevant to several chapters are cited under the first heading only. The bibliographies contained in many of these works may be consulted for information on more specialized topics. An excellent general bibliography is Guide to Art Reference Books by Mary W. Chamberlin (American Library Association, 1959).*

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